

A  
General Martyrologie,  
CONTAINING  
A COLLECTION  
Of All the Greatest  
PERSECUTIONS  
VVhich have Befallen the

**Church of CHRIST.**

From the CREATION, to our Present Times, wherein  
is given an exact Account of the Protestants Sufferings in

**Queen Maries Reign.**

Whereunto is Added  
The LIVES of **Thirty Two** English Divines, Famous in their  
Generations for Learning and Piety; and most of them Sufferers in the Cause  
of CHRIST.

Together, With the LIVES of **Gustavus Ericson**, KING of Sweden,  
**Feliper Coligny**, Admiral of France (who was Slain in the Massacre of Paris), and  
**Joan Queen of Navarre** (who Died of Poison a few Days before the  
Bloody Massacre). Likewise, of divers other Christians who were distinguished by  
Prudence and Piety.

You have also, Lively Represented, The divers manners of such  
Cruel, Horrid, and Inhumane Sufferings, that the People of GOD have en-  
dergone in all Ages and Nations; and the Effigies of some of the **English**  
Divines, in Copper-Plates.

The Third Edition, Corrected, and Enlarged.

By **Samuel Clarke**, late Pastor of St. Bennet's Church, London.

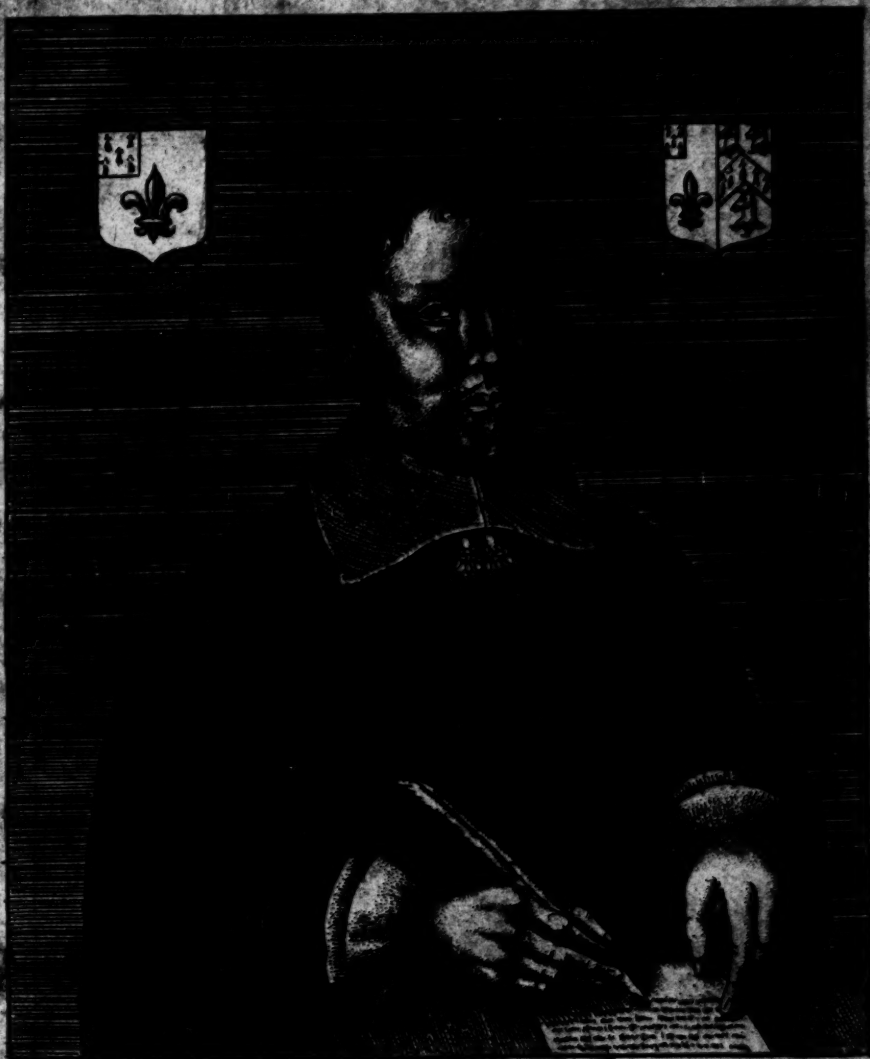
*Visti sunt* {Gentiles} & Idololatria eorum, non à repugnantibus, sed à mortificationibus Christi.  
{Papista} August. Epist. 42.

*Quò malis presentibus durius deprimor eò de futuris gaudiis certius presumo.* Epist. 42.  
In nothing be terrified by your Adversaries, which is to them an evident token of Death.  
But to you of Salvation, and that of God, Phil. i. 28.

L O N D O N.

Printed for **William Birch**, at the Press at the Lower-end of Cheap-side.





The skilfull Physiognomers who scan  
Each line and wrinkle in the face of man,  
Can tell no more what Soul dwell's there, then we  
By seeing Starrs can tell what Angels be:  
Then aske not at the doore who 'tis: If so  
This Shadow can not tell thee. Reade and know.

John Dunstall sculpsit.

J. C. A. M. fecit.

31/10/16  
10/11/16



Licensed,

To be Reprinted,

*July* the 30th. 1674.

ROGER L'ESTRANGE.







TO THE  
CHRISTIAN READER.

Especially to the suffering Saints in these Three Nations.

*Christian Reader,*



Thou hast here presented to thy view that strange sight which so much astonished *Moses*, *Exod. 3. 3.* *A Bush burning with fire, and not consumed:* A lively Emblem of the Church, oft times all on a light flame with the fire of Persecution, and yet so far from being consumed, that *The Blood of the Martyrs proves the Seed of the Church:* And indeed she is the only, and true *Salamander*, that can live in the fire: Yet this, not by any strength of her own, but because the Angel of the Covenant, even the Lord Jesus Christ is in the Bush, either to slack the fire, or to strengthen the Bush, and make it incombustible. In this Book thou mayest see, as in a Mirror, what hath been the lot and portion of the Church and People of God from the Creation hitherto, viz. *Through many tribulations to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* Here thou hast a certain and infallible mark of the true Church of Christ, viz. To be hated and persecuted by the Devil and his Instruments. Here thou mayest see what is the constant concomitant of the

A

Gospel,

*Sanguis  
Martyrum  
semel Eccle-  
sia.*

*Act. 14. 22.*

Gospel, when it is received in the love and power of it, viz. Persecution, according to that of the  
1 Thel. 1. 4. *Apostle. Ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, &c.* Neither yet is God an hard Master in dealing thus with his faithful Servants. He knows that heavy afflictions are the best benefactors to heavenly affections; and that grace is hid in nature here, as sweet Water in Rose Leaves, which must have the fire of affliction put under to distil it out. He knows that when afflictions hang heaviest, corrupt affections hang loofest upon his Children. Yet doth not the  
Lam. 3. 33, 34. *Lord afflict willingly, nor grieve the Children of Men, to crush under his feet all the Prisoners of the Earth; but he will hereby try who are his in deed and in truth, not in name and profession only: For as the Eagle tries her young ones by turning their Faces to the Sun beams, so those Christians that can outface the Sun of Persecution, are sincere indeed.*

One thing is very remarkable in this History, that usually before any great Persecution beset the Church, the holy Men of those times observed that there was some great decay of zeal, and of the power of Godliness, or some mutual contentions and quarrels amongst the People of God, or some such sin or other that provoked God against them; and then, as the Shepherd sets his Dog upon his Sheep, when they go astray to bring them in, and then rates him off again: So God lets loose wicked Persecutors upon his own Children, but it's only to bring them in unto him; and then, he not only restrains their rage, but casts the rod into the fire. *If judgment begin at the House of God, what shall the end of them be that obey not the Gospel of God?* Much excellent use may be made of this History: As, teaching us,

That



That whosoever will take Christ truly, must take his Cross as well as his Crown, his Sufferings as well as his Salvation.

That Persecution is the Bellows of the Gospel, blowing every spark into a flame; and that Martyrs Ashes are the best compost to manure the Church, their Blood to water it, and make it fertil.

That Gods Children are like Stars, that shine brightest in the darkest night: Like Torches, that are the better for bearing: Like Grapes, that come not to the proof, till they come to the press: Like Spices, that smell the sweetest, when pounded: Like young Trees, that root the faster for shaking: Like Vines, that are the better for bleeding: Like Gold, that looks the brighter for scouring: Like Glowworms, that shine best in the dark: Like Juniper, that smells sweetest in the fire: Like the Pomander, which becomes more fragrant for chafing: Like the Palm-tree, which proves the better for pressing: Like the Camomile, which the more you tread it, the more you spread it. Yea God knoweth that we are best, when we are worst, and live holiest, when we die fastest; and therefore he frames his dealing to our disposition, seeking rather to profit, than to please us.

That when God exposeth us to Persecution, he expects our speedy and thorow Reformation, if we desire the affliction to be removed. For as it were to no purpose for the Finer to put his Gold into the fire, except it lie there till it be refined: So were it to small purpose for God to lay afflictions on us, if so soon as we whine and groan under his hand, he should remove them, before we be bettered thereby. Whereas afflictions,

like *Lots* Angels, will soon away, when they have done their errand. Like Plaisters, when the sore is once whole, they will fall off of their own accord.

5. That we should with patience submit to the afflicting hand of the all-wise God, and our merciful Father, saying with the Church, *I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him: Considering also that impatience under affliction, makes it much more grievous. As a Man in a Feaver, that by tossing and tumbling, exasperates the disease, and encreaseth his own grief.*

6. That *all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution.* It hath been the portion of all the Saints, 1 Tim. 3. 12. from the Creation hitherto. *What Son is there whom the Father Chasteneth not?* One Son indeed God had without sin, but not without sorrow; for though Christ his natural Son, was *sine corruptione*, without corruption, yet not *sine correctione*, without correction; though he was *sine flagitio*, without crime, yet not *sine flagello*, without a scourge. And if they did these things to the green Tree, what shall be done to the dry? And behold the wonderful wisdom of God herein! who by these afflictions separates the sin that hates, from the Son that heloves, and keeps him by these thorns from beaking over into Satans pleasant pastures, that would fat him indeed, but to the slaughter.

Luk. 23. 31. In an *Appendix* to this Book, I have added the Lives of fundry of our Modern Divines, which I conceive not to be heterogenial to the rest of the Work; for though they were not Martyrs, yet may they well be stiled Confessors, in regard of the great Persecution and Sufferings, which most of them met withal whilst they lived here. And if any ask the reason why I have added no more? It is because my intelligence comes in so slowly; and if such as  
are



*The Epistle to the Reader.*

are able, will take the pains to inform me, I shall (if God spares life) add more to the end of the next Impression of my Lives of the Fathers, and Modern Divines. I hope that these my weak and poor endeavors will not prove ungrateful, nor be judged unseasonable, considering the times wherein we live: For if the same sins abound amongst us in these days, which have been the forerunners of Persecutions formerly; we have cause to fear the worst, and to prepare for it; Forewarnd, forearm-  
The reading of this History will manifest what wonderful constancy, and patience the Saints have shewed in their greatest sufferings; what hath been the power of Almighty God in their support; and what miserable ends many of their Persecutors have come to. My hearty desire is, That by reading of this Book, God may have the glory, and thy Soul the comfort, and I shall be well appayed for my pains, Who am,

*Præmonitus  
præmonitus.*

*Thine in the Lord*

From my study in  
Thridneedlestreet,  
Octob. 10. 1659.

**SA. CLARKE**

*Πεος*

Πρὸς τὸν αἰδέσιμον ἄνδρα Σαμὴλ τὸν Κλάρκον.

Σ Α Μ Ο Τ Η ' Λ   Κ Λ Α ' Ρ Κ Ο Σ.

Ἀναξαμανάπηϑ·

Κ Α' Λ Λ Ο Σ, Κ Η Ρ, Μ Ο Τ Σ Α.

**Τ**ᾶ πᾶντα ῥέει σὶν ὄνομα τοῦτον Κλέριον.  
 Τοῖς πεπρωμένοις βεβύτοις τὰ πᾶντα ῥέει.  
 Καὶ ὁ ἔχων πνεῦμα πνεύματος ἀκούει ἀδελφεῖς.  
 Κρεῖσσεν ἀνὰ κλέριον καὶ μετέκοιτι πνεῦμα.  
 Οἷον καὶ ἀμφοτέρων μάλᾳ πλάττει εἶσιν ἀμφοῖς.  
 Παιδεύει συλλέγει ἡ πᾶν, δύνει δὲ.  
 Ἐστὶν οὗ πᾶντος εἰς φίλος, τὸ πᾶν καλόν τε  
 ῥωμαιοῖς τὸν ῥέει ἔδωκε δέος.  
 Καὶ δὲ καὶ κρεῖσσεν πᾶντι, βαρὺ πᾶντος ἀπειρῶς  
 Πέφραται, φιλοδότης, φιλοδότης τε μάλᾳ.  
 Καὶ δὲ καὶ μῦθος πολυμύθος, ἀνδρῶν οὖν.  
 Οἱ δὲ μῦθοι καὶ μῦθοι εἰς ἄνθρωπον.  
 Μάρτυρες αἱ πᾶντες πᾶντος εἰκοσι βίβλοι,  
 Αἱς πᾶσι ἐκφράττει ἡ ἀνὰ τὸν πνεῦμα.  
 Μάρτυρες αἱ πᾶντες πᾶντος εἰκοσι βίβλοι,  
 Ἄν πᾶν πᾶν καλόν καὶ σὺ μῦθος ἐξῆς.  
 Καὶ μάρτυρες πᾶντος βίβλοι, τοῖς μάρτυσι πᾶντος,  
 Οἷον καὶ καὶ πᾶντι πᾶντος πᾶντος καὶ καὶ.  
 Καὶ πᾶντι ἐκφράττει ἡ πᾶντος. Δυνάμεις εἰς  
 Κλέριον, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ σὺ καὶ πᾶντος πᾶντος.  
 Ἄντες ἐστὶν πᾶντι μάρτυρες ἴσως, σὺ πᾶντι ἀδελφοί.  
 Ἰοὶ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀμφοτέρων πᾶντος.  
 Ἄντες ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀδελφῶν οἱ οἱ πᾶντος βίβλοι.  
 Ὀνομα, Κλέριον, Κλέριον, Μῦθος, Ἄντες, ἀδελφοί.

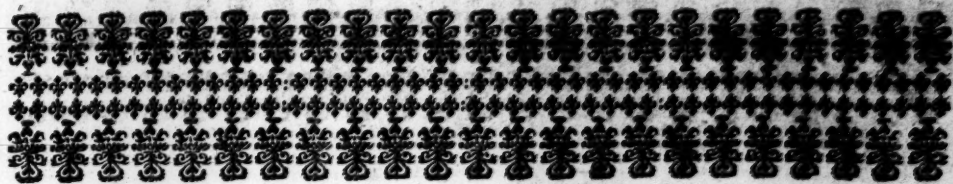
Thomas Dugard. A. M.  
Rector Burfordia.

Πρὸς τὸν αὐτόν.

[illegible]

Tho. Dugard.

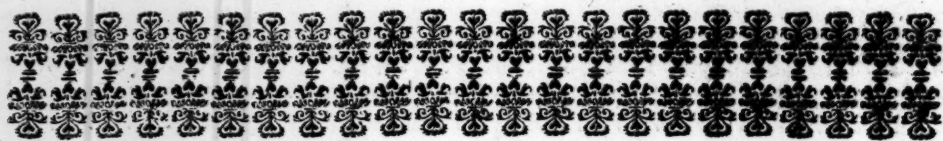




To the Reverend, the Author of the Book,  
C A L L E D,  
A G E N E R A L M A R T Y R O L O G Y, &c.

What? yet more Books? what Spirit now inspires  
Your Pen to write of Torments, Wars and Fires?  
What? Will that Pen that drew to th' Life before,  
Change stile, draw Death, and speak of Life no more?  
What blustering Boreas rais'd these stormy Winds,  
Which blew down Churches, shook the steddiefst Minds,  
Sure Hell's broke loose, and Devils in the flesh  
Are come out thence to try their wits afresh.  
Who ever heard *Troy's* story with his ears,  
And could restrain his eyes from shedding tears?  
I quake to hear what Saints in former days  
Ne're shook to feel, so they might win the Bays.  
They conquer'd all; Their patient disposition,  
O' recame both Pope, and *spanish* Inquisition.  
They conquer'd Kings, and won the Crown at last;  
Preft towards the Prize, forgetting what was past.  
The Story's sad; 'tis true, yet the Authors skill  
Hath made that pleasant which in't self is ill.  
Away long-winded Volumes, Times disease;  
This Author doth our phansies better please.  
Large Books are endless; but 'tis his design  
T'enclose great Volumes in his single Line.

Eli. Arn.



To the Reverend

MR. SAMUEL CLARKE,  
ON HIS  
MARTYROLOGY.

OH, Welcome home, Divine *Drake*, welcome home,  
First girdle of the World of *Martyrdom*.  
Who seeks for more, can no new thing descry.  
Y' have left no room for new discovery.  
These *Maps* and *Charts* you bring, nay every Letter  
Makes you the worlds great Patron, it your Debtor.  
To call't a Map doth but a Part imply,  
'Tis the whole Globe of *Martyrology*.  
Each Picture is a Map, each Figure breaths  
A little History of the Martyrs deaths.  
*Pisgah's* too far to see the *Holy Land*,  
Stand here on *Calvary*, and view't at hand.  
Let others brag at large, whose fancy 'tis  
To say a SAINT by a Periphrasis.  
Who doth this Book of yours with theirs confer,  
Finds *Saint* and *Martyr* in one Character.  
Though (some there be) that differ from the rest  
In judgment, and account short Writing best:  
Those I am sure will praise you when they eye  
Your skill in *Tachygraphiography*.  
Th' are many words make Volumes, do but look  
And you shall see 'tis matter makes a Book.  
All Volumes of this Subject here are set  
As't were contracted in an *Alphabet*.  
In Characters, for brevity, 'tis good  
That Vowels be by Cons'nants understood.  
The least is best if no essential be  
Wanting to make't a perfect Entitie.  
Man's but the World *Epitomiz'd*, but this  
*Compendium* of *Saints* and *Martyrs* is.  
Its commendation is it self, 'tis best  
Though't were without this my *Probatum est*.

J. C.





TO THE  
**CHRISTIAN READER**  
OF OUR  
**ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY.**

Christian Reader,



*History* (saith one) is of Noble, and necessary use, because by setting before us what hath been, it premonisheth us of what will be again: Sith the self same Fable is acted over again in the world, the persons only are changed that act it, Eccles. 1. 9. The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be: And that which is done, is that which shall be done, and there is no new thing under the Sun. This is most true, especially in regard of the state of the Church in this world, which hath been, and ever will be Militant, till, as a Bride, she be adorned, and prepared for her Husband. But in the meantime (as St. Paul said of himself) bonds, and afflictions abide her in every Age and Country: Rev. 21. 2. Acts 10. 22. For the shadow doth not more necessarily follow the Body, than tribulations the Gospel. That Scripture must be fulfilled: All that vwill live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution. 1 Tim. 3. 12. And indeed this ensuing History will make it good, wherein, as in a Perspective, you may look back upon all the Persecutions which the Church of England for almost One Thousand Five Hundred years together, and therein you shall see as their conflicts, so their conquests, as their tribulations, so their triumphs, whilst the Saints of God assured themselves, That  
a their



their light afflictions, vvhich vvhere but for a moment, vvrought for them a far more exceeding and eternal vveight of glory. Hence it is that many of them mentioned in this Book have gloried in their tribulations: Have counted it as a special favour that God had honored them so far as to suffer for his name sake: And instead of complaining of the number and weight of their afflictions, have rather wondered that they were not more nor greater. For as the reason why a Perspective Glass draws remote objects close to the Eye, is, because it multiplies the species: So they by Faith apprehending an infinite and everlasting glory, conceived any thing through which they looked upon it, to be but short, and vanishing.

Indeed sometimes we shall find some of these Worthies at the first encounter (through the violence of temptation, and humane frailty) giving back: But as the fire by an Antiperistasis gathers heat when it's compassed about with the cold air, so they (according to the nature of true grace) have gathered strength by their relapses. And no marvel though such weaknesses sometimes appear in the strongest Christians; For as the Stars shine but with a light borrowed from the Sun; so unless God shine secretly into our Hearts, and give light, and heat to our graces, they will neither appear for our comfort nor support in the dark hour of temptation. Yet as a workman hath neither lost nor lessened his skill, because he either wants Tools, and cannot work, or hath bad Tools, and therefore cannot work so well as if he had better: So neither doth it follow that grace is abated in the Soul, because it's not so able, vigorous, and active when God withdraws his exciting, and cooperating grace, as when he pleaseth to afford them.

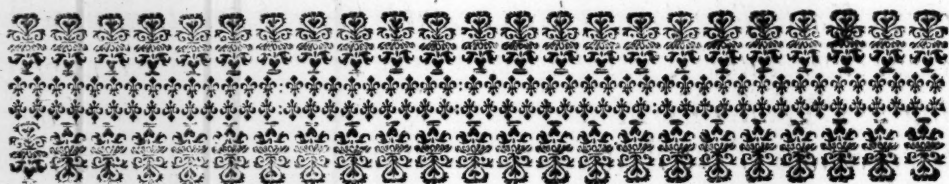
Some may think this labor of mine superfluous, because these things have been so largely, and fully handled by that faithful, and laborious servant of Christ, Master Fox in his Acts and Monuments. But such may be pleased to take notice, that Master Fox writes not only a Martyrology, but a general History of the Church; so that had I only gathered together what lieth dispersed, and scattered in those Three great Volumes of his concern.

concerning this subject, I suppose my pains would not have been accounted (at least by some) useles: But besides, I have turned over many other Authors, out of whom I have supplied what was wanting in *Master Fox*, and (I think) made this *History* of the *Persecutions* of the *English Church* more compleat than ever it was before. I considered also that in these times many want money to buy, and leasure to read larger *Volumes*, who yet may find both money, and time to purchase, and peruse so small a *Volume* as this is. I hope I can truly say, that my eye, and aim that hath not been at any mans prejudice, but at the advancement of Gods glory, and the publick good, which that I may attain, I desire thy prayers for him who is


Thy servant to promote thy

Faith, and comfort,

**SAMUEL CLARKE.**



*On our English Martyrs, and Martyrologers,  
Master FOX, and Master CLARKE.*

HEN *Israel* out of *Egypt* came,  
A *Pillar* of *Cloud* and of bright *Flame*  
Him guided in his doubtful way,  
As golden *Phœbus* guides the day;  
And when he hides his purer light,  
Silver *Cynthia* steeres the night:  
Doubts any well-disposed Man  
Which is the Road to *Canaan*?  
(As vile Seducers subtil Arts  
Sometimes make nutant pious Hearts:  
But never more than now with us  
Did vvalk the *Ignis fatuus*.)  
Lo here a *Pillar* for his Guide,  
A *Cloud* of *Martyrs*, that did ride  
In fiery *Chariots* to their Crown;  
These let his Eyes be fixt upon.  
Their flaming death he shall not die  
Perhaps, but one that's cold and dry,  
But their bright lives a Copy are  
Which must guide his, as did the Star  
The *Eastern Sages* to the Sun  
Of Righteousness. Lives that were spun  
So very fine, and choicely even,  
That they were near of Kin to Heaven.  
*Burning and shining lights* they were,  
As *Christ* said of his *Harbinger*.

Persons



Persons that deeply did abhorre  
The doctrine of the Scarlet Whore:  
And no less Protestant Latitude,  
Which holy Fervor doth exclude.  
The *narrow way* they nimbly trod,  
Their Zeal presented them to God,  
An *Holocaust* continually:  
Not then alone vwhen they did fry  
In furious flames, and so asserted  
Gods sacred Truth, by most deserted.

What would they say were they alive,  
To what we see? How would they grieve!  
O vwhat a *Martyrdom* vwould it be,  
All *England* in a *Flame* to see!  
First (which is sad) Political,  
Then (worse) Ecclesiastical.  
To see Faith failing, Love massacred,  
And violated all that's sacred.  
To see Gods Oracles not prized,  
His faithful Messengers despised.  
His Day made little of, his House  
A Stable, Baptism frivolous.  
His zealous People that oppose  
*Abaddons* Fury, counted Foes.  
Repentance folly, Prayer a bable,  
Nor better the Communion-table.  
To see *Brownism*, *Arminianism*,  
*Anabaptism*, *Socinianism*,  
Mechanick *Dawism*, *Blasphemies*,  
Ancient and new-sprung *Heresies*,  
With saddest *Schismes* that ever were,  
(Made without either Wit or fear.)  
And more than can be enumerated,  
(They are so many) *Tolerated*.  
To those *Heroick* Souls these things  
Would have been forer sufferings

Than

Than Dungeon, Fire and Faggot were:  
For them they chearfully could bear;  
But these so sad, so execrable  
They would have found *Intolerable*,  
( Just like a *wounded Spirit*;) for so  
Gods faithful ones now living do.  
Who had they many Centuries  
Of Lives, would gladly sacrifice  
Them all to th' flames, to do away  
Our darkness, and restore the day:  
And all *Revolting* do so hate,  
That for a Realm they'll not abate  
The least degree of vvhhat they know  
Gods Children ought to be and do.

Says any one, you need not tie  
Your self so short, take liberty.  
Those tedious duties vvhich you do,  
Save well you may, and be fav'd too.  
You are i'th' ancient way, 'tis true:  
But there is now found out a new,  
Which through a pleasant Plain doth lie;  
That other is too hard and high.

They answer, Poor seduced Wretch,  
How talkest thou? did not *Christ* preach  
*Strait is the Gate, narrow the Way?*  
Who *Talents* owe, *Mites* must not pay.  
Think'st thou we do too much? Alas,  
We do too little. Is our Pace  
Swifter than needs? It is too dull.  
Seem we too hot? We are too cool.  
Then they resolve henceforth to bear  
More fruit, and better every year.  
The rather because there's many a one  
That did bear fruit, but now bears none.  
And some bear bitter fruit. They were  
Once sweet wine, now sharp vinegar.

Once



Once fragrant Roses, that did feed  
The sense, now an unfavoury weed  
Once like pure honey, now like gall,  
Or like the Angels since their fall;  
Who do oppose with all their might  
What once they dearly loved, Light.  
Now gracious Souls, the more they see  
In other Men deficiency,  
The more they will themselves apply  
To duty, so to make supply.  
And the more active others are  
Against the light, the greater care  
They always to preserve it take.  
Great enmities, great courage make.  
Witness this *Cloud of Witnesses*.

Blessed be God that such as these,  
(Men with the height of grace endued,  
Stars of the greatest magnitude,)  
Were our dear Mothers Sons, and crown'd  
VVith their impressions *English* ground.

Blessed be God for that full Pen  
Of *Reverend Fox*, that Man of Men!  
A Man inspir'd by him that had  
An Inkhorn by his side, and made  
Marks in his Mourners Fronts, to free  
Them from approaching misery.  
A *Fox*, whom that Quaternion  
Of Beasts, described by *St. John*,  
So full of Eyes, rejoyc'd to see  
Added to their Society.

Blessed be God for this fair hand  
Of *Reverend Clarke*, that can command  
Many voluminous Books to come  
Into one neat *Compendium*.  
Our Martyrs here he doth present  
Epitomiz'd; what's his intent?

To



To pleasure such as cannot buy  
The greater *Martyrology*.  
And such as leisure want to read  
What's largely there historied.  
Also to inflame the Chill, and bring  
To steadfastness the wavering.  
Right Christian ends. O may he see  
Abundant fruit grow on this tree.

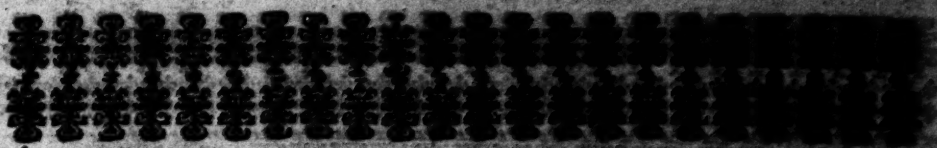
THO. DUGARD

M. A. R. B.

To

To

# A TABLE.



To the Reverend his much Honored Father,

Mr. SAMUEL CLARKE,

On his

ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY.

**B**Ut stay! what smell is this so near the Graves?  
 who's that, corruption from corrupting saves?  
 whose Tombs are these I see? whose Bones? whose Dags?  
 Are these the holy Reliques of the just?  
 Then sure some curious Chymist hath been here,  
 And Limbeck's holy Asbes: Oh, come near,  
 And taste this Quintessence; smell what Perfumes  
 Evaporate out of the Martyrs Tombs.  
 Oh, were't not pity then these Tombs should stand  
 Seal'd up, say not, A sacrilegious Hand  
 Hath violated these their Monuments,  
 How should they else have sent forth such sweet Scents?  
 Egyptian Embalmes might keep a while  
 Some Carcass from corrupting, and beguile  
 Poor hungry Worms of tasting of those Feasts,  
 To which Death had invited them as guests.  
 The Roman could bereave the Grave, and burn  
 His Friends, and put up th' asbes in an Urn:  
 And after many Generations past,  
 Could shew what did remain of first and last,  
 Methodically placed altogether,  
 His Grandfirs Grandfir, and his Fathers Father.  
 Poor shifts to save an Earthy tottering frame,  
 Which death, the Souls true Heirs, as right doth claim,  
 But yet corruption plays both for the Mother,  
 Takes Life from one, and doubles't to another.  
 Here such are found, whose Posthume lifes full bloom,  
 Phoenix-like springs from Asbes barren womb.  
 They antedate the Resurrection,  
 And live Two lives, where others live but one.



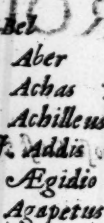
Your obedient Son,  
 JOHN CLARKE.

*Anla Pamb. Scit.*



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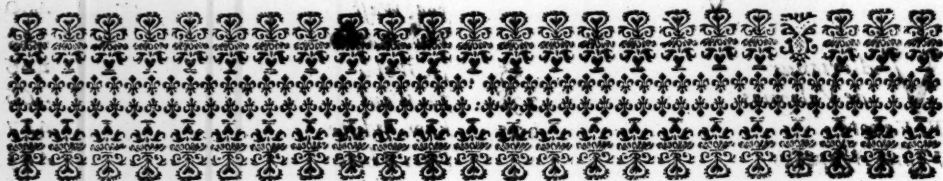
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<i>Chr. Shoomaker</i>			
<i>Nic. Sheterden</i>			
<i>Ro. Silkeb</i>			
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<i>wil. Slech</i>			
<i>Ro. Smith</i>			
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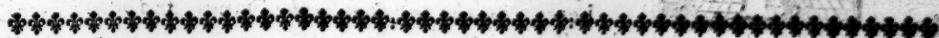
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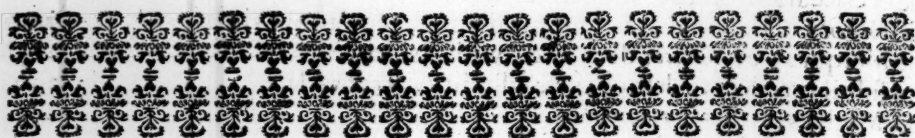
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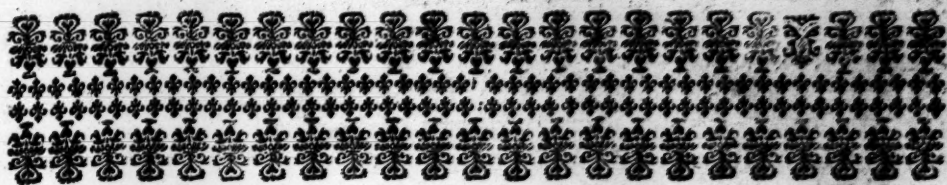
The Names of the **AUTHORS** whence this **MARTYROLOGY**  
was Collected.

**B**Ede's *History of the Church of England*.  
Dr. Usher's *Antiquitates Eccles. Britannicarum*.  
*Book of Martyrs*.  
Hollinshed's *Chronicles*.  
Speed's *Chronicles*.  
Daniel's *Chronicle*.  
Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle*.  
And divers old *Chronicles*.

## ERRATA's in the Martyrologies.

**P**Ag. 16. l. 5. r. *slain* for *slain*. and fol. 11. p. 99. l. 2. put in *not*. p. 149.  
l. 2. put in *only*. l. 54. r. *Silesia* for *Cilicia*. p. 152. l. 10. r. *Si-*  
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framing. p. 188. l. 8. 9. r. *in temptation*, and *disdains not*, &c. p. 240.  
l. 43. r. *Harquebushed*. p. 249. l. 41. r. *Parisians* for *Persians*. p. 387. l. 28.  
r. *accused* for *caused*. p. 401. l. 3. r. *Guids* for *kinds*. p. 419. l. 11. r. *Calice*  
for *Calce*. l. 18. r. *hear* for *have*.

The



The BOOKSELLER to the READER.

**C**ourteous Reader, I thought it not impertinent to give you an account of the works of this worthy Author Mr. Samuel Clarke, who hath been a very laborious Instrument of the publick good, not only by his painful preaching of the Gospel of Christ for many years, but likewise hath undeniably manifested the same to the world in Print.

Reader, my design is only to give you an account of the Books published by him, they so eminently declare his praise, that for me to endeavor it would be presumption, and a diminution of his fame, which are as follow, viz.

First, *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History in Two Parts, the First containing the Life of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with the Lives of the Ancient Fathers, Schoolmen, and Modern Divines; the Second, containing the Lives of Christian Emperors, Kings and Sovereign Princes, whereunto are added the Lives of inferior Christians, who have lived in these latter Centuries; and lastly, are subjoyned the Lives of many of those who by their virtue, and valour obtained the Sir-name of Great; divers of which give much light to sundry places of Scripture, especially to the Prophecies conferring the Four last Monarchies, with the Effigies of many of the most eminent of them in Copper Plates. Fol.*

2. *The General and English Martyrology, with divers Lives which were formerly Printed in several Volumes I have here compleated in One, he that shall please to add the above mentioned Book unto this will have a compendious Church History, with the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of most Hereticks, and Heresies which have disturbed her peace from the beginning of the world to this present Age, as also Gods various and providential dealings with the same.*

3. *A Mirrour, or Looking-glass both for Saints and Sinners, held forth in many Thousand Examples, wherein is represented, as Gods wonderful goodness and mercy to the one, so his severe judgments against the other, with a Geographical History of the world in Two Volumes in Fol.*

4. *A Description of the Seventeen Provinces, commonly called the Low-Countries, as also of the Rivers, Cities, Commodities, Strong Towns, Forts, and other things remarkable therein. price 1. s.*

5. *Medulla Theologiae, containing sundry cases of Conscience, Fol. with some other small Books.*

Your kind reception of these Four large Volumes, viz. *The Lives, Martyrology, and Examples in Two Volumes*, may be an encouragement to me to make publick more of this Authors works, which he hath already prepared for the Press; the world hath had some experience of a part of one of them, called *Medulla Theologiae, &c.* Alphabetically composed. That which is already Printed endeth in part of the Letter C; but since he hath compleated the whole Alphabet: And likewise he hath finished another Book, called, *Flores Theologiae*, both which elaborate pieces, he is very desirous might be made publick for the advancement of Religion, and Piety.

Yours W. B.







THE  
PERSECUTIONS  
Mentioned in the  
OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAP. I.

*The Persecution of the Church in the first Ages of the world, and so forward till the Incarnation of Christ.*



**T**He first Murtherer and Persecutor that was in the World, was the Devil; and the first method and means that he made use of to carry on this persecution, was by subtilty and large promises, That by eating the forbidden fruit, *they* Gen. 3. 11 *should have their eyes opened, and should be as gods, knowing good and evil:* And hereby he drew our first Parents from their obedience unto God, and cheated them of that blessed and happy estate which God had created them in. Since which time, his enmity against the Church and Children of God, hath never ceased; but by his *effectual working in the children of disobedience*, he hath provoked and stirred up one Man to be the Persecutor and Devourer of another. Thus he provoked *Cain* to rise up against, and to slay his brother *Abel*, and though the Scripture be silent how the wicked *Cainites*, the sons of Men, behaved themselves towards the Sons of God; yet doubtless they persecuted them with the Tongue, if they proceeded no further. Can we imagine that *Noah*, that was a *Preacher* Noah; *of Righteousness* in the midst of a perverse generation, could escape without hatred, scorn, and contempt? How many jeers (think ye) had he whilest he was building the Ark, as doting and dreaming (not of a dry Summer, but) of a wet Winter? The Earth in his days was said to be *corrupt, and filled with violence*; Gen. 6. 11 which violence certainly was principally exercised against the Church of God: And afterwards when the World was reduced to a very small number, yet then Satan had his cursed *Ham* that persecuted and mocked his own Father, the righteous *Noah*. Was not *Lot* also persecuted and scoffed at in *Sodom*? Gen. 19. 9. Was not *Isaac*, in *Abrahams* house, mocked by *Ismael*? Gen. 21. 9. Was not *Jacob* hated and persecuted by his Brother *Esaü*? Gen. 27. 41. *Joseph* by his Brethren? Gen. 37. 4. And that because he brought unto his Father their evil report, *Vers. 2.* Was he not afterwards cast into a Pit by them? *Vers. 24.* Then sold to the *Ismaelitisb* Merchants, who carried him into *Egypt*, *Vers. 28.* There he was persecuted by his whorish Mistress, Gen. 39. 17, 18. Cast into prison, where his feet were hurt with  
B Fetters,

*Fetters, and he was laid in Irons, Psal. 105. 18. But these were but small persecutions in comparison of those which followed.*

The Israelites  
in Egypt.

For when the children of *Israel* were multiplied in *Egypt*, *Paraoth*, King of *Egypt*, set over them Task-masters to afflict them with their burdens, *Exod. 1. 11.* thinking thereby to eat up, and wear them out; and when that prevailed not, they made them serve with rigor, and they made their lives bitter with the hard bondage in Mortar, and in Brick, and in all manner of service in the Field: All the service wherein they made them serve, was with rigor, *Vers. 13, 14.* And when this prevailed not, the King commanded the Midwives, *Siprah* and *Pnah*, when they did the office of a Midwife to the Hebrew women, and saw them upon the stools, if they were delivered of a Son, they should presently kill him, *Vers. 15, 16.* And when these Midwives neglected his commands, he charged all his people, that every Son that was born to the Israelites, should be cast into the River Nilus, *Vers. 22.*

Moses.

*Moses* was persecuted by *Pharaoh*, who sought to slay him; which caused him to flee into the Land of *Midian*, *Exod. 2. 15.* And when God sent him back into *Egypt*, to deliver his people from the house of bondage, how did *Pharaoh* persevere and proceed in his persecuting the People of God; he caused Straw to be taken from them, and yet the number of Bricks to be continued: And when the task was not done, the officers of the children of *Israel* were cruelly beaten, *Vers. 14.* And when God had brought out his people with an high hand from under the Tyranny of the *Egyptians*, and carried them into the Wilderness, how did Satan stir up some sons of *Belial* against *Moses* and *Aaron*, even *Korah* and his complices, Two hundred and fifty Princes, who cried out against them. *Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the Congregation are holy, even every one of them, Numb. 16. 3.*

Moses and Aaron.

Israel in the  
time of the  
Judges.

Afterwards, when the children of *Israel* were settled in the Land of *Canaan*, they were often grievously oppressed, and persecuted by the wicked and idolatrous Nations that lived amongst them, and round about them; as first by *Chushan-Rishathaim*, King of *Mesopotamia*, who tyrannised over them eight years, *Judg. 3. 8.* Then by *Eglon*, King of *Moab*, who slew many of them, and oppressed them eighteen years, *Vers. 13, 14.* Then by the *Philistines*, *Vers. 32.* Then were they mightily oppressed for twenty years together, by *Jabin*, King of *Canaan*, *Judg. 4. 2, 3.* Then did the *Midianites* persecute them with so much cruelty, that they were forced to forsake their Houses, and to make them Dens and Caves in the Mountains, to shelter and hide themselves from them, *Judg. 6. 2.* Yea, for seven years together, they tyrannised over them: And when the *Israelites* had sown their Land, they came up in such multitudes, that they destroyed the increase of the Earth, and left no sustenance for *Israel*, neither Sheep, nor Ox, nor Ass, *Vers. 3, 4.* Then the *Philistines* again, and the *Ammonites* lorded it over *Israel*, and brought them into great distress for eighteen years, *Judg. 10. 8.* After that, the *Philistines*, yet again, oppressed them for forty years together, *Judg. 13. 1.* And afterwards they slew of them, in two Battles, Thirty four thousand, and carried away the Ark of God also, *1 Sam. 4. 2, 10, 11.* Then in *Saul's* time, these *Philistines* so distressed *Israel*, that the people were forced to hide themselves in Caves and Thickets, and in Rocks, and in high places, and in Pits; yea, some of them forsook their own Countrey, and fled beyond Jordan, *1 Sam. 13. 6, 7.* and the Land was so enslaved to them, that there was not a Smith to be found in *Israel*, but the *Philistines* either slew them, or carried them away captives; so that the *Israelites* were fain to go to the *Philistines* to have their Instruments of Husbandry set in order, *Vers. 19, 20.*

Israel in Saul's  
time.

David.

How *David* was persecuted by *Saul*, all his time, the Scripture doth amply set forth, *1 Sam. 19. &c.* And was not he persecuted grievously, when cursed and railed upon by *Shimei*, *2 Sam. 16. 5, 6, &c.* The Church of God was afterward persecuted under *Rehoboam's* Reign, by *Shishak*, King of *Egypt*, who took *Jerusalem*, and carried away the Treasures of the Lords House, and of the Kings House into *Egypt*. And again under *Asa*, by *Baalsha*, King of *Israel*, *1 King. 15. 16.* And by *Zera*, the *Ethiopian*, who came against *Judah* with an Army of a

1 King. 14. 25,  
26.

Judah under  
the Kings.

Thousand



## Mentioned in the Old Testament.

*Thousand thousand Men, and Three hundred Chariots, 2 Chron. 14. 9.* Yea, so malicious and subtle is Satan, that he sometimes stirs up one Saint to persecute another, as he stirred up good King *Asa* to persecute the Prophet of the Lord, who dealt plainly and faithfully with him, by casting him into prison, *2 Chron. 16. 10.* *Asa persecutes a Prophet.*

*Micaiah* also was persecuted and imprisoned by *Ahab, 2 Chro. 18. 25, 26.* Under *Jehoshaphat*, the Church of God was persecuted by the *Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites*, whom God destroyed, by setting of them one against another, *2 Chro. 20. 23.* *Micaiah;*  
*Gods judgment on Persecutors.*

*Elijah* was persecuted by *Ahab* and *Jezebel, 1 King. 18. 19. & 19. 2.* The Prophets of the Lord were slain by *Jezebel, 1 King. 18. 13.* *Elisha* was hated and persecuted by *Jehoram, 2 King. 6. 31.* In the Reign of this *Jehoram*, the *Philistines* and *Arabians* mightily oppressed *Judah, 2 Chron. 21. 16, 17.* Then *Athaliah*, by murdering the Kings Seed, usurpeth the Kingdom, and tyranniseth five years, *2 Chro. 22. 10.* *Joash* in his Reign, slayeth *Zechariah* for reproving him, *2 Chro. 24. 21.* The Church was oppressed at the same time by the *Syrians, Vers. 23.* And afterwards also in the Reign of *Ahaz, 2 Chron. 28. 5.* And about the same time the King of *Israel* slew of *Judah* a hundred and twenty thousand, and carried away captive Two hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children. *Judah* was also oppressed by the *Edomites, Vers. 17.* And by the *Philistines, 2 Chro. 28. 8, Vers. 18.* And by the King of *Assyria, Vers. 20.* And *Chap. 32. 1.* *Manasse* persecuted the Prophet *Isaiah* for reproving him, and caused him to be sawn asunder with a Wooden Saw. *Josephus.* Afterwards *Pharaoh Necho* tyrannised over *Judah, 2 Chron. 36. 3.* And after him *Nebuchadnezzar, Vers. 6, &c.* And so the sins of *Judah* being come to the full, the good Figs were carried away captive to *Babylon*, and the Land afterwards was wholly laid waste and destroyed; which being foretold by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, the wicked *Jews* first persecuted him with the Tongue, *Jere. 18. 18.* Then was he smitten, and put into the Stocks, *Jere. 20. 2.* Then was he in danger of death by their Priests, and false Prophets, *Jere. 26.* Then was he imprisoned by *Zedechiah, Jere. 32. 2, 3.* Then he is beaten, and again put into prison, *Jere. 37. 15.* And after that cast into a Dungeon, where he stuck in the mire, *Jere. 38. 6.* Then by the wicked Captains he was carried into *Egypt, Jere. 43. 6, 7.* What grievous afflictions the Church and People of God endured about this time, see it set forth to the life in the Book of the *Lamentations.* *Zechariah.*  
*Syrians.*  
*Isaiah.*  
*Jere. 24. 1, &c.*  
*Jeremiah.*

In the time of the Captivity, the three Children were persecuted by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and thrown into the Fiery Furnace, for refusing to worship his Golden Image, *Dan. 3. 23.* *Daniel* was persecuted by *Darius* his Courtiers; and cast into the Lions Den, *Dan. 6. 16.* *Mordecai* was hated and persecuted by *Haman*, and a Decree procured for the murdering of all the People of God in one day, *Esth. 3. 13.* *The three Children.*  
*Daniel.*  
*Mordecai.*

After the return of the *Jews* from captivity, the People of the Land labored to weaken the hands of the Men of *Judah*, and troubled them in the building of the Temple, and hired Counsellors against them, to accuse them to *Cyrus* and *Ahasuerus*: They wrote also against them to *Artaxerxes*, that they were a rebellious people; and that if they should be suffered to build *Jerusalem*, they would neither pay toll, tribute, nor custome to the King, *Ezra 4. 4, &c.* And having by this malicious suggestion gotten authority, they came upon the poor People of God, and enforced them to give over their work. Yea, and afterwards, when by the command of the Lord; the *Jews* had again set upon the building, *Tatnai* and *Sbether-Bosnai* came up to discourage and discharge them from it; and when this prevailed not, they wrote against them to King *Darius*. Again, when *Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem*, and began to build the Wall of the City, how were they scorned and jeered by *Sanballat, Tobiah, and Gesbem*? And when the work prospered in their hands, and jeers would not prevail to stop it, they then conspired to fight against *Jerusalem*, and so to hinder it; but neither that

B 2

prevailing, *Israel after the Captivity.*  
*Neh. 2. 10, & 4. 2, 3, &c.*



prevailing, by reason of the prudent carriage of *Nehemiah*, they then sought to intrap him, and by destroying him, to hinder the work, *Nehe.* 6. 1. Then they accused the people of God of treason and rebellion, *ver.* 6. &c. Then they hired a false Prophet to terrifie *Nehemiah*, *ver.* 10. 12. Then they corrupted, and held intelligence with some of the Nobles of *Judah* to betray him; notwithstanding all which designs, God preserveth *Nehemiah*, and the building of *Jerusalem* is finished. And thus far the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament have given us a certain Register of the Persecutions, Martyrdoms and sufferings of the Church and Children of God for the space of about three thousand five hundred years; from the creation of the world, to the Restauration of the *Jewish* Polity under *Nehemiah*.

## C H A P. II.

*The Persecution of the Church from Nehemiah to Antiochus his time.*

**A**fter the death of *Eliashib* the High-Priest, *Judas* his Son succeeded, and after him *John* his Son, which *John* had a Brother called *Jesus*, who was much favoured by *Bagoses*, General of *Artaxerxes*, who promised him the Priesthood, which made him take occasion to quarrel with his Brother *John*, who thereby was so much provoked against him that he slew him in the Temple; *Bagoses* being informed hereof, came with his Army to *Jerusalem*, and kept the *Jews* in bondage seven years, making them tributaries, so that before they could offer their daily sacrifice, they were compelled to pay for every Lamb, fifty Drachmes. After the death of *John*, *Jaddus* his Son succeeded in the Priesthood, in whose time *Alexander* the Great passed over the *Hellepont*, and having overcome the Lieutenant of *Darius*, he conquered many Countries in *Asia minor*, intending suddenly to come upon *Jerusalem*. *Jaddus* being informed of his intention, was sore afraid; he therefore offered sacrifice, and commanded the people to make their prayers unto God, for direction and protection in this common danger: and when he heard that *Alexander* approached, he caused the Priests and people to put on white garments, and himself, attired in his Priestly robes, went before them; when *Alexander* espied them, he himself marched before the rest of his company, and coming to the High-Priest, he fell down on his face before him: then did all the *Jews* circle him in round about, and with one voice saluted him. *Alexander's* chief Commanders were wonderfully astonished at this deportment of the King, and thought he was out of his wits: and *Parmenio* stepping to him, asked him what he meant thus to adore the High-Priest of the *Jews*, when as all other men adored him; *Alexander* answered, I do not adore him, but that God whom the High-Priest worshippeth, for in my sleep I saw him in such an habit when I was in *Macedonia*, consulting with my self how I might conquer *Asia*; and he bad me make no delay, assuring me that he would both guide me and my Army, and would deliver the Empire of the *Persians* into my hands: Then gave he the High-Priest his hand, and went with him to the City, and coming to the Temple, he offered sacrifice according to the direction of the High-Priest; then did *Jaddus* shew him *Daniels* Prophecy, wherein his Victories over the *Persians*, and his Monarchy were foretold, which much rejoiced *Alexander*: then did he command the *Jews* to ask some favours at his hands; the High-Priest requested only that they might live after the Ordinances of their fore-fathers, and that every seventh year they might be exempted from taxes and tributes, which he fully granted: they besought him likewise that the *Jews* which were in *Media* and *Babylon*, might be permitted to live after their own Laws, which he willingly promised, and so departed: this was about the year of the World 3632. and before Christs Nativity 332.

The *Jews*  
persecuted by  
*Bagoses*.

Prayers in  
times of dan-  
ger.

After

After the death of *Alexander*, his Kingdom was divided amongst his Captains, amongst whom *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus* held *Egypt*, who falling out with *Antigonus* that held *Asia minor*, there grew great Wars between them, wherein *Ptolemy* won from him all *Syria*, and going to *Jerusalem* on a Sabbath day under pretence to offer sacrifice, the *Jews* suspecting nothing, he surprized the City, carrying away many of the *Jews* into captivity into *Egypt*: but after his death, his Son *Ptolemy Philadelphus* at his own cost redeemed an hundred and twenty thousand of them paying twelve Crowns a piece for each of them, and sent them back into their own Country: He sent also by them fifty talents of gold for the temple, and obtained of *Eleazer* the High-Priest, the Law of the *Jews* and 72 Interpreters (out of every Tribe some) who translated it into Greek in 72 days: and having finished their work, *Ptolemy* returned them with great rewards for themselves, and with many rich presents to *Eleazer*.

*Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* being at war each against other, the *Jews* suffered much by them, *Mach. 1.*

Collected out of *Josephus*.

### C H A P. III.

*The Persecution of the Church of God under Antiochus Epiphanes, before the Nativity of Christ about 168 years.*

Afterwards the *Jews* being divided amongst themselves, one part of them went to *Antiochus*, telling him that their purpose was to forsake the Religion and Ordinances of their forefathers, and to follow that of the Kings, and to live after the manner of the Greeks, entreating him to license them to live in *Jerusalem*; which *Antiochus* assenting to, they went to *Jerusalem*, where they behaved themselves very wickedly, but finding opposition from the other party of the *Jews*, they sent for *Antiochus*, who led his Army against *Jerusalem*, and encamped before it, and by his faction within, had the gates opened, and the City betrayed to him, about the year of the World 3796. and before the Nativity of Christ 168.

Being entred *Jerusalem* he slew many of the faithful *Jews*, and having taken great spoils, he returned back to *Antioch*.

Two years after he came to *Jerusalem* again, and having seen what quantity of gold was in the Temple, and what a huge number of Presents and precious Ornaments were in the same, he was so overcome with covetousness, that he violated all conventions and conditions formerly made, equally raging against his own and the adverse party, sparing neither friend nor foe: then he spoiled the Temple, and carried away the Vessels dedicated unto God, the golden Table, the golden Candlestick, the Censers, &c. leaving nothing behind him of any value; yea, he inhibited the godly *Jews* from offering their usual and daily sacrifices to God, and having spoiled the whole City, he slew many of the Inhabitants, and carried the rest away into Captivity, with their Wives and Children, to the number of ten thousand: He also burned the fairest buildings of the City, and brake down the Walls, and raised a Fortrefs in the lower City, and having inclosed it with high Walls, he planted a Garrison of *Macedonians* therein, with whom remained the scum of the Apostate *Jews*. He also caused an Altar to be erected in the Temple, on which he commanded Swine to be offered in Sacrifice, contrary to the Law.

He constrained the *Jews* to forsake God, and adore those Idols which himself he worshipped; he forbad them to circumcise their Children and appointed Overseers to constrain them to fulfil his Commandments, so that many for fear of punishment



# The Persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes.

Christian courage.

The Scriptures burnt.

Matthias his zeal.

A noble Resolution.

Zeal.

The Jews murdered, refusing to fight on the Sabbath day.

Matthias his sickness.

His counsel to his Sons.

nishment conformed themselves to his will; But such as were of upright hearts, and valiant minds, little respected his menaces: whereupon they were beaten, and exposed to cruel punishment many days together, in the midst of which they yielded up the ghost; for after they were whipt, and maimed in their bodies, they were tortured and crucified; the women were strangled, and the circumcised children were hung up about the necks of their Parents; and where any Books of the sacred Scriptures were found, they defaced, and burnt them, and such with whom they were found, were put to most cruel deaths.

At this time there dwelt at *Modin* (a Village of *Jury*) one whose name was *Matthias*, a Priest of the rank of *Joarib*, that had five Sons, *John* called *Gaddis*, *Simon* called *Matthes*, *Judas* called *Maccabeus*, *Eleazer* called *Aaron*, and *Jonathan* called *Apphas*. This *Matthias* often complained to his Sons of the miserable state of their Countrey, of the sacking of their City, the profanation of the Temple, and the miseries of the people, telling them, that it was better for them to die for the Law, than to live in Ignominy. When therefore the Kings Commissaries came unto *Modin*, and commanded the people to sacrifice according to the Kings Edict; they first applied themselves to *Matthias*, as to the most Honourable person amongst them, requiring him first to offer sacrifice, that others might follow his example, promising that the King would much honour him for it. *Matthias* answered that he would by no means commit that Idolatry, assuring them, that though all other Nations, either for love or fear, should obey the Edicts of *Antiochus*, yet that he, nor his children could be induced to forsake the Religion of their fathers. As soon as he had thus spoken, a certain Jew stepped forth to offer sacrifice according to the command of the King, where-with *Matthias*, inflamed with zeal, was so displeased, that he and his Sons fell upon him, and with their Swords hewed him to pieces; he also slew *Apelles* the Kings Captain, and some other Souldiers, who would have withstood him. Then he overthrew the Altar, and with a loud voice, he said, *If any one be affected to the Laws of their Fathers, and to the service of God, let him follow me?* and so he retired into the deserts with his Sons; the like did the rest, with their wives and children, hiding themselves in caves and dens. The Kings Captains having intelligence hereof, with the Garrison that was in the Citadel at *Jerusalem*, they pursued them into the desert, and having overtaken them, they first endeavoured by persuasions to draw them to Idolatry; but the Jews absolutely refusing to yield to their wicked wills, resolved rather to die than to submit to them, and to commit such impiety; whereupon these bloody persecutors assailed them on the Sabbath day, and burned them in their caves, who neither resisted their enemies, nor closed up the mouths of their caves, supposing it to be a violation of the Sabbath, if they should fight or work upon that day; some thousands of men, women and children were there stifled; yet divers escaped, who joyned themselves with *Matthias*, and chose him for their Captain. Then did he inform them, that they ought to fight on the Sabbath day, if they were assailed by their enemies, and prevailed with them not to be guilty of their own death, by their neglect to defend themselves; and so having assembled a sufficient number, he destroyed the Altars, and slew those that had forsaken their Religion: commanding others to circumcise their children, and driving those from every place, whom *Antiochus* had set to see his Laws executed. But when he had thus governed one year, he fell sick, and perceiving his end to approach, he called his Sons, and exhorted them to follow his steps in maintaining the Law of God, and fighting for their Countrey, telling them, that then they should have God for their Assister, who will not forsake those that love and fear him, but taking pleasure in their virtues, will once more grant them favour to recover their former peace and liberty; and saith he, *God will establish you in the possession of your ancient Laws; and though our bodies be mortal, and subject unto death, yet the memory of our virtuous actions is enfranchised by immortality; make therefore no difficulty to hazard your lives in so good a cause: But above all things I exhort you unto concord,*



cord, and in whatsoever any one of you shall be found more naturally apt and fitted than another, let him prosecute the same without any contradiction from the rest. I charge you to obey your Brother Simon (who is a politick and valiant Man) in whatsoever he shall counsel you; but make Judas your Captain, who is both valiant and strong, for he shall revenge the injuries and outrages which have been done to our Nation, and shall put our Enemies to flight: Second him therefore with Men of valor, and such as fear God, and by this means you shall be sure to prevail.

His death.

CHAP. IV.

The Life of Judas Maccabeus.

After Matthias his death, Judas took upon him the Government of the Wars; and by the help of his Brethren, and other Jews, he drave the Enemies out of the Countrey, purging the Land of all the uncleanness that had been brought into it. But when Apollonius, who was Antiochus his General in Samaria, heard of it, he gathered his Army together, and invaded Judæa, against whom Maccabeus went forth, and after a terrible Battle, overthrew him, slew Apollonius, and many of his Soldiers; took his Camp, and therein a very rich booty; and Judas gat Apollonius his Sword for his part in the spoil. Then Seron Governor of Calosyria gathered all his Forces together, and hired many Apostate Jews to joyn with him, and so marched against Judas, as far as Bethoron: Judas also advanced towards him, but when he perceived that his Soldiers were unwilling to fight, by reason of the inequality of their numbers; and for that, they had eaten no Meat, but had fasted for a long time, he encouraged them, saying, That the means to obtain the victory, consisted not in the greatness of their number, but in their devotion towards God; whereof they had evident examples in their Forefathers, who with a small number, had often defeated many thousands of their enemies, &c. Hereby he so prevailed with his Soldiers, that, dreadful of the number of their enemies, they all together ran upon Seron, and after a cruel fight, routed his Army, and slew him, together with eight hundred of the Syrians; the rest escaped by flight.

Apollonius slain.

Judas encouraged his Soldiers.

Seron slain.

Antiochus hearing of these things, was highly displeased, and therefore he assembled all his Forces, and hired many mercenaries; but having mustered his Army, he found that his treasure failed him to pay so great a multitude; whereupon he resolved, first to go into Persia, to gather up his tributes; and in the mean time, he made Lyfias his Vicegerent, a Man of great esteem with him, and one that governed all the Countreys from Euphrates, to the Borders of Egypt: With him he also left some Elephants, and part of his Army, commanding him expressly, That when he had conquered Judæa, he should make the Inhabitants thereof his slaves, and sell them to those that would give most for them, and that he should destroy Jerusalem, and utterly abolish that race. Lyfias having received this commandment, sent Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, (Men of great authority about the King) with an Army of Forty thousand Foot, and Seven thousand Horsemen, to invade Jury; who marching as far as the City Emmaus, encamped in the Field, and increased their Army with many Syrians, and Apostate Jews. There came also divers Merchants a long with them to buy the prisoners that should be taken, bringing gieves along with them to manacle the prisoners withal. Judas having viewed the Camp, and number of his Enemies, encouraged his Soldiers, exhorting them to repose their confidence and hope of Victory in God. He also appointed a Fast, that they might humble themselves, and call upon God, by Supplications and Prayers, for success in such an extream danger. Then he told them, that God would have compassion upon them, and give them strength to stand against their Enemies, and to put them to shame.

Antiochus his cruel command.

Fasting and Prayer before the Battle.

The

His Exhorta-  
tion to his  
Army.

The next day he Marshall'd his Army by thousands, and by hundreds, and sent away all that were newly married, or that had lately bought possessions, according to the Law. And then he said unto the rest, *My Countrey-men and Companions, we never yet had any occasion more necessary, wherein we ought to express our courages, and contemn dangers, then at this present: For now, if you fight valiantly, you may recover your Liberties, which ought the more to be prized, because thereby you may win opportunity to serve God, and so live an happy life; but if ye prove cowards in the fight, you shall be branded with perpetual infamy, and hazard the utter extirpation of our Nation. Think therefore, that if you fight not, you must die; and on the contrary, assure your selves, that in fighting for your Religion, Laws, and Liberty, you shall obtain immortal glory: Be ready therefore, that to morrow morning you may bid your Enemies battle.* Immediately news was brought him, that *Gorgias* with Five thousand Foot, and a thousand Horsemen, was sent forth under the conduct of some Fugitives, by night to fall upon him. Whereupon he resolv'd the same night to break into the Enemies Army whilst they were thus divided. Having therefore refresh'd himself and Army, leaving many Fires in his Camp thereby to deceive the Enemy, he march'd all night to seek them out. *Gorgias* finding that the Jews had forsaken their Camp, conceited, that for fear they were fled into the Mountains, and therefore he resolv'd to search them out diligently. But in the morning, *Judas* accompanied only with Three thousand Men, and those but ill armed, because of their poverty, shew'd himself to the Enemies that were at *Emmaus*, and having view'd their Warlike Discipline, and mighty number, and how well they were incamp'd; he encouraged his followers to fight valiantly, telling them, That God would deliver their Enemies into their hands, and thereupon causing his Trumpets to sound, he rush'd in upon his Enemies with such fury and resolution, as altogether affrighted and discourag'd them; and having slain such as resist'd, he pursu'd the rest as far as the Plains of *Idumea*, &c. In this fight about Three thousand of the Enemies were slain; yet would he not suffer his Soldiers to take the spoil, telling them, That as yet they were to fight with *Gorgias* and his Army; but so soon as they had (through Gods mercy) with the like valor beaten them, they might then securely enrich themselves by the prey of all their Enemies. *Gorgias*, with his Army, being upon an Hill, and discovering the flight of their Friends, and the Jews readiness to give them Battle, were so affrighted, that they all fled; whereupon *Judas* with his Men return'd to gather the pillage, and having found great store of Gold, Silver, Scarlet, and Purple, he return'd to his dwelling with joy, praising God for their happy success.

A wonderful  
Victory.

*Gorgias* flies.

Thanksgiving.

Prayer.

*Lysias* beaten.

The Temple  
cleans'd.

*Lysias* hearing of this overthrow was much enrag'd, and presently assembled another Army of near sixty thousand chosen foot, and five thousand Horsemen, wherewith he went to invade *Judea* and encamp'd in *Bethsura*: *Judas* hearing of it, came forth against him with ten thousand men, and seeing the number of his enemies so far to exceed his, he earnestly cry'd unto God, that it would please him to fight with, and for him; and then charg'd the vanguard of the enemy with so great force, that he discomfited, and slew about five thousand of them. *Lysias* perceiving hereby the resolution of the Jews, who would rather die than lose their liberty, he return'd with the rest of his Army unto *Antioch*, where he continued, and entertain'd many mercenaries, to make a greater Army for the conquest of the Jews: In the mean time *Judas* assembled the people, and told them, that having obtained so many victories, through the mercy of God, they ought now to go up to *Jerusalem*, and purify the Temple that was desolate, and to offer unto God the sacrifices that were ordained by the Law. Then going up with a great multitude of people, he found the Temple desolate, the gates burn'd, and grass growing within the same: grieving therefore at so sad a spectacle, he began to weep, and all the people that were with him, and having chosen out some of his best Souldiers, he commanded them to force the Garrisons which were in the fortresses, whilst himself purg'd the Temple. Then he caus'd to be made a Table, a Candlestick, and Altar for incense, all of gold; he put up a rail



rail also, and set Gates to the Temple: and having thrown down the Altar of burnt-offerings that was profaned by Antiochus, he built a new one of stones neither hewed nor hammered: Then on the Twenty fifth of Chassén [September] were lights set in the Candlestick, perfumes laid upon the Altar, loaves set upon the Table, and sacrifices offered upon the new Altar, which was the same day three years wherein before the sacred service was changed into profane and hateful impiety. Then did Judas with his Country-men celebrate a Feast unto the Lord for eight days, praising God with Hymns and Psalms: He enclosed the City also with a Wall, and built high Towers thereon, in which he planted Garisons against the incursions of the enemies. He fortified also the City of Bethsara, that it might serve as a Fort against the enemy.

But the Nations round about them, being greatly displeased with this prosperity of the Jews, oppressed divers whom they surpris'd by Ambushes and Treachery; whereupon Judas warred against them to hinder their incursions: He slew many of the Idumeans, and brought away a great prey out of their Country, and shut up the Sons of Baan their Prince, who lay in wait for the Jews, and after a siege, he overcame them, setting fire on their Towers, and killing all the men that were therein. After this he made War upon the Ammonites, who had a mighty Army under the conduct of Timotheus: with these he fought and overcame them, and took their City of Jazor, and burned it, leading their Wives and Children into captivity, and so returned into Judea: But the neighbouring Nations hearing of his departure, assembled themselves together against the Jews in Galaad, who retiring into the Fort of Dathema, sent to Judas, requesting him to come and relieve them: And whilest he was reading their Letters, other Messengers came out of Galile, informing him that they were assaulted by the Inhabitants of Ptolemais; Tyre, and Sydon, and others thereabouts.

Hereupon Judas commanded his Brother Simon to take three thousand chosen men, and with them to relieve those Jews that were assailed in Galile: And himself with his Brother Jonathan, accompanied with eight thousand fighting men, marched into Galaad, leaving the rest of his Forces under two other Captains, whom he commanded to have a watchful eye over Judea, yet not to joyn Battel with any enemy till his return. Simon in Galile fought against his enemies, discomfited them, pursued them to the Gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand; and having gathered their spoils, he released many Jews that were Prisoners, restored their goods to them, and so returned home. But Judas having passed Jordan, and marched three days journey, he met the Nabathians; who told him that his Brethren were besieged in their Castles and Cities, and some of them were already brought into great extremity and penury: Hereupon he first assailed the Inhabitants of Bozra, took their City, set it on fire, and killed all the men that were able to bear arms: Then marching all night, he came early in the morning to the Castle, where the Jews were besieged by Timothies Army. The enemies were just then raising their Ladders to scale the Walls, and applying their Engins for battery: Then did he encourage his men to fight valiantly for their Brethren that were in danger, and causing his Trumpets to sound, he distributed his Forces into three Battalions, wherewith he assaulted the enemies, but they, hearing that it was Maccabæus, were struck with so great a fear, that immediately they fled: Judas with his men pursuing them, slew about eight thousand, and then marching to Malla [a City of the enemies] he surpris'd it, slew all the men therein, and burnt it with fire: After which he destroyed Chassomo, Bosor, and divers other places.

Shortly after Timothey leavied another great Army, hired many of the Syrians, and drew forth all his Allies to his assistance; with these he marched to Jordan, exhorting them valiantly to oppose the Jews, and to hinder their passage over the River, telling them that if the Jews gat over, they were sure to be put to the worst: Judas hearing hereof, marched hastily against his enemies, and having

The Lord is God

The Edomites overcome

The Ammonites overcome

Simon victorious in Galilee

Judas takes Bozra

Overcome Timothey

passed



Timothy again  
overcome.

passed the River, he presently set upon them, killing some, and grievously affrighting the rest, who casting away their arms, immediately fled; some of them to save themselves fled into a Temple called *Carnain*, but *Judas* having taken the City and Temple, slew them and burnt the same. Then did he lead away with him all the *Jews* that lived in *Galaad*, together with their Wives, Children and substance, and brought them into *Judea*.

Ephron de-  
stroyed.

When he drew near to the Town of *Ephron*, they had Baricadoed up his way that he could not pass: Then did he send Ambassadors to them, to desire them to open his passage; which when they refused, he besieged the City, took it by assault, burned it down, and slew all the men that were therein. After having passed over *Jordan*, they came into *Judea* with great joy and gladness, praising God, and offering sacrifices of thanksgiving to him, for the safe return of his Army: For that in all those Battels and encounters, he had not lost one Jew.

Thanksgiving  
for victory.  
A miracle of  
mercy.

Vain glory  
punished.

But whilest *Judas* and *Simon* were gone upon these expeditions, the two Captains which he had left to command the Garisons of *Judea*, being desirous to obtain the reputation of valiant men, took their forces, and went towards *Jamnia*, against whom *Gorgias*, Governour of that place, issued out, and slew two thousand of them; the rest fled to *Judea*.

The Idumeans  
overcome.

Afterwards *Judas* and his Brethren warred against the *Idumeans*, took divers of their Cities, and with a great booty returned home with great joy. *Antiochus* in the mean time being in *Persia*, heard of a wealthy City called *Elymais*, in which was a rich Temple of *Diana*, &c. Thither he went, and besieged it, but the Inhabitants sallied out, and with great loss drave him from thence, whereupon he returned to *Babylon*: There also news was brought unto him of the overthrow of his Captains in *Judea*, and that the *Jews* were grown strong, which together with his former defeat, so wrought upon him, that he fell sick, and finding no hope of recovery, he called his most familiar Friends to him, and told them that his sickness was violent and desperate, and that he was plagued with this grievous affliction, so that he had tormented the people of the *Jews*, destroyed their Temple, committed horrible Sacriledg, and contemned the reverence of God: But now he vowed, that if it would please the Lord to restore him, he would become a Jew, and do many great things for the people of God: As also that he would go through all the known world to declare the power of God. Notwithstanding which, the Lord knowing his Hypocrisie continued to plague him after a terrible manner: He had a remediless pain in his Bowels, and intollerable torments in all his inward parts: His Body bred abundance of Worms, which continually crawled out of the same: yea, he so rotted above ground, that by reason of the intollerable stink, no man could endure to come near him, neither could he himself indure the same. And thus this vile Person, who had formerly in a proud and insolent manner protested that he would make *Jerusalem* a common burying place, and the streets thereof to run with the Blood of Gods people; by Gods just judgment ended his life in extream misery: But before his death, he called *Philip* one of his chief Captains, and made him governour of his kingdom, requiring him to be very careful of his Son *Antiochus*.

Antiochus his  
horrible death.

Gods judg-  
ment on Per-  
secutors.

Antiochus Eu-  
pator.

Then was *Antiochus* proclaimed King, and surnamed *Eupator*: About which time the Garisons, and Apostates that were in the Fortres at *Jerusalem*, did much mischief to the *Jews*: For setting unawares upon those that came to the Temple to worship, and to offer their sacrifices, they slew them: Hereupon *Judas* resolved to cut off these Garisons, and to that end he assembled all the people, and besieged them, and having made certain Engines, and raised divers Rams, he earnestly prosecuted the Siege: But divers of those Apostates, escaping by night, went to *Antiochus*, desiring him not to suffer them to perish, who for his Fathers sake, had forsaken their Religion, &c. Then did *Antiochus* send for his Captains, commanding them to raise a mighty Army, which accordingly they did, gathering together a hundred thousand Footmen, and twenty thousand Horsemen,

## The Life of Judas Maccabæus.

men, and thirty two Elephants; with these Forces he departed out of *Antioch*, and made *Lysias* General of his Army: Then did he besiege *Bethsura*, a strong City, but the Inhabitants valiantly resisted him, and sallying out, burned his Engines which he had prepared for Battery. The King continuing the Siege for a long time, *Judas* hearing of it, raised his Siege from before the Castle of *Jerusalem*, and marched towards *Antiochus* his Army, and when he came near to the enemies Camp, he lodged his Army in certain streights, called *Beth-zacharia*.

*Bethsura* besieged.

The King hearing thereof, raised his Siege from *Bethsura*, and marched towards the streight where *Judas* with his Army was; The King first caused his Elephants to march thorow the streight: About each Elephant were a thousand Footmen, and a hundred Horsemen for his guard, each Elephant carried a Tower on his back, furnished with Archers: The rest of his Forces he caused to march two ways by the mountains, commanding them with huge shouts and cries to assail their enemies, and to uncover their golden and brazen bucklers, that the reflection thereof might dazle the eyes of the *Jews*; yet was not *Judas* at all amated, but entertained the Army with a noble courage, slaying about six hundred of the forlorn hope: But *Eleazer*, *Judas* Brother, seeing a huge Elephant armed with royal trappings, supposing that the King was upon him, he ran against him with a noble courage, and having slain divers that were about the Elephant, he thrust his sword into the belly of the Beast, so that the Elephant falling upon him, slew him with his weight.

*Eleazer* slew, and is slain by an Elephant.

*Judas* seeing the great strength of his enemies, retired back to *Jerusalem*; and *Antiochus* sent back part of his Army against *Bethsura*, and with the rest he marched on towards *Jerusalem*. The *Bethsurites* despairing of relief, and their provisions failing them, surrendered their City, having the Kings Oath that no outrage should be offered to them, yet he thrust them out of the City and placed a Garison in it. He spent also a long time in besieging the Temple at *Jerusalem*, they within defending it gallantly. For against every Engine that the King erected, they set up a contrary Engine: Their only want was of Victuals, because (it being the seventh year) the Land had not been tilled; whereupon divers of them fled away secretly, so that very few remained for the defence of the Temple. But behold the good providence of God! just then came tidings to *Antiochus*, that *Philip* coming out of *Persia*, intended to make himself Lord and Master of the Country, whereupon *Antiochus* concluded to give over the Siege and to march against *Philip*: But first he sent an Herald to *Judas*, promising them peace, and liberty to live according to their Religion, which conditions *Judas* accepting of, took an Oath from the King for performance, and so surrendered up the Temple. Whereupon *Antiochus* entred the same, and seeing it so impregnable a place, contrary to his Oath he commanded his Army to level the Wall that environed it, and then he returned to *Antioch*, leading away with him *Onias*, surnamed *Menelaus*, the High-Priest, whom by the counsel of *Lysias*, he put to death, because he had advised his Father to enforce the *Jews* to forsake their Religion: A just reward for so wicked a Fact.

*Bethsura* surrendered.

The Temple besieged.

A special providence.

Perfidiousness.

A just judgment.

*Antiochus* finding that *Philip* had already conquered much of his Country, went strait against him, fought with him, and slew him.

Presently after *Demetrius* the Son of *Seleucus* took possession of *Tripolis* in *Syria*, and setting the Diadem upon his own Head, he leavied an Army, and invaded the Kingdom of *Antiochus*. The people generally submitted themselves to him, and laying hold upon *Antiochus* and *Lysias*, they brought them both to *Demetrius*, who caused them to be slain.

*Antiochus* slain by *Demetrius*.

To this new King, divers *Jews* (banished for their impiety) together with *Aleimus* their High-Priest, resorted, accusing their Nation, and in particular *Judas* and his Brethren for killing their Friends, and banishing such as were Friends to *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* was much moved with these reports, and therefore he sent a great Army under *Bacchides*, a valiant and experienced Captain,

The wickedness of Apostates.

*Bacchides* sent against *Judas*.



tain, with commission to kill Judas and his Confederates. *Bacchides* with his Army marched into *Judea*, sending an Herald to Judas and his Brethren, pretending peace, when he intended to surprize them by subtilty and treachery. But Judas seeing that he came with so great an Army, found out his drift, and would not trust him : yet many of the people were deceived with his Proclamation of peace, and therefore submitted to live under his government, first having received an Oath from him, that neither they, nor any of their Followers should be endamaged. But when they had committed themselves to him, he falsified his Oath, and slew sixty of them.

Perjury.  
Perfidiousness.

Then removing his Army from *Jerusalem*, he came to the Village of *Bethzeth*, where, apprehending many of the *Jews*, he slew them all, and commanded the rest in the Country to obey *Alcimus*, with whom he left a part of his Army, and so returned to *Antioch* unto *Demetrius*.

*Alcimus* his  
subtilty and  
cruelty.

*Alcimus* by his feigned and familiar deportment, drew many more of the wicked *Jews* to joyn with him, and then he went with his Army thorow the Country, and slew all that took part with Judas. Judas perceiving that hereby many upright men, and such as feared God were slain : He also with his Army went thorow the Land, and slew all the *Apostates* that were of *Alcimus* his faction. Whereupon *Alcimus* repaired to *Demetrius*, and made grievous complaints against Judas, who fearing that if Judas prospered, it would be prejudicial to his estate, he sent *Nicanor* to make war against him, and having furnished him with a sufficient Army, he commanded him that he should not spare any one of that Nation.

*Nicanor* sent  
against Judas.

His subtilty;

*Nicanor* coming to *Jerusalem*, offered no act of hostility, endeavouring to entrap Judas by subtilty, sending him a peaceable message, wherein he protested that he would do him no injury, and that he came only to express the good affections of *Demetrius* to the Nation of the *Jews*.

Judas in danger.

Judas and his Brethren being deceived with this glozing message entertained him and his Army. *Nicanor* then saluted Judas, but whilest he was conferring with him, he gave a sign to his Souldiers to lay hands on him ; But Judas discovering the treason, brake from him, and escaped to his Army. Then did *Nicanor* resolve to make open War upon him, and bad him Battel near to a Burrough called *Caper-salama*, where he obtained the victory, and constrained Judas to retreat into the Fortres at *Jerusalem* ; There did *Nicanor* besiege him for a while, and then retired : At which time certain of the Priests and Elders met him, and having done their reverence, they shewed him those sacrifices which they intended to offer to God for the Kings prosperity : But he Blaspheming, threatned them, that if they did not deliver Judas into his hands, he would destroy the Temple at his return. Hereupon the Priests wept abundantly, praying unto God to defend the Temple, together with those which called on his Name therein, from the outrage of their enemies.

Judas forced  
to retreat.

*Nicanor*'s  
Blasphemy.

*Nicanor* coming near to *Bethoron*, received a great supply of Souldiers out of *Syria*. Judas also was about thirty furlongs distant from him not having above a thousand men, yet he exhorted them not to fear the multitude of their enemies, but to set courageously upon them, expecting help from God ; and so encountering with *Nicanor*, there was a very doubtful conflict, yet Judas had the upper hand, and slew a great number of the enemies. *Nicanor* himself also fighting valiantly, was slain ; whereupon his Army fled : But Judas speedily pursuing, made a great slaughter of them, and by sound of trumpet, giving notice to the neighbouring places, the Inhabitants thereof betook themselves to their weapons, and meeting those that fled, they slew them, so that no one escaped from this Battel, though they were at least nine thousand men.

A terrible  
Battel.

*Nicanor* slain.

Hereupon ensued a little peace to the *Jews*. Shortly after *Alcimus* the High-Priest, intending to beat down an old Wall of the Sanctuary, was suddenly stricken by God, became speechless, and fell to the ground, and having endured many grievous torments for many days, he died miserably. Then did the people

A just judgment.



people by a general consent give his place to *Judas*: who hearing of the great power and victories of the *Romans*, sent two of his intimate Friends to *Rome*, to intreat the *Romans* to be their Allies and Confederates, and to write to *Demetrius* to give over his Wars against the *Jews*.

*Judas sends to the Romans.*

The Embassadors coming to *Rome*, were entertained by the Senate, and friendship concluded betwixt them, upon these conditions, That none under the *Romans* should war against the *Jews*, nor furnish their enemies with Victuals, Ships or Silver: That if any enemies should assail the *Jews*, the *Romans* should succour them to the uttermost of their power, That if any made war upon the *Romans*, the *Jews* should succour them, That if the *Jews* would add or diminish any thing from this Association, it should be done with the common advice of the *Romans*; And that what should so be ordained, should remain irrevocable.

A League betwixt the *Jews* and *Romans*.

*Nicanors* death, and the discomfiture of his Army being reported to *Demetrius*, he sent another Army under *Bacchides*, who coming into *Judea*, and hearing that *Judas* was encamped at *Bethzeth*, he marched against him with twenty thousand Footmen, and two thousand Horsemen. *Judas* had not in all above two thousand men, who seeing the multitude of *Bacchides* Army, were afraid, so that some, forsaking the Camp, fled away, insomuch as there then remained with *Judas* but eight hundred men. His enemies also pressed so upon him, that he had no time to re-assemble his Forces, yet he resolved to fight with those eight hundred men, whom he exhorted to be of good courage, and to fight valiantly: But they answered, That they were not able to make head against so great an Army, and therefore they advised him to retire, and stand on his guard, till he had gathered more Forces: *Judas* replied, *God forbid that the Sun should see me turn my back upon the enemies, though I die, and spend my last blood in this Battel, yet will I never soil my former worthy actions by an unbecomming flight.* And so having encouraged his Soldiers, he commanded them without apprehension of danger, to bend themselves altogether against the enemy. *Bacchides* drew out his Army, arranged them in Battle, placing his Horse-men in the Wings, his Archers, and light-armed men in the Front, and then the *Macedonian Phalanx*, and so causing his Trumpets to sound, and his Soldiers to shout, he charged his enemies. *Judas* did the like, and encountered *Bacchides*, so that there was a most cruel conflict, which continued till Sun-set.

*Bacchides sent against Judas twenty thousand.*

*Judas's resolution.*

A terrible Battel.

*Judas* perceiving that *Bacchides*, and the flower of his Army fought in the right Wing, he chose out the most resolute of his Soldiers, and drew them towards that quarter, and set upon them, brake their Squadron, and thrusting into the midst of them, he forced them to flee, and pursued them as far as to the mount *Aza*; But the left Wing followed *Judas*, and so enclosed him on the back part. He seeing himself thus enclosed, resolved with his Followers to fight it out to the last. He slew a great number of his enemies, till at last he was so wearied, that he fell to the ground, and was there slain: His Soldiers seeing him dead, betook themselves to flight. *Simon* and *Jonathan* his Brothers, by intreaty recovered his Body, carried it to *Modin*, where they interred it, all the people weeping divers days for him; and *Jonathan* his Brother succeeded him in the Government.

*Judas slain.*

## CHAP. V.

### The Martyrdom of the Maccabees.

Whilst *Antiochus Epiphanes* wsliving, he thrust out *Onias* the High-Priest from his Office, and put into his room *Jason* his Brother, whereupon *Jason* promised to pay him yearly three thousand six hundred and sixty Talents of Silver. This wicked *Jason* presently forced all the people to forsake their Religion,

Religion, and to build Baths: He hindered the defence and building of the Temple. Hereat God was very wroth, and stirred up *Antiochus* to go to *Jerusalem*, where he was gallantly entertained by the Jews. Then did he presently make an *Edict*, That whosoever of the Jews refused to offer Sacrifice to the Gods, he should presently be broken to pieces on the wheel. But those that were godly did little esteem that *Edict*.

*Antiochus his  
cruel Edict.*

Constancy.

Subtily.

Courage.

*Antiochus* perceiving that the rigour of his *Edict* prevailed little, and that many chose rather to die, than to forsake their Religion, he sitting in an eminent place, and calling all the Jews together, caused Swines-flesh to be sacrificed on the Altar, and to be offered to every Hebrew to eat. Amongst the multitude thus assembled, there was one *Eleazer*, a Priest, a man that feared God, and one who was very aged, of a reverend countenance, and famous for his virtue; To him *Antiochus* said, Be advised by me, holy old man, to avoid those torments which are prepared for the obstinate; preserve thy reverend age, and condemn not the benefit of life; Take the sacrifice, and eat of the Swines-flesh, for no wise man will credit the Jews opinion to refuse that meat which nature hath ordained for mans use, as well as any other: why should this Beast be more abominable than others? &c. Or, suppose your Laws are to be observed, yet will they excuse thee, seeing thou sinnest not voluntarily, but by compulsion? To whom *Eleazer* answered; we, O *Antiochus*, follow not vanity, but the Verity of Religion, and fear of torments cannot make us embrace another: But suppose that the Religion left us by our Fore-fathers had no firm ground, yet should not torments make me forsake it. Do not esteem it a small matter to eat forbidden meat, and to taste of that which is sacrificed to Idols; For it is a profane thing to touch things that are profane, and we are taught by our Law to suffer with patience whatsoever, for Gods cause, is inflicted upon us, &c. And therefore I refuse this prophane meat, well knowing what I ought to eat, as warranted by Gods Law, which I have learned to obey, &c. and herein will I persist, though with tyrannous hand thou pluck out mine eyes, or with a sharp knife wring up my entrails. Think not that because I am old, my Body is feeble: If I must be sacrificed for Gods sake, thou shalt find me as lusty and constant as a young man, and most joyfull in torments. Prepare an extraordinary fire, or what else thou pleasest, thou shalt find me more constant in the midst of all torments, then I am now before they come, &c. The chaste, and pure company of Fathers shall receive me into their number, where I shall not fear (O impious King) thy threats, &c.

*Eleazer cruelly  
beaten.*

His admirable  
patience.

His zeal.

Whilst *Eleazer* spake thus boldly, the Soldiers haled him to be tortured, and stripping him naked, they hanged him up, and whipped him: and whilst on either side he was beaten, one cried, Obey the Kings pleasure and command. But this worthy man was not overcome by torment, but suffered as though he had been in a sleep: and fixing his venerable eyes upon Heaven, he knew in whom he believed, and to whom he sacrificed his life; and beholding the flesh on each side of his Body rent and torn with stripes, and the Blood issued out abundantly, he admired his own patience, and thanked God the Author of it: At last finding his own frailty, scarce able to endure such torments, he fell upon his face, which with stripes was all rent, and torn, still glorifying God, as he did before: Then a Soldier, to gratifie the King, like a mad man, did spurn, and tread upon him, to encrease his sufferings: But *Eleazer*, strong in body and mind, like a Champion of the true God, did never shrink at those pains, but by patience overcame the cruelty of his tormentors, so that his torturers admired that he should be able to bear them: Then the Kings Officers said, How long wilt thou forbear to obey the King? Eat Swines flesh and free thy self from all that thou endurest. *Eleazer*, though hitherto he had been silent in all his torments, yet could he not hear such profane counsel without answering, whereupon he cried out; we Hebrews are not so effeminate as to forsake the way of salvation wherein we walk to our old age, neither are we taught for fear of contumely, which will not long endure, to give others an occasion, and example to sin, &c. wilt thou, O Tyrant, esteem of us if we should yield unto thee? nay, thou mightest justly reprove our inconstancy: Then did the Soldiers, by the Kings command,



command, cast him into the fire, and poured stinking and loathsome liquors into his Nostrils, all which he patiently suffered, till he was consumed in the flames: Yet when nature began to fail, lifting up his dazled Eyes to Heaven, he said; *Thou, O God, art he from whom life, and salvation proceedeth: Behold I die for observing thy Laws: Be merciful to this thy Nation, and forsake not them whom hitherto thou hast protected in thy bosom, and under the shadow of thy wings; let my death end all misery, &c.* and so he joyfully yielded up the Ghost.

His Prayer at death.

Antiochus was but more incensed hereby, and therefore he caused seven Children of the Hebrews to be brought to Antioch, who being young, and therefore, as he thought, weak, and unable to endure torments, he presumed that either by perswasion, or fear, he should enforce them to forsake their Religion.

Then he commanded these seven, together with their Mother *Salomona* now aged, to be brought before him: They were of excellent beauty, and worthy Children of so vertuous a Mother. The Tyrant beholding them, with a merry countenance, craftily spake unto them: *I wish your good, O admirable young men, do not therefore like mad men resist my commands: Avoid not only torments, but death also: I desire not only to exalt you to honour, but to encrease your riches, and possessions: Contemn therefore your own superstition, and embrace our Religion: if you refuse this (as I hope you will not) I will devise all torments, that by a lingering, and painful death, I may consume you: And to terrifie them the more, he caused all sorts of Instruments for torment to be brought forth before them, as Wheels, Rods, Hooks, Racks, Cauldrons, Cages, Gridirons, &c. with Engins to torment the Fingers, and Hands, as Gauntlets, Auls, Bellows, Brazen-pots, and Frying-pans, &c.* Then said he, *Obey me, O prudent young men, for if I command that which is a sin, yet do not you offend, being compelled to it.*

Antiochus his subtilty.

But these Holy young men, inflamed with a divine Spirit, contemned these torments, and despised both threats and flatterie, denying to eat of the sacrificed Swines-flesh, and saying; *wherefore, O Tyrant, dost thou Persecute us that are innocent? We desire to die; and will, till death expels life, firmly keep that which God commanded and Moses taught us: and therefore seek not, O Tyrant to seduce us by protesting thy unfeigned love: Thou lover of injustice, Master of cruelty, deviser of iniquity, the pardon thou profferest is more painful to us than punishments: we contemn death, and esteem not thy words, our Master Eleazer having taught us to despise them. why dost thou expect such pusillanimity in us young men, when of late thou foundest such courage in an old man? Thou canst not know our minds except by tearing our Bodies thou searchest them out: we will willingly for our God suffer any thing; and expect Heaven; whilst thou for thy cruelty to innocents, shalt be reserved to eternal Fire.*

The seven Brethrens courage.

The Tyrant greatly moved herewith, caused them to be beaten with Bulls-pizels: First commanding *Maccabeus* the Eldest to be stripped, and stretched out upon a Rack, and his Hands to be bound, and so to be most cruelly beaten, who so wearied his tormentor by suffering, that they rather desired to give over, than he requested it: Then was he put upon a Wheel, and a weight hanged at his Feet, and so stretched round about it, that his Sinews and Entrails brake; yet all this while he called upon God, and then said to the Tyrant: *O bloody Tyrant, who persecutest the Majesty of God; I whom thou thus tormentest, am no witch, nor Murderer, but one who dies for observing Gods Law: And when the tormentors, overcome with compassion, willed him to submit to the Kings pleasure, he said; O ye wicked Ministers of Tyranny! Your wheels are not so sharp and cruel, that I thereby will be forced to forsake Heaven, whereon my mind is fixed: Tear my flesh, yea if you please, roast it at the Fire: Torture each parcel of my Body with several cruelties; yet you shall not be able to force us young men to impiety.*

Maccabeus his courage.

His resolute Speech.

As he thus spake, a Fire was kindled, and he thus racked on the Wheel, was thrown into it, and by flames was so burned that his Bowels appeared, yet was his

His Martyrdom.

His Speech at death.

his mind unmoved; and in the midst of his torments he cried thus to his Brethren; *O beloved Brethren, make me your example; despise the alluring bates of this world; obey God rather than this Tyrant, who can if he please humble the proud and mighty, and exalt the dejected: Then was he taken from the Fire; and slain alive; His Tongue was pulled out of his Head, and he put into a Frying-pan, and so he departed out of this life, to the admiration of his enemies, and the joy of his Mother, and Brethren.*

Aber's torments.

Then was the Second Brother, called *Aber*, haled by the Soldiers; and the Tyrant shewed him all those instruments of torment, and asked him if he would eat of the sacrifice: which he, denying to do, his Hands were bound with Iron Chains, and being hanged up thereby, the skin of his Body was slain from the crown of his Head to his knees, so that the entrails in his Brest were seen: Then was he cast to a cruel *Libard*, greedily thirsting after Blood, but the Beast smelling at him, forgot his cruelty, and went from him, without doing him any harm: This increased the Tyrants rage, and *Aber* by his torments

His Speech at death.

grew more constant, crying aloud, *O how pleasant is that death to me, which is caused by all sorts of torments for Gods sake! yea, the more pleasant, because I know I shall be rewarded in Heaven; Let these torments, O Tyrant, satisfie thy cruelty, for my pain is not increased by them, but my pleasure, as thou shalt find by my patience in these sufferings; I am more willing to suffer than thou to punish, yet my pain is less in suffering, than thine by inflicting: I am tormented for keeping the Law, thou by Gods justice shalt be banished from thy Regal Seat, yea, eternal torments are prepared for thee, which neither thy prophane mind is able to endure, nor thy power to decline, &c. And so shortly after he yielded up his soul to God.*

Machir brought forth.

His courage.

Then *Machir* the Third Son was brought, whom all pitied, and exhorted by his Brothers examples to forsake his opinion, and so decline the punishment; But he being angry at such Counsel, replied, *One Father begat us, one Mother bore us, one Master instructed us, &c. Therefore no longer prolong the time in vain; I came to suffer, not to speak, use all the Tyranny that possibly you can against my Body, yet have you no power over my Soul.* This so moved the Tyrant, that he devised

His torments.

new torments beyond the reach of humane wit, and commanding a Globe to be brought, he caused him to be tied about it in such sort, that all his Bones were put out of joint, hanging one from another in a most pitiful manner; yet was the Holy Martyr nothing dismayed; Then the skin of his Head and Face was pulled off, and then was he put upon the Wheel, but he could be wracked no worse; for all his Bones were dislocated before; The Blood issuing from him abundantly, he said, *we, O Tyrant, endure this torment for the love of God, and thou the Author of such cruelty, shalt be punished with everlasting pain: Then was his Tongue cut out, and he being put into a fiery Frying-pan, resigned his Spirit unto God.*

His Speech at death.

Judas his courage.

Next followed *Judas* the Fourth Brother, whom all the people perswaded to obey the King: But he said, *Your Fire shall not separate me from the Law of God, nor from my Brethren; To thee, O Tyrant, I denounce destruction, but to such as believe, salvation: Try me thou cruel wretch, and see if God will not stand by me, as he did by my three Brethren now in glory, &c.* The cruel Tyrant hearing this, was so enraged, that he leaped down from his Chair to torment this

His torments.

His Speech at death.

Martyr himself; He commanded also his Tongue to be cut out, to whom *Judas* said, *Thy cruelty will nothing avail thee; our God needs not by voice to be awaked, &c. He heareth such as call upon him with their hearts, and knows our thoughts afar off, &c. Cut out my Tongue if thou please, would thou wouldst so sanctifie all the parts of my Body, &c. and think not that thou shalt long escape unpunished: Then was his Tongue cut out, and he being bound to a Stake, was beaten with Ropes ends, which torments he bore with admirable patience: After which he was put upon the Wheel, where he ended his life, and went to the rest of his Brethren.*

Then



Then spake *Ach* the Fifth Brother, *Behold, O Tyrant, I come to be punished before thou commandest me; therefore hope not to alter his mind that desireth to be tormented: The Blood of my innocent Brethren hath condemned thee to Hell; I shall make up the Fifth, that by it thy torments may be increased: what offence have we committed that thou thus ragest against us? &c. All that thou canst allege against us is, that we honour God and live in obedience to his Laws, and therefore we esteem not punishment, which is an honour to us; Though no part of us be left untormented, yet we shall be the more rewarded by God.* Then at the command of the King the Executioner cast him into a Brazen-pot, where he was prest down with his Head to his Feet, and afterwards he suffered all the torments inflicted on his Brethren; But he was so far from being discouraged, that suddenly starting up, he said, *Cruel Tyrant, how great benefits dost thou (though against thy will) bestow upon us! yea the more thou ragest, the more acceptable to God shalt thou make us; Therefore I shall be sorry if thou shewest me any mercy: By this temporal death, I shall go to everlasting life.* And having thus finished his sufferings, he died.

*Ach's his courage.*

*His torments.*

*His Speech at death.*

Then was *Areth* the Sixth Brother brought, to whom the Tyrant proffered the choice of honour, or punishment; But he being grieved at this proffer, said, *O Tyrant, though I be younger in years than my Brethren, yet the constancy of my mind is not inferiour; as we have lived, so we will die together in the fear of God: Hasten therefore thy torments, and what time thou wouldest spend in exhorting me, spend it in devising torments for me.* Whereupon *Antiochus* in a rage, commanded him to be tied to a Pillar with his Head downwards: Then caused he a Fire to be made at such a distance, as might not burn, but roast him: Then he made them prick him with Awles, that the heat might pierce the forer: In these torments much blood, like froth, gathered about his Head and Face; yet said he, *O noble fight! O valiant war! O strife between piety and impiety! My Brethren have past through their Agonies, whose crown of Martyrdom is the punishment of their Persecutors. I willingly follow them, that as by Blood I am conjoined to them, so by death I may not be separated from them.* Devise, *O Tyrant, some new torment, for I have overcome these already: O Master of cruelty, enemy of Piety, and Persecutor of Justice! we young men have conquered thy power, thy Fire is cold, and heateth not: Thy weapons are bended, and blunted in our Bodies; Our God giveth us more courage to suffer, than thou hast to punish, &c.* As he thus spake, they pulled out his Tongue with an hot pair of Tongs, and lastly frying him in a Frying-pan, he gave up the Ghost.

*Areth's his courage.*

*His torments.*

*His Speech at death.*

There being now only the youngest Brother left, called *Jacob*, he, presenting himself before the Tyrant, moved him to some compassion, wherefore he called the Child to him, and taking him aside by the hand, he said, *By the example of thy Brethren thou seest what to expect if thou disobeyest me; Therefore deliver thy self from these torments, and I will give thee what honour my Kingdom can afford: Thou shalt be a Ruler, General of my Army, my Counsellor &c.* But when this prevailed not, he called his Mother, who coming, and standing by her Son, the Tyrant said to her, *O worthy woman, where now are all thy Children? yet thou hast own remaining; advise him therefore not to ruin himself, and to leave thee Childless by his obstinacy, &c.* The Mother bowing her self to the King, said to her Child in Hebrew, that she might not be understood of others, *Pity and comfort thy sorrowful Mother, O my Son, who bare thee nine Months in my womb, gave the suck with my Breasts three Years, and with great care have brought thee up hitherto. I pray thee, dear Son, consider the Heavens and Earth, and remember that God created them all of nothing, &c. Fear not therefore these pains and torments, but imitate thy Brethren, and contemn death, that in thy day of mercy I may receive thee with thy Brethren again in Heaven.* Then did he desire to be unbound, which being granted, he immediately ran to the torments, and coming where was a Frying-pan red hot, he said to the King; *Cruel Tyrant, I now know thee; not only to have been cruel to my Brethren, but even cruelty it self. Wretch that thou art, who gave thee these Purple Robes? who exalted thee to thy Kingdom?*

*Jacob brought forth.*

*Antiochus his subtilty.*

*His Mother encourageth him.*

*His noble rage.*

Even he whom thou in us dost Persecute, whose Servants thou tormentest and killest, for which thy self shalt suffer eternal torments; Though thou art above others, yet he that made other men, made thee also of the same nature, for all are born, and must die alike. He that kills another, sheweth that he himself may be killed; Thou tearest and tormentest thine own Image all in vain? In thy fury thou killest him, whom God created like thy self, &c. Thou pullest out our Tongues, tearest our Bodies with Flesh-hooks, and consumest us with Fire; But they that have already suffered, have received everlasting joys, and everlasting punishments attend thee. Think not that I expect any favour, I will follow my Brethren, and remain constant in keeping Gods Law. The Tyrant herewith enraged, caused him to be tormented; But his Mother comforted him, and with her kind Hands held his Head, when through violence of the torturers, the Blood issued out of his Mouth, Nose, and Privy parts; The tormentors not ceasing till his life was almost spent; But then giving over, God gave him strength to recover, and to endure more than any of his brethen had done. At last his Hands and Arms being cut off, with his Eyes lift up to Heaven, he cried, O \*Adonai! be merciful unto me, and receive me into the Company of my Brethren, &c. Then was his Tongue pulled out, and he of his own accord going into the fiery Frying-pan, to the great admiration of Antiochus, died.

His torments.

\* Lord.  
His last words.Salamona's  
Zeal.Her Speech to  
her Children.Her torments  
and death.See more of  
this before.

The Mother seeing all her Children dead, was inflamed with a holy Zeal to suffer Martyrdom also; and despising the Tyrants threats, she offered her Motherly Brest to those torments which her Children had suffered before her. Indeed herein she excelled them all, in that she had suffered seven painful deaths, before she came to suffer in her own Person, and feared in every one of them, lest she should have been overcome. She alone with dry Eyes did look upon them whilst they were torn in pieces, yea, she exhorted them thereunto, rejoicing to see one torn with Flesh-hooks, another racked upon the Wheel, a third bound and beaten, a fourth burned, and yet she exhorted the rest not to be terrified thereby; and though her grief in beholding their torments was greater than that which she had in Child-birth, yet did she frame a cheerful countenance, as if it had been one triumphing; wishing rather the torments of their Bodies than of their souls; For she knew that nothing was more frail than our lives, which are often taken away by Agues, Fluxes, and a thousand other ways. Therefore when they were first apprehended, she thus exhorted them in the Hebrew tongue, O my most dear and loving Children, let us hasten to that Agony which may credit our profession, and be rewarded by God with eternal life. Let us fearlessly present our Bodies to those torments which aged Eleazer endured. Let us call to mind our Father Abraham, who having but one only Son, willingly sacrificed him at Gods command, and feared not to bring him to the Altar, whom with many Prayers he had obtained in his old age. Remember Daniel, the three Children, &c. Antiochus being enraged against her, caused her to be stripped naked, hanged up by the Hands, and cruelly whipped: Then were her Dugs and Paps pulled off, and her self put into the red hot Frying-pan; where lifting up her eyes and hands to Heaven, in the midst of her Prayers she yielded up her chaste soul to God. But God suffered not the cruel Tyrant to escape unpunished, for in his Wars against the Persians, the Lord struck him with madness, his intrals were devoured with Worms, and stinking like a Carrion, in the extremity of his torments he gave up the Ghost.

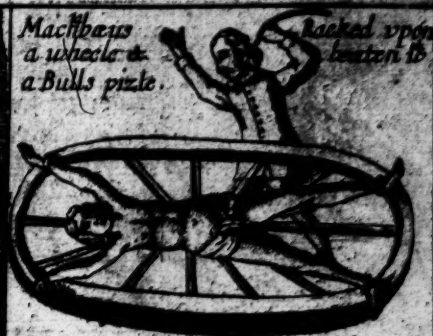
Concerning this Antiochus, Daniel, chap. 8. 9, 10, &c. saw in the Vision, that there came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great towards the South, and towards the East, and towards the pleasant Land, and it waxeth great even towards the host of Heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them: Yea, he magnified himself even to the Prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of the Sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily Sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and



*Aber hangs and his  
skin flayed of.*



*Macbeths  
a wheel &  
a Bulls pizle.*



*lashed vpon  
beaten to*

*Judas his  
Tongue Cut out.*



*Machir bound about a Globe & his  
skin flayed of his head and face.*



*Arctus bound to a pillar, his head downward  
and Roasted.*



*Achas broken in a Morter.*



*The Mother whip'd & her Duggs pulled of.*



*Jacob fryed in a pan.*



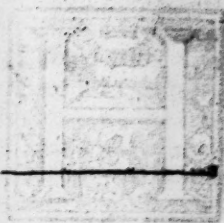




and it practised and prospered. Which afterwards is thus interpreted by the Angel unto Daniel. ver. 23. &c. In the latter time of their Kingdom, when the Transgressors are come to the full, a King of fiery countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up, and his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power, and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and holy people: And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnifie himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: He shall also stand up against the Prince of Princes, but he shall be broken without hand.

Collected out of *Iosephus*, and the Books of the *Maccabees*.

Here place the First Figure.





## CHAP. VI.

*The Persecution of the Church, from Christs time to our present Age; and first of those mentioned in the New Testament.*



Matth. 2. 2, 5,  
16.

Gods Judg-  
ment on Per-  
secutors.

Herods mile-  
rable death.

**H**erod the Great, hearing by the Wisemen of one that was born *King of the Jews*, and being informed by the chief Priests and the Scribes, that the place of his birth should be *Bethlehem of Judah*; he sent forth Soldiers, and slew all the Children that were in *Bethlehem*, and in all the Coasts thereof, from two years old and under, hoping thereby to have destroyed *Christ*. For which cruel fact, amongst others, the Lord gave him over to such a spirit of phrensie, that he slew his own Wife, his Children, and nearest Kinsfolks, and familiar Friends. And shortly after, Gods heavy judgment fell upon him by a grievous sickness, which was a slow and slack fire in his inward parts; and withal, he had a greedy appetite after food, and yet nothing sufficed him: He had also a rotting in his Bowels, and a grievous Flux in his Fundament; a moist and running humor about his Feet, and the like malady vexed him about his Bladder; his Privy Members putrified, ingendring abundance of Worms, which continually swarmed out. He had a short and stinking Breath, with a great pain in breathing; and through all the parts of his Body such a violent Cramp, as Humane strength was not able to endure. Yet longing after life, he sent for Physitians from all parts, by whose advice he went to the hot Bathes of *Calliroe*: But finding no ease thereby, his torments still increasing, he sought to lay violent hands upon himself, if he had not been prevented by his friends, and so in extream misery he ended his wretched life.

Then *Herod* the Less, having married the Daughter of *Aretas*, King of *Arabia*, put her away, and took *Herodias*, who had forsaken her Husband *Philip*, Brother to *Herod*. For which incestuous and adulterous marriage, *John Baptist* plainly reprov'd him; whereupon at the instigation of *Herodias*, *Herod* first imprisoned him, and afterwards cut off his Head: But the Lord left not this murder long unpunished, for *Aretas* raising an Army against *Herod*, for that ignominious dealing with his Daughter, in a pitched Battle wholly overthrew him, and cut off all his Hoast. And not long after, *Herod* falling into disgrace with the *Roman* Emperor, he, with his incestuous *Herodias*, were banished to *Vienna* in *France*, where they ended their wretched lives with much shame and misery.

After the Ascension of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, *Peter* and *John*, having cured a Man that was born lame, and Preaching *Jesus* to the People, upon that occasion they were apprehended, and cast into Prison by the Priests and Captain of the Temple; who the next day, having examined them, threatned to punish them, if they spake any more in that Name, and so dismissed them. Yet afterwards, the High Priests and the *Sadducees* again laid hands on the Apostles, and cast them into the Common Prison: But in the night time the Angel of the Lord opened the Prison doors, and released them, *Acts* 5. 18, 19. The next day,

*John Baptist*  
beheaded.  
Matth. 14. 10.

Gods Judg-  
ments on *He-  
rod* for it.

*Caius Caligula*.

*Acts* 4. 1, 17.



as they were Preaching to the People, they were again apprehended, and carried before the Council, *Vers. 26, 27.* At whose command they were beaten, and so dismissed, *Vers. 40.*

The Apostles beaten.

Then were false witnesses suborned against *Steven*, who accused him for speaking blasphemous words against *Moses*, and against *God*, *Acts 6. 11.* For which, being apprehended and brought before the Council, he was there condemned, led out of the City, and stoned to death, *Chap. 7. 58.*

Steven stoned.

After this there was a General Persecution raised up against the Church of *Christ* in *Jerusalem*, whereby all the faithful were scattered abroad throughout the Regions of *Judea* and *Samaria*, except the Apostles, *Chap. 8. 1.* *Saul* also made great havoc of the Church, entering into every house, hating both Men and women, and committing them to Prison, *Vers. 3.*

But *Saul*, after his Conversion, Preaching *Christ* boldly, the enraged *Jews* took counsel, and lay in wait to kill him, watching the Gates of *Damascus*, where he then was, both day and night: But the Disciples took him by night, and let him down over the Wall in a Basket, whereby he escaped, *Acts 9. 23, &c.*

Paul persecuted.

Then rose up a third *Herod*, called also *Agrippa*, who not taking warning by his Predecessors calamities, fell to persecuting the Church of *Christ*; and sending for *James*, the Brother of *John*, before him, he condemned him to be Beheaded. Concerning whom, *Clemens* reports, That he which drew *James* before the Tribunal Seat, when he saw him so chearfully embracing the Sentence of Death, was exceedingly moved therewith, and voluntarily confessed himself to be a Christian, and so was condemned to be Beheaded with him. As they went in the way to Execution, he requested the Apostle *James* to pardon him, who after a little pause, turning to him, said, *Peace be unto thee*, and kissed him; and so they were Beheaded both together. *Herod* seeing that the death of *James* pleased the *Jews*, he took *Peter* also, and delivered him to four Quartermions of Soldiers to keep him in Prison, intending after the Passover to put him to death: But the night before he should suffer, as he was sleeping, bound with two Chains to two Soldiers, and the Keepers watching before the Prison doors, an Angel came and awaked him, causing his Chains to fall off; and so going before him, he led him out of prison, causing the Iron Gate to open to them, and having brought him out of danger, left him. But this cruel Persecuting *Herod* escaped no better than his Predecessors had done; for being arrayed in glittering and royal Apparel, and sitting upon his Throne, he made an Oration to his People, who like flattering Court Parasites, gave a shout, saying, *It is the voice of a God, and not of a Man.* Whereupon the Angel of the Lord immediately smote him, and he was eaten of Worms, and gave up the ghost, *Vers. 21, &c.* in the Fifty fourth year of his Age, and the seventh of his Reign, and under *Claudius Caesar*.

Acts 12. 1, 2.

A Persecutor converted.

James beheaded.

Peter escapes death.

Gods judgment on Herod.

Then the wicked *Jews* stirred up the *Gentiles* against *Paul* and *Barnabas* at *Iconium*; so that being in danger to be stoned to death, they fled into *Lycania*, *Acts 14. 2, 3, 6.*

Paul and Barnabas persecuted.

Again, at *Lystra* they stirred up the *Gentiles* against them, whereupon *Paul* was stoned and drawn out of the City, and left for dead: But it pleased *God* that he revived, and so escaped to *Derbe*, *Vers. 19, 20.*

Paul stoned.

Afterwards *Paul* and *Silas*, for casting a Spirit of Divination out of a *Damocel* at *Philippi*, were dragged before the Rulers, who caused them to be whipt, and cast into Prison. But the Magistrates afterwards, hearing that they were *Romans*, were much afraid, as having done more than they could answer, and therefore they came to them, released them out of Prison, and besought them to depart out of their City, *Acts 16. 23, 39.*

Paul and Silas whipt.

Presently after at *Thessalonica*, the *Jews* again stirred up the People against *Paul* and *Silas*, and raising up an uproar, they fought for them in the house of *Jason*; and not meeting with them there, they drew forth *Jason* himself, and some Brethren before the Rulers, who giving security for their forth-coming, were

Paul and Silas again persecuted.

*Softheues beaten.*

were dismissed. Yet these wretched *Jews* followed *Paul* to *Berea* also, and there stirred up a Persecution against him, whereby he was forced to depart. At *Corinth* also they made an Insurrection, caught *Paul*, and brought him before *Gallio*, Deputy of *Achaia*; and when he would be a Judge of no such matters, they took *Softheues* the chief Ruler of the Synagogue, and beat him before the Judgment Seat, *Acts* 18. 12, 17.

*Paul in danger.*

*Acts* 24. 27.

Afterwards at *Ephesus*, *Demetrius* that made Silver Shrines for *Diana*, raised an uproar, and having caught *Gaius* and *Aristarchus*, *Pauls* Companions, they with them rushed into the Theatre. But this tumult being allayed by the wisdom of the Town Clark, *Paul* hasted away into *Macedonia*, *Chap.* 19. 29. &c. *Paul* at last returning to *Jerusalem*, the *Asian Jews* finding him in the Temple, stirred up all the People, and laid hands on him: But as they were about to kill him, he was rescued by the chief Captain of the *Romans*, *Chap.* 21. 31, 32. Then being brought forth before the Council of the *Jews*, he was first smitten by the command of the High Priest, *Chap.* 23. 2. And afterwards being in danger of being pulled to pieces, he was again rescued by the Captain, *Vers.* 10. Then above forty of those desperate *Jews*, bound themselves under a Curse, that they would neither eat nor drink, till they had killed him, *Vers.* 12, 13. Hereupon he is sent to *Felix* at *Cesarea*, who kept him in Prison till his accusers came, *Vers.* 24, 25. Then being accused by *Tertullius*, he clears himself; yet because he would not bribe *Felix*, he is kept prisoner still. *Festus* succeeding *Felix*, the *Jews* importune him also for sentence against *Paul*, or that he might be sent for to *Jerusalem*, laying wait in the way to kill him, *Chap.* 25. 3. But when that was denied them, they went to *Cesarea* to accuse him there; whereupon he is forced to appeal to *Cesar*, *Vers.* 11. Then he was sent to *Rome*, and there committed Prisoner to the Captain of the Guard, *Chap.* 28. 16. where he continued Prisoner at large for two years, and then being released, he visited the Churches of *Greece* and *Asia*. Afterwards, probably, he Preached in *Spain* and *France*; and at last, returning into *Italy*, he was again apprehended, and imprisoned at *Rome*, where also he suffered Martyrdom, as afterwards you shall hear.

*Pauls Martyrdom.*

The *Jews* being much displeased, that they could not reek their teen upon *Paul*, turn themselves against *James*, the Brother of *Christ*: Him therefore they bring, and set him in the midst of them, requiring him publicly to renounce the Faith of *Christ*. But he on the contrary, made a bold and open Confession of *Jesus*, to be the Son of *God*, and the Saviour of the World. Then did they set him upon a Pinnacle of the Temple, again requiring him in the audience of all the People, to tell them which is the way of *Jesus* Crucified: To whom he answered, *Why ask you me of Jesus, the Son of Man, when as he sits at the right hand of God in Heaven, and shall again come in the Clouds of the Air?* This so enraged the Scribes and Pharisees, that they threw him down headlong: But he not being dead with the fall, gat upon his knees, and said, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* Then one taking a Fullers Club, struck him on the Head, and brained him.

*The Martyrdom of James. His constancy in Prayer.*

This *James* was surnamed *Justus*, of whom *Agesippus* writes, that his knees were as hard as Camels knees, by reason of his continual kneeling in Prayer. But shortly after his death, *Vespasian* came into *Judea*, and subdued the *Jews*; and his Son *Titus* destroyed *Jerusalem*, and the Temple.

*Andrews Martyrdom.*

*Andrew*, the Brother of *Peter*, Preached the Gospel to the *Scythians*, *Sogdians*, and *Ethiopians*, and was at last Crucified by *Ageas*, King of *Edessa*.

*Phillips Martyrdom.*

*Philip* Preached the Gospel in *Phrygia*, and at last was Crucified at *Hierapolis*.

*Bartholomew.*

*Bartholomew* Preached to the *Indians*, and (as some say) was beaten with cudgels to death; or as others, he was flayed alive, and then Beheaded.

*Thomas.*

*Thomas* Preached unto the *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Persians*, &c. And in *India* he was slain with a Dart.

*Matthew*



*Matthew* Preached to the *Ethiopians*, and at last, by the command of the King, was ran thorough with a Sword. *Matthew.*

*Simon Zelotes* Preached in *Mauritania* and *Africk*, and at length was Crucified under *Traian*, being above one hundred and twelve years old. *Simon Zelotes.*

*Judas*, the Brother of *James*, Preached to the *Edeffeans*, and at last was slain by the command of the King. *Judas.*

*Matthias* Preached first in *Macedonia*, and afterwards coming into *Judea*, he was by the *Jews* first stoned, and then Beheaded. *Matthias.*

*Mark the Evangelist* Preached in *Alexandria*, and the Neighboring Regions, and afterwards was burnt by the furious Idolaters. *Mark.*

*Nicanor*, one of the Deacons, was Martyred, together with two thousand other Faithful Christians. *Nicanor.*

Collected out of the New Testament and Dorotheus.



# THE P E R S E C U T I O N

Of the CHURCH under the Heathen ROMAN Emperors.

## C H A P. VII.

*The First Primitive Persecution which began, Anno Christi 67.*

**T**His First Persecution was begun by *Domitius Nero*, the Sixth Emperor, *An.* 67. or thereabouts. The occasion whereof was this, *Nero* having passed over the first five years of his reign somewhat plausibly, he then began to fall to all manner of prodigious Impieties; and amongst other wicked designs, he had a great desire to consume the stately Imperial City of *Rome* with fire, pronouncing King *Pryamus* an happy Man, because he beheld the end of his Kingdom and Countrey together. *Yea*, said he, *let not all be ruined when I am dead, whilst I am yet alive.* And for the effecting of this villany, he sent divers to kindle the fire in sundry places; *yea*, some of his own Bed-chamber were seen to carry Flax, Toe, Torches, &c. to further it; and when any attempted to quench it, they were threatned for it: Others openly hurled Fire-brands, crying, *They knew what they did; there was one would bear them out.* This fire first began amongst the Oylmen and Drugsters; the Night Watch and Pretorian Guards, did openly cherish it; and when it was thoroughly kindled, *Nero* went up to the top of *Mecenas* Tower, which overlooked the whole City, where he fed himself with the sight of infinite Burnings, and sang to his Harp the Burning of *Troy*.

*Conspiration  
Neronis.*

*Nero sets Rome  
on fire.*

Amongst other stately Buildings that were burned down, the *Circus* or Race-yard was one, being about half a mile in length, of an Oval form, with rows of Seats one above another, capable to receive at least a Hundred and fifty thousand Spectators, without uncivil shouldrings. But the particulars were innumerable, the damage ineffimable; besides which, many thousands of people perished; the flame and smook smothered some, the weight of ruins crushed others, the fire consumed others; others threw themselves into the fire, out of sorrow and despair, and Villains slew many.

*The Circus  
burnt down.*

But *Nero* finding that this fire, which continued burning nine days, brought a great *Odium* upon him: To excuse himself, he transferred the fault upon the Christians.

Nero charged  
it upon the  
Christians.  
Raised the  
First Persecu-  
tion.

Several kinds  
of Torments.

Beastly cruel-  
ty.

Tertullian's  
Speech.

Peter and Paul  
Martyred.

Christians, as if out of malice they had done it, and thereupon he raised this First Persecution against them. For there was at this present a flourishing Church of Christians in Rome, even before S. Paul's arrival there, and Nero's own Court was secretly garnished and enriched with some of those Diamonds, whose salutations the Apostle remembers in his Epistle to the *Philippians*. But whilst Nero with their Blood, sought to quench and cover his own infamy, he procured to himself new Envy; whilst many that abhorred Christians for their Religion, commiserated their sufferings as undeserved. Some he caused to be sewed up in the skins of wilde Beasts, and then worried them to death with Dogs; some he crucified, others he burnt in publick, to furnish his Evening sports with Bonfires. Many he caused to be packed up in Paper stiffened in molten Wax, with a Coat of Searchcloth about their Bodies, and bound upright to Axle-Trees, many of which were pitched in the Ground, and so set on fire at the bottom, to maintain light for Nero's Night sports in his Gardens. Some of them were gored in length upon Stakes, the one end fastened in the Earth, the other thrust into their Fundaments, and coming out at their Mouths.

Nor did this Persecution rage in Rome alone, but it was extended generally over the whole Empire, insomuch, that a Man might then have seen Cities lie full of Dead Mens Bodies, the old lying there together with the young; and the Dead Bodies of Women cast out naked in the open Streets, without all reverence of their Sex: Yea, his rage and malice was so great, that he endeavored to have rooted out the very name of Christians in all places. Whereupon *Tertullian* said; *That it could be no ordinary goodness which Nero condemned: And, saith he, we glory on the behalf of our Sufferings, that they had such a Dedicator as he.* But this Great Persecution, like a blast, did spread the Religion that it blew, and having continued four years from the first rising, it expired in two most shining Blazes, viz. In the Martyrdom of the two Great Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, *Peter* was crucified with his Head downwards, which manner of Death himself made choice of; and whilst he thus hung upon the Cross, he saw his Wife going to her Martyrdom, whereupon he much rejoiced; and calling her by her name, he bad her remember the Lord *Jesus Christ*. At the same time, also *Paul*, before Nero, made a Confession of his Faith, and of the Doctrine which he taught; whereupon he was condemned to be Beheaded, and the Emperor sent two of his Esquires, *Ferega* and *Parthemius*, to bring him word of his death. They coming to *Paul*, heard him instruct the People, and thereupon desired him to pray for them, that they might believe; who told them, that shortly after they should believe and be baptized. Then the Soldiers led him out of the City to the place of Execution, where he prayed, and so gave his Neck to the Sword, and was beheaded. This was done in the Fourteenth, which was the last year of Nero.

*Collected out of the Life of Nero Caesar, Eusebius, and the Book of Martyrs.*

## CHAP. VIII.

*The Second Primitive Persecution, which began Anno 96.*

Domitian's  
Character.

After the Death of Nero, there succeeded first *Vespasian*, and then his Son *Titus*, in the Empire, under both, whom the Church had rest; but *Titus* associating to himself, his Brother *Flavius Domitian* in the Government of the Empire. This wicked Monster, first slew his Brother, and then raised the Second Persecution against the Church of *Christ*. His Pride was so great, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as God; and that Images of Gold and Silver should be set up for his honor in the *Capitol*. His cruelty was unmeasurable. The chiefest Nobles of the *Roman* Senators, either upon Envy, or for their Goods, he caused



to be put to death. Having also heard some rumors of *Christ's* Kingdom, he was afraid, as *Herod* had been before him: And thereupon commanded all of the Lineage of *David* to be sought out and slain. At last two poor Christians that came of *Judas*, the Brother of *Christ*, according to the Flesh, were brought before *Domitian*, and accused to be of the Tribe of *Judah*, and of the Line of *David*: Then did the Emperor demand of them what stock of Money and Possessions they had? To whom they answered, That they two had not above thirty nine Acres of Land, out of which they payed Tribute, and relieved themselves by their labor and industry, withal shewing him their hard and brawny hands, by reason of their labor. Then did he ask them of *Christ*, and of his Kingdom: to whom they answered, That *Christ's* Kingdom was not of this World, but Spiritual and Celestial; and that he would come at the last day to judge the quick and the dead. Hereupon he despised them as simple and contemptible persons, and so dismissed them. He punished an infinite company of Christians that were famous in the Church, with exile and loss of their substance. Under this Persecution was, that *S. John* the beloved Disciple was first put into a Vessel of Boiling Oil, and coming safe without hurt, out of the same, he was then banished into the Isle of *Patmos*, Anno 97. where he continued till after the death of *Domitian*, but was released under *Pertinax*. At which time he returned to *Ephesus*, where he lived till he was a hundred and twenty years old. During his abode there, he was requested to repair to some place not far off, to order their Ecclesiastical Affairs, and being in a certain City, he beheld in the Congregation a young Man, mighty of Body, of a beautiful countenance, and fervent mind: Whereupon, calling the chief Bishop unto him, he said, *I commend this Man unto thee with great diligence, in the witness here of Christ and of the Church.* The Bishop having received this charge, and promised his faithful diligence therein, *John* spake the like words to him the second time also, after which he returned unto *Ephesus*. The Bishop having received this young Man, thus committed to his charge, brought him home, kept, nourished, instructed, and baptized him; and the young Man so profited under him, that at the last he was made the Pastor of a Congregation. But having by this means more liberty then before, some of his old companions began to resort unto him, who first drew him forth to sumptuous and riotous Banquets, then inticed him to go abroad with them in the nights to rob and steal, and to much other wickedness. And he being of a good wit, and stout courage, ran like an unbridled Horse to all manner of disorders and outrage: And associating to himself many loose and dissolute companions, he became their Head and Captain, in committing all kinds of Murder and Felonies. Not long after, upon some urgent occasions, *S. John* was again sent for into those parts, where having decided those controversies, and dispatched those businesses for which he came, meeting with the aforementioned Bishop, he required of him the pledge, which before *Christ* and the Congregation, he had committed to his custody. The Bishop herewith amazed, supposing that he meant it of some Money committed to him, which yet he had not received, not daring to contradict the Apostle, he thereupon stood mute. Then *John* perceiving that he was not understood, said, *The young Man, and the Soul of our Brother committed to your custody, I do require.* Whereupon the Bishop, with many tears, said, *He is dead*: To whom *John* replied, *How, and by what death?* The Bishop answered, *He is dead to God, for he is become a wicked and vicious Man, and a Thief; and now he doth frequent these Mountains, with a company of Thieves and Villains like himself, &c.* The Apostle rending his Garments, with a great lamentation, said, *I left a good Keeper of my Brothers Soul, yet in an Hour and quick presently.* Which being done, he went strait to the Mountains, and was no sooner come thither, but he was taken by the Thieves that watched for their prey, to whom he said, *I came hither for this cause, Lead me to your Captain.* And so being brought before him, the Captain all armed, looked fiercely upon him, and soon coming to the knowledge of him, he was stricken with such shame and confusion,

He destroys  
David's Seed.

*S. John* put  
to boiling Oil  
Banished into  
*Patmos*.

An excellent  
Story of a  
young Man.

The young Man  
and the Soul of our  
Brother committed  
to your custody, I do  
require.

The young Man  
and the Soul of our  
Brother committed  
to your custody, I do  
require.

The young Man  
and the Soul of our  
Brother committed  
to your custody, I do  
require.

The young Man  
and the Soul of our  
Brother committed  
to your custody, I do  
require.

The young Man  
and the Soul of our  
Brother committed  
to your custody, I do  
require.

The young Man  
and the Soul of our  
Brother committed  
to your custody, I do  
require.

The young Man  
and the Soul of our  
Brother committed  
to your custody, I do  
require.

confusion, that he began to flee; but the old Man followed him as fast as he could, crying, *My Son, why dost thou flee from thy Father? An armed Man from one naked? A young Man from an old Man? Have pity upon me my Son, and fear not, there is yet hope of Salvation; I will answer for thee to Christ, I will die for thee, if need be, as Christ died for us, I will give my life for thee: Believe me, Christ hath sent me.* He hearing these things, first, as in a maze, stood still, lost his courage, cast down his weapons, then trembled, and wept bitterly; and coming to the old Man, he embraced him with many tears, only his right hand he kept hid and covered. Then the Apostle, after he had promised and assured him, that he should obtain pardon of our Saviour, falling upon his knees, he prayed for him, kissing his murdering right hand, which for shame he durst not shew before; and then brought him back to the Congregation, where he fasted and prayed continually for him, comforted and confirmed him with many Scripture promises, and left him not, till he had restored him to his former office, and made him a great example of Gods Mercy to repentant sinners.

Simeon Crucified.

Flavia Banished.

A cruel Death.

Christians slandered.

Charged with Sedition and Rebellion; and the causes of all publick calamities.

Christians ad Leones.

The Oath Ex Officio.

Variety of torments.

Burial denied them.

Protasius Gervasius. Timothy and Dionysius Martyred.

In this Persecution, *Simeon* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, after many torments, was Crucified to death; and an innumerable company of Martyrs suffered for the like testimony of the Lord *Jesus*, amongst whom was *Flavia*, the Daughter of *Flavius Clemens*, a Roman Senator and Consul; who amongst many others was banished into the Isle of *Pontia*.

This Law also was made by the Roman Senate, *Nam debere demitti Christianos, qui semel ad tribunal venissent, nisi propositum mutent.* That Christians should not be let go that were once brought before the Tribunal Seat, except they renounced their Religion. Yea, that which stirred up the Emperor more to persecute the Christians, were those abominable lies, and malicious slanders raised against them by the Heathen Idolaters; as that they were a People that lived in Incest, that in their Nightly meetings, putting out the Candles, they ran together in all filthy manner; that they killed their own Children, and used to eat Mans flesh; that they were Seditious and Rebellious, and refused to swear by the Fortune of *Cesar*, and would not adore his Image in the Market-place. And in brief, that they were pernicious to the Roman Empire: Yea, whensoever any thing hapned amiss to the City of *Rome*, or to her Provinces, either by Famine, Pestilence, Earth-quakes, Wars, unseasonable Weather, &c. it was presently imputed to the Christians. Besides also, there were a number of wicked Promoters and Accusers, that for lucre sake, to have the possessions of the Christians, accused and persecuted them to the death. Also when the Christians were brought before the Magistrates, they gave them an Oath, requiring them to declare the truth, whether they were Christians, or no; and if they confessed, then by the Law, sentence of Death was passed against them. Yet were not these Tyrants content by Death to destroy their Bodies, but the kinds of Death were divers and horrible; whatsoever the cruelty of Mans witty and wicked invention could devise for the punishment of Mans Body, was practised against the poor Saints of God; Imprisonments, Stripes, Scourgings, Rackings, Tearings, Stoning, Plates of Iron burning hot, laid to the tenderest parts of their Bodies, deep Dungeons, strangling in Prisons, the Teeth of Wild Beasts, Gridirons, Gibbets and Gallows, Tossings upon the Horns of Bulls, &c. And when they were thus killed, their Bodies were laid on heaps, and Dogs left to keep them, that none might come to bury them; neither could any Prayer or Intreaty obtain leave that they might be Interred. Notwithstanding all which horrible punishments, the Church of *Christ* daily increased, being deeply rooted in the Doctrine of the Apostles and Apostolical Men, and watered plentifully with the Blood of the Saints.

Also in this Persecution, *Protasius* and *Gervasius* were Martyred at *Milain*. *Timothy* was stoned to death at *Ephesus*, by the Worshippers of *Diana*. *Dionysius Areopagita* was slain with the Sword at *Paris*, &c.



## C H A P. IX.

*The Third Primitive Persecution, which began Anno Christi 108.*

**D**omitian being slain by some of his own Servants, *Nerva* succeeded him; who was a good and merciful Man, stayed the Persecution against the Christians, called them home from Banishment; so that the Church enjoyed Peace in his time: But he reigning only thirteen Moneths, *Trajan*, a Spaniard, succeeded him, who in the tenth year of his reign, raised the Third Persecution against the Church, which was far more cruel than either of the former: In as much as *Plinius Secundus*, an Heathen Philosopher, seeing the lamentable slaughter of the Christians, moved with pity, he wrote to *Trajan* concerning the same. That whereas there were many thousands of them daily put to death, there were none of them which did any thing contrary to the Roman Laws, worthy of Persecution, saving, That they used to gather together in the Morning before day, and sing Hymns to a certain God that they worshipped, called *Christ*; in other things, they were godly and honest. And for proof hereof, saith he, *I caused two Maidens to be laid on the Rack, and with Torments, to be examined about the same; but finding nothing in them, but only lewd and immoderate Superstition, I resolved to surcease further inquiry, till I received further Instructions from you about this matter, &c.* *Trajan* having read this Epistle, returned answer, That it was his mind, that the Christians should not be sought after; but if they were brought and convicted, that then they should suffer execution. Whereof *Tertullian* speaking, saith, *O confused Sentence! He would not have them sought for as Men innocent, and yet would have them punished as Men guilty.* Now though upon this Act, the rage of the Persecution was somewhat abated, yet many evil disposed Men, and cruel Officers there were, which ceased not to afflict the Christians in divers Provinces; especially if any commotion was raised in any of them, then presently were the Christians blamed for it. *Trajan* sent a command to *Jerusalem*, That whosoever could be found out of the Stock of *David*, should be inquired for, and put to death. Hereupon some Sectaries of the Jewish Nation, accused *Simeon*, the Son of *Cleophas*, to come of *David's* Line, and that he was a Christian. Of which Accusers it happened, that some of them were taken to be of the Stock of *David*, and so most righteously were executed themselves, who sought the destruction of others. In this Persecution suffered *Phocas*, Bishop of *Pontus*; whom *Trajan*, because he would not sacrifice to *Nerone*, caused to be cast into a hot Lime-Kiln, and afterwards to be put into a scalding Bath, where he ended his life in the cause of *Christ*. As also *Sulpitius Servidianus*, and *Nereus*; and *Achilleus* suffered Martyrdom in *Rome*, *Sazaris* in *Asia*; then also *Ignatius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, was apprehended and sent to *Rome*, where he was devoured of Wild Beasts; and besides these, many thousand others.

After the death of *Trajan*, succeeded *Adrian*, who continued this Third Persecution against the Christians; at which time, *Alexander*, Bishop of *Rome*, with his two Deacons; as also *Hermes* and *Quirinus*, with their Families, suffered Martyrdom. Also about this time, *Zenon*, a Nobleman of *Rome*, with above ten thousand more, were slain for *Christ's* sake. Also in *Mount Ararath* were ten thousand Christians Crucified, Crowned with Thorns, and thrust into the side with sharp Darts, after the example of the Lords Passion. *Eustachius*, a Noble Captain, whom *Trajan* had sent out to War against the Barbarians; after (through Gods Mercy) he had valiantly subdued his Enemies, was returning home with victory; *Adrian* for joy, went to meet him, and to bring him home with triumph: But by the way, he would needs sacrifice to *Apollo*, for the victory obtained, willing *Eustachius* to do the same with him. But when by no means he could be perswaded thereto, coming to *Rome*, he with his wife and children,

*Trajan's Persecution.*

*Pliny writes in the Christians behalf.*

*Christianity a-counsed Superstition.*

*Tertullian's Speech.*

*The Stock of David sought for.*

*A just reward: Phocas Martyr.*

*Sulpitius, Nereus and Achilleus, Martyrs.*

*Adrian's Persecution. Alexander, Hermes, and Quirinus, Martyrs. Zenon. Ten thousand Crucified. Eustachius Martyr.*

*Monstrous ingratitude.*

*Faustinus* and  
*Fabius* Mar-  
tyrs.

Note.

*Eleutherius*,  
*Anthea*, and  
*Symphorissa*,  
Martyrs.

With her seven  
Sons.

*Quadratus* his  
Apology for  
the Christians,  
and *Aristides*,  
and *Serenus*.

Christians  
falsely accused.

*Antoninus Pius*  
Emperor shews  
them favor.

An excellent  
Law.

suffered Martyrdom, by the command of the Ingrateful Emperor. Also *Faustinus* and *Fabius*, Citizen of *Brixia*, were Martyred with many torments; which caused one *Calocerius*, beholding their admirable patience in the midst of their cruel torments, to cry out, *Vere magnus est Deus Christianorum*. Verily great is the God of the Christians; whereupon being apprehended, he was made partaker of their Martyrdom. Also *Eleutherius*, Bishop in *Apulia*, was Beheaded, together with his Mother *Anthea*. Also *Symphorissa*, a godly Matron, was often cruelly scourged, afterwards hanged up by the Hair of her Head; at last had a huge Stone fastened to her, and so was thrown into the River: After which, her seven Children, in like manner, with sundry and divers kinds of torments, were all of them Martyred by the Tyrant. These seven Children of *Symphorissa*, were fastened to seven Stakes, then Racked up with a Pully, and afterwards thrust thorow: *Crescens* in the Neck, *Julianus* in the Breast, *Nemesius* in the Heart, *Primitivus* in the Navil, *Justinus* was cut in every Joynt of his Body, *Statens* run thorow with Spears, and *Eugenius* cut asunder from the Breast to the lower parts, and then all of them were cast into a deep Pit. *Adrian* being at *Athens*, sacrificed to the Idols after the manner of the *Grecians*, and gave free leave to whomsoever would, to persecute the Christians, which should refuse it. Whereupon, *Quadratus*, Bishop of *Athens*, a Man of admirable Zeal, and famous for Learning, exhibited to the Emperor, a learned and excellent Apology, in defence of the Christian Religion; the like also did *Aristides*, an excellent Philosopher in *Athens*. There was also one *Serenus Granius*, a Man of great Nobility, who writ pithy and grave Letters to *Adrian*; shewing, That it was neither agreeable to Right nor Reason, that the Blood of Innocents should be given up to the rage and fury of the People, and be condemned for no other fault, but for their Opinions. Hereupon the Emperor became more favorable to them; writing also in their behalf to *Minutius Fundanus*, Proconsul of *Asia*, That if they had no other crime objected against them, but their Religion, they should not be put to death. Yet notwithstanding all this, the rage of the Heathen multitude did not cease from Persecuting the People of God; imputing to them whatsoever mischief and judgments befel them: Yea, they invented against them all manner of contumelies, and false crimes to accuse them of, whereby many in sundry places were molested and put to death.

After *Adrian* succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, who being informed of the cruel sufferings of the Christians, wrote this Letter to his Commons of *Asia*, forbidding them to persecute the Christians any further; which Epistle he thus concludes, *If any hereafter shall offer any vexation and trouble to Christians, having no other cause; but because they are such, Let him that is appeached, be released, and freely discharged, and let his accuser sustain the punishment, &c.*

By this means then the Tempest of Persecution began in those days to be appeased, through the merciful Providence of God: Who would not have his Church to be utterly overthrown and rooted up thereby. *The rod of the wicked shall not always rest upon the lot of the righteous, Psal. 125. 3.*

Here place the Second Figure.





Christians Crucified w<sup>th</sup>  
their heads downwards



Christians sowed up in y<sup>e</sup> skins of wild  
Beasts & worried w<sup>th</sup> Great Dogges:



Christians Gored vpon Stakes, one end fastned  
in y<sup>e</sup> groun, the other coming out of y<sup>e</sup> mouth



Christians bound to Axelltrees pitched in y<sup>e</sup>  
Ground in Reues and so burned.



Christians tossed vpon y<sup>e</sup> hornes of  
wild Bulles.



Christians throwne to Lyons Beares  
and Tygers.



Women Stripped hung  
up by y<sup>e</sup> haire & scourged



S<sup>t</sup> Iohn put into a Cauldron  
of boiling oile.







## CHAP. X.

*The Fourth Primitive Persecution, which began Anno Christi 162.*



After the death of that quiet and mild Prince *Antoninus Pius*, his Son *M. Antoninus Verus* succeeded in the Empire; A stern and severe man by nature, who raised the fourth Persecution against the Christians; wherein a great number of them, who truly professed *Christ*, suffered most cruel punishments and torments, especially in *Asia*, and *Fraxe*, among whom was *Poly carp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who was burnt at a Stake at *Smyrna*, together with twelve others that came from *Philadelphia*.

*Poly carp* Bishop of *Smyrna*.

Also *Germanicus* a young man, did most constantly persevere in the Doctrine of *Christ*, whom when the Proconsul of *Asia* desired to remember his age, and to favour himself, he would by no flatteries be withdrawn from his steadfastness, but remaining constant; was thrown to the wild Beasts, whom he allured and provoked to come upon him, and devour him; that he might be the more speedily delivered out of this wretched life. Also in this Persecution suffered *Metrodorus*, a Minister, who was consumed by fire; and *Pionius* who after much boldness of speech, with his *Apologies* exhibited, and his Sermons made to the people in defence of the Christian Faith, and after much relieving and comforting such as were in Prisons and distress, at last was put to cruel torments, and then burned in the fire. Also at *Pargamopolis* in *Asia*, suffered *Carpus*, *Papilus*, and *Agathonica*, a woman, who after their most constant and worthy confessions, were put to death.

*Germanicus* Confessory.

*Metrodorus* Minister of *Christ*, who was consumed by fire.

*Carpus*, *Papilus*, and *Agathonica*.

At *Rome*, *Felicitas* with her seven Children were martyred, whereof her eldest Son, after he was whipt and grievously scourged with rods, was prest to death with leaden weights: The two next had their Brains beaten out with Mawls: The fourth was thrown down head-long from an high place, and brake his Neck: The three youngest were beheaded; and lastly, the Mother was slain with the Sword.

*Felicitas* and her seven Children.

Also *Justin Martyr*, a man that excelled in Learning and *Philosophy*, and a Great Defender of the Christian Religion, who had delivered to the Emperor and Senate an *Apology* in defence of the Christians, suffered Martyrdom in this Persecution.

*Justin Martyr* who delivered an *Apology* to the Emperor and Senate.

There was in *Egypt* a certain Woman married to a Husband that was given much unto lasciviousness, whereunto she her self also had been formerly addicted, But being instructed in the Christian Religion, she became a chaste and godly Matron, and endeavoured to persuade her Husband also therunto: But he, continuing in his filthy life, she resolved to be divorced from him, yet at the request of her Friends, she forbore, to try if by any means he would be reclaimed: But he going to *Alexandria*, and living more licenciously than before, she sued out a bill of Divorce, and so was separated from him: Then did this malicious wretch accuse her to be a Christian, which was no less than death, whereupon she being in great peril, delivered up a supplication to the

- the Emperor, craving but so much favour, that she might go and set her Family in order, and then she would be ready to answer to all such crimes as should be objected against her: This Petition the Emperor granted; Her Husband perceiving that he was frustrated of his expectation, went and accused *Ptolemaeus* (who was her instructor in the faith of *Christ*) that he was a Christian. *Ptolemaeus* loving the truth, and not thinking it good to hide his profession, confessed it: Therefore being brought before *Urbicius* the Judg. he was by him condemned to die; Whereupon one *Lucius* a Christian, standing by, said to the Judg, *what reason, I pray you, or equity is this, that this man, who is neither Adulterer, Fornicator, Murtherer, nor Felon, nor guilty of any other crime, should be condemned for his name, and profession of Christianity? These manner of Judgments (O Urbicius) are neither honourable for the Emperor, nor for the estate of the Senate of Rome:* Then said *Urbicius*, Methinks thou also art a Christian, which *Lucius* confessing, the Judg without any further delay, commanded him also to be had away to the place of Execution; To whom he answered, *I thank you with all my heart, that hereby you release me from most wicked Governors, and send me to my good and loving Father, who is God of gods, and King of Kings.* Also a third man coming to the Judg, and using the like liberty of Speech, had the like sentence of death, and was crowned with the same crown of Martyrdom.
- Also one *Concordus*, a Minister of the City of *Spoletto*, because he refused to sacrifice to *Jupiter*, and did spit in the face of the Idol, after divers cruel torments sustained, was Beheaded with the Sword.
- Many others also suffered Martyrdom at the same time, because they sharply reprehended Idolatry, and refused at the Emperors command, to offer sacrifice to Idols, for which they were Beheaded.
- Many Christians also suffered in *France*, the History of whom was written, and set forth by their own Churches, and directed to the Brethren of *Asia* and *Phrygia*; wherein they write, that Satans Instruments were so maliciously active against them, that they could not be safe any where, neither in the Markets, Shops, nor their own Houses. Yea, they were forbidden to come into any publick places: But God in Mercy took out of the Tyrants hands, such as were weak amongst the Christians, and set up others, as Pillars, who were able to abide all sufferings; and valiantly to withstand the enemy, notwithstanding all the opprobrious punishments they could devise; yea, by their admirable patience they shewed that all the sufferings of this present time were not to be compared with the glory which they expected to be revealed in them. First they suffered whatsoever the frantick multitude could inflict upon them, by railings, scourgings, drawings and halings, flinging of stones, imprisonment, &c. Then were they led to the Market place, where the Captain and other City-Officers, commanded them to Prison, after they had made confessions of their Faith publicly, till the return of the chief Governor; Who being come back, he used all extremity that possibly he could against them. At which time a noble young man, called *Vetius Epagathus*, being replenished with fervent zeal and love, both to God and the Brethren, could not suffer the wicked Judgment which was given against the Brethren: Whereupon he desired the Governor to hear what he had to say in their behalf, in whom was no impiety found: But the people cried out against him, and the Justice denied his lawful request, withal, asking him whether he himself were not a Christian? unto which, with a loud and bold voice he answered, *I am a Christian*; And thus was he received into the fellowship of the Martyrs. By this worthy example the rest of the Brethren were more animated to suffer Martyrdom: Yet some there were as yet weak, and not so well prepared for sufferings, of whom there were ten that fainted, which filled the rest with great heaviness. Their example also caused such as were not yet apprehended to be less forward in adventuring themselves; yet every day were some apprehended, which were worthy to fill up the number of them which were fallen.

Against



Against the Christians were their Heathen Servants examined, and being threatned with extream torments, they were enforced to confesse against their Masters, that at their meetings they kept the Feasts of *Thieftes*, and incest of *Oedipus*, and many other suchlike crimes, not fit to be named, which things being bruted abroad, every one began to exercise their cruelty against the people of God; yea, their familiar Friends disdained and waxed mad against them.

Christians  
slandered.

Then was all manner of cruelty used against them, especially against *Sanctus*, Deacon of the Church of *Vienna*, and *Maturus*, but a little before Baptized, but yet a worthy Soldier of *Christ*. Also against *Attalus* and *Blandina*, concerning whom (say they) we were all afraid, especially her Mistress, lest through weakness she should not stand to her profession; But, through Gods Grace, she was so admirably replenished with strength and boldness, that they which had the tormenting of her by course from Morning till Night, for very weariness gave over, and fell down, confessing that they could do no more against her, marvelling that she yet lived, having her Body so torn and rent as it was: professing that any one of those torments alone had been sufficient to bereave her of life. But this blessed Virgin became stronger and stronger in her sufferings, and as often as she spake these words, *I am a Christian, and have not committed any evil*, she was wonderfully comforted.

*Sanctus*.

*Maturus*.

*Attalus*.

*Blandina*.

A miracle of  
Mercy.

Torments  
worn.

Note!

*Sanctus* also, who in his torments had endured more pains than the nature of man was able to stand under, when the wicked thought to have heard him utter some Blasphemous words, through the intollerableness of his pains, abode notwithstanding so constant in mind, that they could neither extort out of him, what Countryman he was, where brought up, what his name was, whether a bond-man, or a free, but to every question he answered, *I am a Christian*: When therefore they had used all other kinds of torments, they clapped plates of Bra's red hot to the tenderest parts of his Body, wherewith, though he was grievously scorched, yet shrunk he not for the matter; yea though his Body was all drawn together with the scorching fire, so that he retained not the proper shape of a Man, yet did he draw comfort from *Christ*, so as to rejoyce in these tribulations. After a while they brought him again to new torments, hoping thereby to enforce him to a recantation; at which time his Body was so sore and swollen, that he could not suffer a man to touch him: But contrary to their expectation, his Body in these latter torments was so supplied and restored, that he recovered the former shape and use of his members, so that these second torments, through the Grace of *Christ*, proved a sovereign medicine to him.

Admirable  
constancy.

A miracle of  
Mercy.

Satan also now thinking that he was sure of *Biblis*, who was one of those that had denied *Christ*, and hoping to prevail with her, a weak and feeble Woman in the Faith, to damn her soul by Blaspheming God, brought her to the place of Execution; But she, in the midst of her torments returning to her self, and by those pains remembering the torments of Hell, said to her tormentors, *How should we Christians eat our own Children (as you report of us) when we eat not the Blood of any Beast?* and so confessing her self to be a Christian, she was martyred with the rest.

*Biblis*.

Yet here did not the rage of the enemies cease: For when the Christians were cast into Prison, they were shut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and drawn by the feet in a rack, even unto the fifth hole: some of them were strangled and killed in the Prisons; others remaining in Prison, destitute of all humane help, were so strengthened by the Lord, both in Body and mind, that they were a great comfort to the rest: The younger sort, whose Bodies had not yet felt the lash of the whip, were not able to endure the sharpness of their imprisonment, but died under the same.

*Photinus*, Deacon to the Bishop of *Lyons*, about eighty nine years old, weak and feeble, by reason of age and sickness, yet of a lively spirit and courage, by reason

*Photinus*.

reason of the great desire which he had of Martyrdom, being brought to the Judgment Seat, and being there demanded of the chief Ruler, What was the Christian mans God? He answered, *If thou beest worthy to know, thou shalt know*: The Ruler being enraged herewith, caused him to be extreemly beaten: also such as stood next him, did him all the despiht they could, beating and kicking him without any regard to his reverend gray hairs; others that were further off, threw at him whatsoever came next hand; and thus whilst he was gasping after life, they threw him into Prison, where after two days he died.

Danger of  
Apostacy.

They also which in the first Persecution had denied *Christ*, were apprehended, cast into Prison, and made partakers of the others afflictions; yea, they had twice so much punishment as the other had: and whereas they which had been constant, were refreshed with the joy of Martyrdom, with the hope of Gods promises, and with the love of *Christ*, and his Holy Spirit; The other *Apostates* being full of guilt, went out to death, with dejected and ill-favoured countenances, and were filled with shame, so that the very *Gentiles* reviled them as degenerate Persons, and worthy to suffer as evil doers: whereas in the mean time, they which had remained constant, went to their Martyrdom with chearful countenances, adorned with glory and grace: yea, their very bonds wherewith they were tied, set them out as Brides when they are decked in gorgeous array: and withal, they had such a redolent smell, as if they had been anointed with some sweet Balm: by which sight the rest were confirmed, and being apprehended, confessed *Christ* without any staggering.

The Martyrdom of the Saints was of divers kinds, as the offering to God, a Garland decked with sundry kinds of colours and flowers.

*Maturus*, *Attalus*, and *Blandina*, were again brought forth to the publick Scaffold, where *Maturus* and *Sanctus* suffered again all manner of torments, as if they had suffered nothing before: They were scourged, torn of wild Beasts, set in red hot iron Chairs; in which their Bodies were dried as on a Grid-iron, and their tormentors raged more and more against them, labouring to overcome the patience of the Saints: yet could they get nothing out of *Sanctus's* mouth, but that he was a Christian: These holy men having been thus made a spectacle all the day to the People, were at last slain. Then *Blandina* being fastened to a stake, was cast to the wild Beasts, but they, as being more merciful than men, would not come near her: Then they cast her again into Prison, where she, though a weak Woman, yet armed with invincible courage by *Christ*, mightily encouraged her Brethren.

Recovery af-  
ter falls.

Alexander.

Then was *Attalus* brought forth with this Inscription, *This is Attalus the Christian*, against whom the People were much enraged, but the Governour understanding that he was a *Roman*, remanded him to Prison till he understood the Emperours pleasure: Many that had before denied *Christ*, through Gods Grace, recovered themselves again, and tasted the sweetness of him that desired not the death of a sinner, &c. and of their own accord came to the Judgment Seat to be examined; Then did the Judge, when a great concourse of People was met together, send for all the Christian Prisoners, and as many as were Free-men of Rome he beheaded, the Residue he gave to be devoured of wild Beasts, amongst whom also they which had before denied *Christ*, joyfully suffered Martyrdom. Whilst the Christians were examining at the Bar, one *Alexander*, a Physician, by signs, and becks, perswaded those which were examined, boldly to confess *Christ*, which the People taking notice of, accused him to the Judge: who asking him what Religion he was of, he answered, *I am a Christian*: whereupon he was immediately adjudged to be devoured of the Beasts.

The next day was *Attalus* and this *Alexander* brought forth to the Scaffold, where they had all manner of torments inflicted upon them, and having endured the greatest Agony that possibly they could be put to, they were at last slain: *Alexander* never so much as sighed, but prayed to, and praised God all the



the while he was tormented: *Attalus*, when he was set in the Iron Chair, and the frying favour of his burning Body began to smell, said to the People, *Behold! this which you do is to eat mans flesh: for we neither eat men, nor commit any other wickedness*: And being demanded what was the name of their God, he said, *Our God hath no such name as men have*; Then said they, Let us see whether your God can help you, and take you out of our hands. Then was *Blandina* again brought forth, and with her one *Ponticus*, a Youth of fifteen years old, who defying their Idols, and constantly cleaving to *Christ*, were put to all the torments their enraged enemies could devise: The Youth having suffered all kinds of torments, at last gave up the Ghost: *Blandina* was first pitifully whipped, then thrown to the wild Beasts; Then tormented upon the Grid-iron; Then put into a Net, and thrown to the wild Bull, and when she was tossed, gored, and wounded with his Horns, she was at last slain, but was so filled with the ravishing joyes of the *Holy Ghost*, that she felt no pain during all her torments. Such as were strangled in Prisons, were afterwards thrown to Dogs, and had Keepers both day and night set to watch them, lest their bones and members should be buried. In the mean time the Gentiles extolled their Idols, mocking and flouting the Christians, saying, *where is your God that you so much boast of? and what helpeth this your Religion for which you give your lives?* The Bodies of the Martyrs were thus made a gazing-stock for six days in the open streets, and then were burned, and their Ashes thrown into the River.

Also in this Persecution *Iustin Martyr*, through the malice of *Crescens* the Philosopher, suffered Martyrdom. Also one *Alcibiades* a man of a strict life, eating only Bread and Water, was cast into the Prison where *Attalus*, and other Christians lay; and *Alcibiades* continued the same strict diet in Prison: But it was from God revealed to *Attalus*, that he did not well in refusing the other good Creatures of God; and that it was scandalous to his Brethren: whereupon he reformed, and eat of all things boldly with thanksgiving.

About this time *Claudius Apolinarius*, Bishop of *Hieropolis*, and *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, eloquent and learned men, delivered to the Emperor excellent Apologies written by them in defence of the Christian Religion, whereby they prevailed with him somewhat to stay the rage of this Persecution: which also was furthered upon this occasion: *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Marcus Antoninus* the Emperors, going to War against the *Quades*, *Vandals*, *Sarmates* and *Germans*; their Army, by the multitude of their enemies, was coopt up in some strait, dry and hot places, where the Soldiers having been destitute of Water for five days together, were all like to perish. Hereupon a Legion of Christian Soldiers being in the Army, with-drew apart from the rest, and falling prostrate upon the earth, by ardent Prayer, obtained of God a double relief: For the Lord sent the Romans such showers, as satisfied their necessities, and flamed such lightnings against their enemies, that thereby they were discomfited and put to flight. This Miracle so pleased the Emperor, that ever after he used the Christians gentler, writing also to divers Rulers, commanding them to give thanks to the Christians, as for their Victory, so for the preservation of himself, and his Army. His Letters was to this purpose, That whereas himself and Army, were environed with nine hundred seventy five thousand fighting men, and were like to perish for want of Water, the Christians praying to a God, that he knew not, obtained relief for him, and by hail and lightning, Destruction to his enemies; whereby he perceived their God to be a mighty God. Hereupon he decreed that none should be punished for the Christian Profession, being guilty of no other crime, and that the Accusers of the Christians should be burned alive: Which decree he commanded to be recorded in the Senate-house, proclaimed publickly in the Court of *Trajan*, and sent diligently into all his Provinces, that all might take notice of the same.

Yet not long after, *Apollonius*, a noble Senator of *Rome*, was accused by his own Servant before the Judge, for being a Christian. The Accuser, according

A just reward  
of treachery.

to the Decree, had his Legs broken, and was put to death. But *Apollonius* having rendred an account of his Faith before the Senate, was condemned to be Beheaded, notwithstanding the Decree, because there was an old Law, that any that was arraigned for professing *Christ*, without a recantation, could not be released.

*Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus and Potentianus.*  
Zeal.

*Commodus* the Emperor upon his Birth-day, calling the People of *Rome* together, in a great royalty, clothed in his Lions skin, sacrificed to *Hercules*, causing it to be proclaimed, that *Hercules* was the Patron of the City: whereupon *Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus* and *Potentianus*, learned men, and Pastors of the Congregations, being stirred up with zeal, went about from place to place, converting the *Gentiles* to the Faith of *Christ*, and hearing of the madness of the Emperor and People, they reproved that Idolatrous blindness, exhorting them to believe in the true and living God, and that, forsaking the worshipping of Devils, they should honour God alone. The Emperor hearing thereof, caused them to be apprehended, and required them to sacrifice to *Hercules*, which they refusing to do, he caused them to be grievously tormented, and at last to be pressed to death with weights of Lead.

*Julius.*  
Zeal.

*Julius* a Roman Senator, having been converted by the preaching of these men, afterwards sent for *Ruffinus* a Minister, by whom himself and all his Family were Baptized, and burning with Holy Zeal, he made an open profession of the Faith of *Christ*, praying that he might not only believe, but that he might have the honor to suffer for his Name. The Emperor hearing that he was become a Christian, sent for him, to whom he said, O *Julius*, what madness possessest thee thus to forsake the Religion of thy Forefathers, to embrace a new and fond kind of Religion of the Christians? Hereupon *Julius* made before him a free and open profession of his Faith, affirming that the *Roman* gods were false gods, and that they that worshipped them, should be punished with everlasting damnation. The Emperor hearing that he despised his gods, was much enraged, and committed him to *Vitellius*, a cruel and fierce man, to compel him, either to sacrifice to *Hercules*, or to slay him: But *Julius* nothing discouraged, and perswading *Vitellius* to acknowledg, and serve the true God, was at his command with Cudgels beaten to death.

## CHAP. XI.

*The Fifth Primitive Persecution which began Anno Christi 205.*

*Commodus* being dead, *Pertinax* succeeded in the Empire, under whom the Church enjoyed peace, and flourished exceedingly, so that many of the Nobles of *Rome* embraced the true Faith, together with their whole Households.

*Severus* Emperor.

*Pertinax* being dead, *Severus* succeeded, and in the first ten years of his reign he was very mild and gentle to the Christians: But afterwards, through sinister suggestions, and malicious accusations; he was so incensed, that by his proclamations he commanded that no Christians should any more be suffered to live. Hereby a great persecution was stirred up on every side, and an infinite number of Martyrs were slain. The crimes objected against the Christians were sedition, rebellion against the Emperor, Sacriledg, Murtherring of Infants, incestuous pollutions, eating raw flesh, worshipping the Head of an Ass, &c. but especially, that they would not worship their Idols. The Places where this Persecution most raged, were *Africa, Cappadocia, Alexandria* and *Carthage*. The number of them that suffered, was innumerable, amongst whom was *Leonides* the Father of *Origen*; with whom *Origen* his Son, being but seventeen years old, would have suffered, (such a fervent desire he had of Martyrdom) had not his Mother privily in the Night conveyed away his shirt and cloths,

Christians  
charged with  
sedition and  
rebellion, &c.

*Leonides* father of *Origen*.

Zeal.

where-



whereupon, more for shame to be seen, than for fear to die, he was constrained to remain at home.

*Origen* was afterwards a Professor of Divinity at *Alexandria*, and out of his School, one *Plutarch* suffered Martyrdom, as also *Serenus* his Brother, who was burned, and another *Serenus* who was Beheaded. *Potamiens* also, who was tormented with boiling Pitch poured upon her, and afterwards with her Mother *Marcella*, and *Rhaia* was burned in the fire. This *Potamiens* being a beautiful Virgin, was committed to Captain *Basilides* to see execution done upon her, and as he led her to the place of Execution, he repressed the rage of the multitude, who followed her with many railings and revilings, whereupon, to requite his kindness, she prayed to the Lord for his Conversion to the true Faith, and so with admirable patience she suffered Martyrdom.

*Plutarch.*  
*Serenus.*  
*Potamiens.*  
*Marcella and*  
*Rhaia.*

Shortly after *Basilides* being required to give an Oath in the behalf of his Fellow-Soldiers, he denied the same, plainly affirming that he was a Christian, and therefore he could not swear by the Idols, &c. They which heard him, thought that he jested at first, but when he had constantly affirmed it, they had him before the Judge, who committed him to ward: The Christians wondring at it, went to him, and enquiring the cause of his Conversion, he told them that *Potamiens* had prayed for him, and so he saw a Crown put upon his head, adding that it should not be long before he received it, and accordingly the next day he was Beheaded.

*Basilides* his  
strange conversion.

As many suffered death in this Persecution, so others there were, who through Gods providence, suffered great torments, and yet escaped with life, of whom there was one *Alexander*, who for his constant confession, and torments suffered, was afterwards made Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Also *Narcissus*, against whom three wicked Persons conspired to accuse him, binding their accusations with Oaths and Curses, one wishing to be destroyed with Fire, if it were not true; another to be consumed with a grievous disease; The other to lose both his eyes; *Narcissus* being unable to withstand so wicked an accusation, retired himself into a desert: In the mean time Gods vengeance followed these perjured Wretches: for the first, by a small spark of Fire, was himself with all his Family, and goods burned: The second was taken with a grievous sickness which tormented him from the top to the toe, whereof he died: The third, being warned by these Judgments, confessed his fault, but by reason of his abundant sorrow and weeping, he lost both his eyes: *Narcissus* being hereby cleared from their false accusation, returned home, and was received into his Congregation again. Also one *Andoclus* was sent by *Polycarp* into *France*, who because he spread there the Doctrine of *Christ*, was apprehended by the command of *Servus*, and first beaten with staves and bats, and afterwards Beheaded. *Asclepiades* also, afterwards Bishop of *Antioch*, suffered much in this Persecution. Then did *Irenaeus*, and many others with him suffer Martyrdom; and shortly after *Tertullian* also. *Perpetua* and *Felicitas*, two godly Women, with *Ravennatus* their Brother, and *Satyrus*, were thrown to the wild Beasts, and devoured by them. *Saturninus* was Beheaded: *Secundulus* cast into Prison, where he died: All these suffered Martyrdom at *Carthage*.

*Narcissus.*  
False Witness  
plagued by  
God.

*Andoclus.*  
*Asclepiades.*

*Irenaeus.*  
*Tertullian.*  
*Perpetua.*  
*Felicitas.*  
*Ravennatus.*  
*Satyrus.*  
*Secundulus.*  
*Saturninus.*  
*Urbicus.*  
*Tiberius.*  
*Valerianus.*  
*Cecilia.*

Also *Zepherinus*, and after him *Urbanus*, both Bishops of *Rome*, were Martyred in this Persecution: This *Urbanus* by preaching and holiness of life, converted many Heathens unto *Christ*; amongst whom were *Tiberius* and *Valerianus*, two noble men of *Rome*, who both suffered Martyrdom: Also *Cecilia* a Virgin, who was espoused to *Valerian*, was apprehended and carried to the Idols to offer sacrifice, which she refusing to do, should have been carried to the Judge to receive the sentence of condemnation; But the Serjeants and Officers beholding her excellent Beauty and prudent behaviour, began with many persuasions to solicit her to favour her self, &c. but she so replied with wisdom and godly exhortations, that by the Grace of Almighty God, their hearts began to relent, and at length to yield to that Religion which before they Persecuted;

A great Conversion.

which she perceiving, desired leave to go home; and sending for *Urbanus* the Bishop to her House, he so grounded and established them in the Faith of *Christ*, that about four hundred Persons believed, and were Baptized; amongst whom was *Gordianus* a noble man. Afterwards this blessed Martyr was brought before the Judge, by whom she was condemned; Then she was enclosed in an hot Bath for twenty four hours, yet remaining alive, she was there Beheaded.

*Agapetus* a Boy  
of fifteen years  
old.

Gods Judg-  
ment on a  
Persecutor.

*Calepodius*.

*Pamachius*.

*Martina*.

At *Preneſte* in *Italy* was one *Agapetus* of fifteen years old apprehended, and because he refused to sacrifice to Idols, he was first scourged with whips, then hanged up by the Feet, and had scalding water poured on him; Then he was cast to the wild Beasts; but because they would not hurt him, he was lastly Beheaded. *Antiochus* that executed these torments on him, suddenly fell down from his judicial Seat, crying out, that all his bowels burned within him, and so he died miserably.

*Calepodius*, a Minister of *Christ* in *Rome*, was first dragged thorow the streets, and after cast into *Tyber*.

*Pamachius*, a Senator of *Rome*, with his Wife and Children, and other Men and Women to the number of forty two, were all Beheaded in one day, together with another noble man, all whose Heads were hung up over the Gates of the City, to deter others from the profession of Christianity. Also *Martina*, a Christian Virgin, having suffered many other bitter torments, was at last slain with the Sword.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Sixth Primitive Persecution, which began Anno Christi 237.*

*Maximinus*  
Emperor.

*Urbanus* and  
*Philip*.

Seſtaries dan-  
gerous.

Notes.

Probably it  
was by the re-  
pentance of his  
own consci-  
ence.

**T**He Emperor *Maximinus* raised the Sixth Persecution against the Christians, especially against the Teachers and Leaders of the Church, thinking that if these Captains were removed out of the way, he should the easier prevail against the rest. In the time of this Persecution, *Origen* wrote his Book *De Martyrio*, which being lost, the names of most that suffered Martyrdom in those times, are buried in oblivion, yet were they very many: Amongst whom *Urbanus* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Philippus*, one of his Ministers were banished into *Sardinia*, where they both died.

About this time one *Natalius* that had formerly suffered great Persecution for the cause of *Christ*, was seduced by *Aſclepiodotus* and *Theodorus*, two *Seſtaries*, to be the Bishop of their Sect, promising to pay him a hundred and fifty Crowns of silver every Month, and so he joyned himself to them; But the Lord in mercy not intending to lose him that had suffered so much for his sake, admonished him by a vision to adjoin himself to the true Church again, which the good man for the present, blinded with lucre and honor, did not regard as he ought to have done: The Night after he was scourged by Angels, whereupon in the Morning, putting on Sack-cloth, with much weeping and lamentation, he went to the Christian Congregation, praying them for the tender mercies of *Christ*, that he might be received into their Communion again, which request was accordingly granted unto him.

*Hippolitus* was drawn thorow the Fields with wild Horses till he died, Many others were Martyred and Buried by sixty in a Pit.



## C H A P. XIII.

*The seventh Primitive Persecution, which began Anno Christi 250.*

**D**ecius the Emperor raised this Seventh terrible Persecution against the Christians, which was first occasioned by reason of the treasures of the Emperor, which were committed to *Fabian* the Bishop of *Rome*, who thereupon, by the command of *Decius*, was put to death, and moreover his Proclamations were sent in all quarters, that all which professed the Name of *Christ*, should be slain. In the time of this Persecution *Origen* suffered many and great torments for the cause of *Christ*, by Rackings, Dungeons, &c.

*Nicephorus*, who writeth of this Persecution under *Decius*, declareth the horribleness of it to be so great, and that so many Martyrs suffered, That, saith he, it is as easie to number the Sands of the Sea, as to set down the Names of all those whom this Persecution did devour.

*Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was very aged, having governed the Church forty years, was from thence carried to *Cesarea*, where after a bold and constant confession of his Faith, made before the Judge, he was cast into Prison, and there died. *Babilas* Bishop of *Antioch* also died in Prison, and forty Virgins were Martyred there about that time. And one *Peter* in the Country of *Phrygia*, being apprehended by the Proconsul, suffered most bitter torments for the name of *Christ*, the like did divers others in *Troada*. From *Babylon* divers Christians were led away by *Decius* into *Spain*, and there executed; The like sufferings had many in *Cesarea*.

*Dionysius Alexandrinus*, writing of the Martyrs that suffered in *Alexandria*, saith thus, This Persecution began about a year before the Emperors Proclamation came forth, by reason of a wicked South-sayer, who coming to the City, stirred up the multitude of Heathens against the Christians, perswading them to uphold their Idolatrous services; wherewith the People being inflamed, obtained full power to persecute their wicked purposes, conceiving all religion to consist in the destruction of the Christians. And first of all they fell upon a Minister, called *Aletra*, whom they would have enforced to Blaspheme *Christ*, which when he refused, they laid upon him with Staves and Clubs, and with sharp Reeds they pricked his Face and Eyes; and then, bringing him to the Suburbs, they stoned him to death. Then they took an holy Woman, called *Quinta*, and bringing her to the Idol-Temple, would compel her to worship there; which she constantly refusing, they bound her Feet, and drew her thorow all the Streets upon the hard-stones, whipt her with Whips, dashed her against Mil-stones, and lastly stoned her to death. Then the enraged multitude breaking into the Christians Houses, plundered them of all they had; The rest of the lumber they carried into the Market-place, and burned it: The Saints in the mean time taking patiently and joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that they had a more enduring substance in Heaven.

Then they took an ancient Virgin, called *Apollinia*, whom they brought forth, and dashing all the Teeth out of her Head, they made a great fire, threatening to cast her into it, unless she would Blaspheme and deny *Christ*, whereupon she, after a little pause, leaped into the Fire, and so was burned. Then they took *Serapion* out of his House, whom they assailed with all kind of torments, broke almost all the joynts of his Body: and lastly throwing him down from an high loft, killed him. The poor Christians could no where shelter themselves, nor rest day nor night, the multitude crying out, that unless they would Blaspheme *Christ*, they should all be burned. But, through Gods Mercy, the miserable Wretches at last fell out amongst themselves, turning their cruelty, formerly exercised against the Christians, upon their own Heads, whereby the Church had a little breathing time.

Shortly

Decius Emp.

Fabian Mar.

574

A cruel Edict.

Alexander  
Martyr.

Babilas

Paw.

A South-sayer  
stirs up a Per-  
secution,

Martyr

Quinta

The Christian  
Houses plun-  
dered.

Apollinia leaps  
into the Fire.  
Serapion

Persecutors  
divided among  
themselves.

The danger of  
riches.

Zeal.

Apostacy.

*Julianus* Mar-  
tyr, and *Cro-  
nion*,

*Macar*,  
*Epimachus*,  
*Alexander*,  
*Ammonarion*,  
*Mercuria*,  
*Dionysia*.

A Boy of fif-  
teen years old.

*Nemesion*.

Humane fail-  
ty.

Zeal.

Courage.

*Ischirion*.

The Miseries  
of Christians.  
*Cheremon*.

*Dionysius*.

A Miracle of  
Mercy.

Flight in Per-  
secution.

Shortly after came forth the cruel Edict of the Emperor, which so terrified the Christians, that some, especially the rich, partly through fear, and partly by the perswasion of their Neighbors, came to those impure and idolatrous Sacrifices. Others came boldly to the Altars, declaring publicly, That they were not of that Religion: Of the rest, some ran away, others were taken, induring bands and torments constantly. Others again, after long imprisonment, and sundry torments, renounced their Faith, whilst others more strong in the Faith, valiantly endured Martyrdom; amongst whom was *Julianus*, a Man diseased with the Gout, and not able to go, and *Cronion*, who were laid upon Camels, and there scourged, and at last thrown into the fire, where, with much constancy, they were consumed. As *Julianus* went to Martyrdom, a certain Soldier took his part against those which railed upon him: Whereupon the People crying out against him, he was apprehended, and being constant in his Profession, was presently Beheaded.

Also *Macar*, a *Christian Lybian*, was burned alive. *Epimachus* and *Alexander*, having been long imprisoned, after innumerable pains and torments, with Razors and Scourges; were with four Women, consumed with fire. *Ammonarion*, a Virgin; *Mercuria*, an aged Matron; and *Dionysia*, a Mother of many Children, whom yet she loved not above the Lord; these, when they could not be overcome by any torments inflicted on them by the cruel Judge, but rather were unsensible of them all, were at last slain with the Sword.

Also three *Egyptians*, and a youth of fifteen years old, were brought before the Judge, who first began with the child, by fair words, seeking to intice him, then by torments to constrain him, which not prevailing, when he had tormented the other also, he condemned them all to the fire. But the Judge wondering at the wise answers, and grave constancy of the child, dismissed him.

*Nemesion* also an *Egyptian*, was first accused to be a Companion of Thieves, but being purged from that, he was accused of Christianity, tormented and scourged extreamly, and then amongst other Thieves, burnt to death.

A certain Christian being examined before the Judge, and through fear being ready to shrink back, there were by certain Soldiers of the degree of Knights, and an aged Man, named *Theophilus*, who were ready to burst for grief, making signs to him, by their hands and gestures, to be constant; which being observed by the by-standers, they were ready to lay hold of them; but they of their own accord, pressing up to the Judge, professed themselves to be Christians, which much imboldened the weak Christian that was before the Tribunal, and terrified the Judge. This being done, they departed away, rejoycing for the testimony that they had given of their Faith.

In other Cities many Christians were torn in pieces by the Heathen.

*Ischirion*, a Servant to a Nobleman, was commanded by his Master to sacrifice to the Idols; which when he refused, and would by no means be perswaded to, his Master took a Pike, and ran him thorough. Multitudes of Christians wandring in Desarts and Mountains, were devoured by hunger, thirst, cold, sickness, thieves, and wild Beasts; amongst whom was *Cheremon*, Bishop of the City of *Nilus*, and his Wife, who flying into the Mountains of *Arabia*, were never heard of more. *Dionysius* also saith of himself, *I speak the truth before God, and lie not, I having no regard of my own life, and not without the motions of Gods Spirit, did flee, and avoid the danger of this Persecution. Yea, and before that, when one was sent from the Governor to seek me; I remained three days at home to tary for him: The Messenger, in the mean time, narrowly sought for me, by all ways, Fields, Floods, and Corners, where he thought I might hide my self, God striking him with blindness, that he could not find my House. After these three days, the Lord God willing and commanding me to flee, and marvellously opening to me the way, I with my Children, and many other Brethren, went out together, and so escaped.*

Also *Agatha*, a godly Virgin of *Sicily*, suffered divers and bitter torments of imprisonment, with beatings, famine, racking, as also rolling naked upon sharp



sharp Shells, and hot Coals, and had her Breasts cut off her Body. Also forty other Virgins, by sundry kinds of torments, were put to death about the same time.

*Decius* erecting a Temple at *Ephesus*, compelled all in the City to offer sacrifices to Idols; but there were seven Christian Soldiers of his own Retinue, who refused, neither could the Emperor, by perswasion or threats, induce them to it; yet he gave them respite till his return from the Wars; in the mean time they hid themselves in a Cave in the Mountain *Celins*. At the Emperors return he made great inquisition for them, and at last hearing where they were, he caused the mouth of the Cave so to be closed up, that they could not get out, and so they were famished there.

There was also one *Nicetas*, a Christian Soldier, whom when the *Prator* could not by any torments remove from his stedfastness, he took another course with him: For he brought him into a most fragrant Garden, flowing with all manner of pleasures and delights, where he laid him upon a Bed of Down, softly inwrapped in a Net of Silk, among the Lillies and Roses, the delicious murmur of the Streams, and the sweet whistling of the Leaves moved with a gentle Wind, and so departed: Presently in comes a beautiful Strumpet, and useth all the abominable tricks of her impure art, and whorish villanies, to draw him to commit wickedness with her. Whereupon, the young Man fearing that he should now be conquered by Folly, who was conqueror over *Fury*, bites off a piece of his Tongue with his own Teeth, and spits it into the face of the Whore, and so prevented the hurt of sin, by the smart of his wound.

At *Antioch*, *Theodora*, a godly Virgin, refusing to sacrifice to the Idols, was condemned by the Judge to the Stews, which sentence being executed; there were many wanton young Men ready at the door, to press into the house where she was; but one of the Brethren, called *Didymus*, putting on a Soldiers habit, would have the first admittance, and coming in, he perswaded her to change Garments with him; and so she, in the Soldiers habit, escaped away, and *Didymus* was left to the rage, and wondering of the People, when he was found a Man. Hereupon he was presented to the President, to whom he presently confessed the whole Matter, professing himself to be a Christian, and so was condemned; which *Theodora* hearing of, thinking to excuse him, she came, and presented her self to the Judge, as the guilty party, desiring, That she might be condemned, and the other excused. But the cruel Judge, neither considering the virtue of the Persons, nor the innocency of the Cause, most inhumanely condemned them both, first to be Beheaded, and then burnt, which was accordingly executed.

*Agathon*, a Man at Arms in *Alexandria*, rebuking some leud persons who scornfully used the dead Bodies of the Christians, was accused to the Judge, and lost his head.

In *Troada*, two Christians being delivered by the Proconsul to the People, were first scourged, then drawn out of the City, and there trodden to death. Two Ministers, with a Deacon, were Martyred in *Rome*; and two Noblemen were brought and accused to *Decius*, for burying the dead Bodies of the Christians, and being by him commanded to sacrifice to the Idols; and they refusing, he caused them to be cast to the Wild Beasts. But when they would not touch them, they were Beheaded with the Sword.

Also *Secundianus* was accused to be a Christian, which he affirming, was commanded to Prison. By the way, two Christians cryed to the Soldiers, asking them, Whither they carried the innocent Man; whereupon being apprehended and examined, they confessed themselves to be Christians, and were condemned. First, they were beaten with Cudgels, then hung up, and tormented with the Gibbet, having fire set to their sides, and lastly, were Beheaded. But some of their tormentors were taken with evil spirits; others of them, fell down suddenly, and died.

But

A. 181. 172  
Courage of  
seven Soldiers

Nicetas his  
rare Chastity

Theodora con-  
demned to the  
Stews.

Her strange  
deliverance

Cruelty

Agathon

Two Ministers

Secundianus  
Zeal

Gods judg-  
ment on Per-  
secutors

But the number of Martyrs of all Ranks that suffered in this Persecution, was so great, that it is impossible to set them down all: Bishops, Ministers, Deacons, &c. Young, Old, Men, Women, &c.

Serapions Apo-  
stacy, and  
Recovery.

Yet amongst this great number, some there were that fell away, as *Serapion*, an old Man, that for a long time had lived a sincere and godly life, who afterwards repenting of his Apostacy, desired to be readmitted into the Church, but that was not granted: Shortly after he fell sick, and in it, having remained dumb, and bereaved of his senses for twenty four hours; the day after, he began a little to recover, and calling his Nephew to him, he said, *How long, how long do you detain me here? Make haste, that I may be absolved. Call me hither some of the Ministers, &c.* And so being absolved, he presently after died.

Danger of A-  
postacy.

In *Troada*, *Nichomachus* being grievously tormented, cried out, *I am no Christian*; and so being let down from the Engine, he had no sooner sacrificed to the Idols, but being possessed by the Devil, he was thrown on the ground, where he bit off his own tongue, and immediately after died. Many others which shewed the like cowardise, were taken and tormented with wicked spirits: One was struck dumb; a Maid taken with a wicked spirit, tore out her own tongue, and died with grievous torments in her Belly, and inward parts. But though some did thus fall away, yet others there were, whom neither fear, nor pain could remove from their steadfastness, but they continued glorious Martyrs to the end.

Constancy.

*Cyprian* relates a story of one of his Fellow Ministers, who in the midst of his torments began to faint, being greatly afraid of death, and desired to be released: At which time there appeared to him a young Man of admirable Beauty, and so bright, that Mans mortal Eye could scarce endure to behold him, who angerly said to him, *Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis?* To suffer you dare not, to go out you will not: What would you have me do unto you?

A Vision.

The beginning  
of the Nova-  
rian Schism.

In this Persecution there sprung up the *Novatian* Schism, which made a great disturbance in the Church. This *Novatus* being a Minister under *Cyprian* in *Carthage*, by stirring up Discord and Factions, bred much trouble to the Church, seeking to withdraw certain of the Brethren from the Bishop. And afterwards *Novatus* going to *Rome*, set up himself as a Bishop, against *Cornelius*, the then Bishop of *Rome*; and to further his design, he by subtilty allured to him three or four holy Men that had been Confessors: Then he inticed three weak Bishops that lived in *Italy*, to come to *Rome*, and there perswaded them by imposing hands upon him, to make him Bishop; for which fact, two of them afterwards were suspended, and the third upon his Repentance was readmitted. *Novatus* being thus made a Bishop, grew proud, and sought by all means to withdraw the People from *Cornelius* to himself; yea, he made many of them to swear, that they would not leave him to go to *Cornelius*. But the holy Confessors before-mentioned, when they perceived the crafty subtilty of *Novatus*, left him, and much grieving for their sin, were reconciled to *Cornelius* again. *Novatus* held this opinion, that they which once renounced the Faith, and for fear of torments, had offered Incense to the Idols, although they repented, yet could never be readmitted into the Church of *Christ* again. To suppress this Error, there was a Synod called at *Rome*, of Sixty Bishops, *Anno 255*, who condemned it.

Pride the  
cause of  
Schism.

A Synod  
against Nova-  
rian.

*Aurelius*.

*Mappalieu*.

*Cyprian* also relates of *Aurelius*, a godly and valiant young Man, who for his constancy in the cause of *Christ*, suffered great and many torments, and afterwards was banished. And of *Mappalicus*, who the day before he suffered, in the midst of his torments, told the Proconsul *Videbis eum Agonem*, to morrow you shall see the running for a Wager; and accordingly, the next day being brought forth to his Martyrdom, he with no less constancy then patience, endured faithful unto the death.

But



But *Decius*, the Author of this Persecution, escaped not the revenging hand of God, for warring against the *Goths*, and being overcome by them, left he should fall into their hands, he leaped with his Horse into a Whirlpit, where he was drowned, and his Body was never found after: Yea, God avenged the Blood of his Saints upon the whole *Roman Empire*, by sending a General Plague of Pestilence upon it, which continued ten years together; and *Dionysius* saith, That in *Alexandria*, where he was Bishop, there was scarce any House clear: And though some Christians died in this Plague, yet it fell most heavy upon the *Gentiles*. The Christians also in this Plague shewed much Brotherly love each to other, by visiting, comforting, and relieving one another. Whereas the Idolaters, being stricken with extream fear of the Plague, none considered his Neighbor, but every Man shifted for himself; and of those that were infected, some they cast out of doors half dead, to be devoured of Dogs and Wild Beasts; some they let die in their Houses without all succor; others they suffered to lie unburied, and durst not come near them, notwithstanding which, the Pestilence followed them whithersoever they went, and miserably consumed them: So that the most part of the Inhabitants were consumed by it in every Countrey, especially in those Provinces, where had been the greatest Persecutions raised against the Christians.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

A terrible Plague.

The Brotherly love of Christians.

A special Providence.

After the death of *Decius*, there succeeded *Gallus* and *Volusianus* in the Empire, Anno Christi 255. who continued this Persecution against the Christians; which fell most heavy upon the Pastors and Ministers of the Congregations. For about this time *Cyprian*, and many other Ministers were banished; others were put into the Metall Mines, to whom *Cyprian* wrote an Epistle Consolatory, wherein he writes thus, *wounds and Scars are an Ornament to a Christians Breast, such as bring not shame, but honoreth them before the Lord; and though in the Mines there be no Beds for their Bodies to rest on, yet they have rest in Christ; and though their weary Bones lie on the cold ground, yet it is no pain to lie with Christ. Their Feet are fettered with Chains, but he is bound of Man, whom the Lord Christ doth loose: He lies tied in the Stocks, whose Feet thereby are made swifter to run to Heaven; neither can any Man tie a Christian so fast, but he runs so much the faster for his Garland of Life: They have no Garments to save them from cold, but he that puts on Christ, is sufficiently clothed. Doth Bread fail to their hungry Bodies? Man lives not by Bread alone, but by every Word that proceeds out of the Mouth of God. Your Deformity shall be turned to Honor, your Mourning to Joy, your Pain to Pleasure, and Felicity infinite. And if this grieves you, that you cannot serve God in your places as formerly, yet your daily sacrifice ceaseth not, which is a contrite and humble Heart; and though your travel be great, yet shall your reward be greater: For God beholding them which confess his Name, approveth their willing minds, in their strivings helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them, rewarding that in us which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in us perfected.* Again, he tells them that they are now in a joyful journey, halting apace to the Mansions of the Martyrs, there to enjoy, after darkness, durable light, and comfort above all their sufferings, &c. About the same time also, *Lucius*, Bishop of *Rome*, was banished.

Cyprian Consolatory Letter.

After the death of *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, there succeeded *Valerianus*, who ceased the Persecution, and carried himself exceeding friendly to the Christians; so that his whole Court was replenished with holy Saints and Servants of Christ, whereby his House seemed a Church of God. But the Devil envying the Peace of the Church, by the means of an *Egyptian* Inchanter, (who was hindered from doing his feats, by the presence of the Christians) stirred up the Emperor against them, who grew to such impiety himself, that he sacrificed young Infants to his Idols, quartered their Bodies, divided the Intrails of young Children new born, &c. As hereafter follows.

Persecution stirred up by a Sorcerer.

## C H A P. XIV.

*The Eighth Primitive Persecution, which began Anno Christi 259.*

Sin the fore-  
runner of Per-  
secution.

**V**alerianus being seduced by the Egyptian Inchanter, as is before related, stirred up the Eighth Persecution against the Church of Christ; concerning which, Cyprian writeth thus. *we must confess, that this great calamity which hath wasted, for the most part, all our Churches, and still daily consumes us, ariseth chiefly from our own wickedness, while we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor observe his Precepts as we ought, whilst we are full of lucre, pride, emulation, dissention, void of simplicity and faithful dealing, renouncing the world in word, but not in deed, every Man pleasing himself, and displeasing others; and therefore we are thus worthily scourged. For what stripes do we not deserve, when the Confessors themselves do keep no Discipline, &c.* Concluding, *Non venissent fratribus hæc mala, si in unum fraternitas fuisset animata. These evils had not hapned to the Brethren, if they had joyned together in Brotherly unanimity.* A little before this Persecution began, God by a Vision revealed it to Cyprian, saying to him, *Be quiet and of good comfort, for Peace will come; albeit, a little stay there is for a while, for that some remain yet to be proved and tried, &c.*

A Vision.

Christians  
charged as the  
causes of all  
Plagues.

Confuted by  
Cyprian and  
Tertullian.

Cyprian Mar-  
tyr.

Sixtus and his  
Deacons.

The Crimes and Accusations that were laid to the charge of the Christians, by the Persecutors, were, that they refused to worship Idols, and the Emperors; and that they professed the Name of Christ: Yet besides all the Calamities and Evils that hapned in the World, as Wars, Famine, Pestilence, &c. were imputed only to the Christians. But Cyprian and Tertullian confuting these slanders, proved, That the special cause of all those miseries which beset the Empire, proceeded from the cruel shedding of the Innocent Blood of the Christians. In this Persecution, Cyprian was at last condemned to have his Head cut off, who patiently and willingly submitted his Neck to the stroke of the Sword.

Also about this time, Sixtus, Bishop of Rome, with his six Deacons, were accused for being Christians; whereupon being brought to the place of Execution, they were all Beheaded.

Laurence also, another of his Deacons, following Sixtus as he went to his Execution, complained that he might not suffer with him, but that he was secluded, as the Son from the Father. To whom the Bishop answered, *That within three days he should follow him*, bidding him, in the mean time, to go home, and if he had any Treasures, to distribute them amongst the Poor. The Judge hearing mention of Treasures, supposing that Laurence had great store in his custody, commanded him to bring the same to him: Laurence craved three days respite, promising then to declare where the Treasure might be had. In the mean time, he caused a good number of Poor Christians to be gathered together, and when the day of his answer was come, the Persecutor strictly charged him to make good his promise. But valiant Laurence, stretching out his Arms over the Poor, said, *These are the Precious Treasures of the Church; these are the Treasures indeed, in whom Christ hath his Mansion, &c.* But O! What tongue is able to express the fury and madness of the Tyrants heart! How he stamped, stared, ramped, and fared like one out of his Wits. His eyes glowed like fire, his mouth foamed like a Boar, like a Hell-hound he grindeth his teeth; then he cried, *Kindle the fire, make no spare of wood; hath this Villain deluded the Emperor? away with him, whip him with scourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fists, brain him with clubs: Fesleth the Traytor with the Emperor? pinch him with fiery tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chains and fire-forks, and the grate of iron, set it on the fire, bind the Re'el hand and foot, and when the grate is red hot, on with him, roast him, broyl him, toss him, turn him: Upon pain of our high displeasure, do every Man his office, O ye Tormentors! Immediately his command*

was

The courage  
and constancy  
of Laurence.  
The rage of  
Tyrants.



was obeyed, and after many cruel handlings, this meek Lamb was laid, I will not say upon a Bed of Fiery-iron, but on a soft Doun-Bed; so mightily God wrought for his Servant, so miraculously did he temper this Element of Fire, that it was not a Bed of consuming Pain, but of nourishing Rest unto *Lawrence*. Not *Lawrence*, but the Emperor seemed to be tormented, the one broiling in the Flesh, the other burning in his Heart. When this Triumphant Martyr had been pressed down with Fire-forks for a great space, in the Mighty Spirit of God, he spake to the Tyrant thus:

In all these things we are more than conquerors.

*This side is now roasted enough, turn up, O Tyrant great;*

*Assay, whether roasted or raw, thou think'st the better meat?*

By the constant Confession of this worthy and valiant Deacon, a Roman Soldier was converted to the same Faith, and desired to be Baptised; whereupon he was called before the Judge, scourged, and afterwards Beheaded.

About the same time, *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, with his three Deacons, were brought before *Emilianus*, who told them of the clemency of the Emperor, and therefore required them to sacrifice to his gods, &c. To whom *Dionysius* answered, *Divers Men worship divers gods, but we only that one God who is the Creator of all things, making our Prayers to him incessantly for the health of the Emperor. &c.* Then said the President, *why can you not worship your own God, and ours also?* *Dionysius* replied, *we worship only one God, as we have said.* The President said, *I see you are ingrateful persons, and regard not the Emperors clemency, therefore I banish you to Cephro in Lybia, and charge you, that you convert no more your Assemblies, nor be found out of that place at your peril.* And though *Dionysius* was sick, yet would he not grant him one days respite, before his departure.

*Dionysius banished.*

In *Cephro* he had a great Congregation, as well of those that followed him in his banishment, as of others that resorted to him out of *Egypt*; yea, though at first he was persecuted there, and stoned, yet afterwards a great number of the Inhabitants forsook their Idols, and were converted unto God by his Ministry: And having accomplished his Ministry there, the Lord removed him to another place. For (saith *Dionysius*) *Emilianus translated us from thence to a sharper place of Lybia, commanding us to meet all together at the City Mareota, intending to separate us into several Villages, or rather to take us by the way. When we came thither, I was commanded to Colluthion, a place which I had never heard of; yet was it some solace to me, that the Brethren told me it was near to the City Paretonium: For as my being at Cephro gat me the acquaintance of many Brethren of Egypt, so I hoped, that the vicinity of that place to the City, might procure me the concurrence of certain loving Brethren from it, as it came also to pass, &c.*

The power of the Word of God,

Gods Providence.

He writeth moreover, that the number of those which suffered Martyrdom about that time, was great, Men, Women, young Men, Maidens, old Wives, Soldiers, and Men of all sorts and ages; of whom, some with scourgings, and fire, and some with the sword, obtained the Victory, and gat the Crown. Neither (saith he) to this day doth the President cease cruelly murdering such as be brought before him, tearing some with torments, imprisoning others, and commanding, that no Man should come to them: Yet God with the daily resort of the Brethren, doth comfort the afflicted.

The cruel punishments of the Christians.

In *Palestine*, *Priscus*, *Malchus*, and *Alexander*, three godly Men, seeing the valiant courage of the Christians so boldly to venture, constantly to stand, and patiently to suffer in this persecution, as being grieved with themselves, began to accuse their own sluggishness and cowardise, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselves so cold and faint-hearted, in laboring for the Crown of Martyrdom: Whereupon, agreeing amongst themselves, they came to *Cæsarea*, and stepping to the Judge, they declared themselves to be Christians, and so they were sentenced, and given to the Wild Beasts.

*Priscus, Malchus, Alexander.*

Zeal.

A certain Woman also in the same place, formerly a *Marcionist*, being brought before the President, obtained the same Martyrdom.

Three hundred  
Christians put  
into a Lime-  
kiln.

In *Carthage* three hundred Christians being brought before the President, were put to their choice, either to offer sacrifice, or to go into a Lime-kiln: Whereupon by mutual consent, they all chose the Lime-kiln, in which, with the smoke of the Lime, they were smothered.

Three Virgins  
cruelly tor-  
mented.

In another part of *Africk*, three godly Virgins had first Vinegar and Gall given them to drink; then were they scourged, tormented upon the Gibbet, and rubbed with Lime; then were they scorched upon the Fiery Gridiron, then cast to the Wild Beasts, which would not touch them; therefore, lastly, they were Beheaded.

*Fructuosus*.

*Valerian Em-  
peror*.

Gods judg-  
ment on Per-  
secutors.

In *Italy*, a godly Man was first tormented with the Rack, then cast to the Wild Beasts, which not hurting him, he was burned in the fire. *Fructuosus*, a Bishop in *Spain*, with his two Deacons, having witnessed a good Confession, were all of them burned in the fire. But this cruel Emperor *Valerian*, who thus persecuted the Saints of God, shortly after felt the revenging Hand of God: For in an expedition that he made against the *Persians*, he was taken prisoner by *Sipores* the King, who made a Foot-stool of him, every time that he gat upon his Horse; and at last, by the command of the King, he was flayed alive, powdered with Salt, and so ended his wretched life. Also *Claudius*, a President and Minister of his Persecutions, was possessed by the Devil, and biting off his Tongue in small pieces, he ended his wretched life. Also there were great and terrible Earth-quakes, and many Commotions and Rebellions in sundry parts of the Empire, inasmuch, as *Galiennus*, the Son of *Valerian*, and his Fellow-Emperor, began to relent towards the Christians, and set forth some Edicts in their favor. Notwithstanding which, some there were that suffered in sundry places, amongst whom was one *Marinus*, a Nobleman, and valiant Captain in *Casarea*, who stood for an honorable Office, which of right fell to him; but his Competitor to prevent him, accused him to the Judge to be a Christian. Hereupon the Judge examined him of his Faith, and finding that indeed he was a Christian, he gave him three hours to advise and deliberate with himself. Then the Bishop of the place, finding that he stood doubtful in himself what to do, took him by the hand, and led him into the Church, and laid before him a Sword and a New Testament, bidding him take his free choice, which of them he would have. *Marinus* immediately ran to the New Testament, and chose that; and so being animated by the Bishop, he presented himself boldly before the Judge, by whose Sentence he was Beheaded.

*Asyrius*.

Satans subtil-  
ty.

Power of  
Prayer.

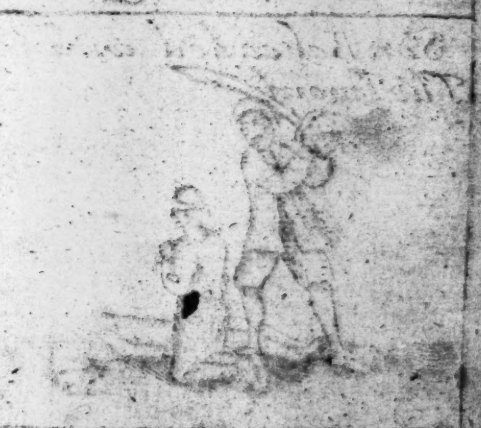
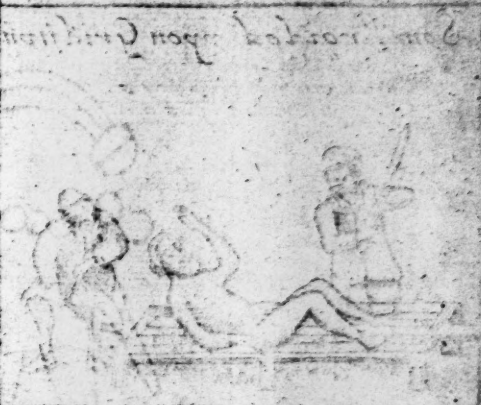
About the same time there was in *Casarea*, *Asyrius*, a Noble Senator of *Rome*, and a Christian; and whereas the *Gentiles*, in that place, used to offer sacrifice by a Fountain side; which sacrifice, by the working of the Devil, used suddenly to vanish out of their sight, to the great admiration of the deluded multitude. *Asyrius* pitying their miserable ignorance, came amongst them, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, prayed to God in the Name of Christ, That the People might no longer be thus seduced by the Devil; whereupon the sacrifice was seen to swim upon the Fountain, and ever after, that false Miracle ceased.

Peace in the  
Church.

After the death of *Galiennus*, there succeeded *Claudius*, a quiet Emperor; and after him, *Quintilianus* his Brother; both which, reigning Nineteen years, the Church enjoyed Peace in their time.

Here place the Third Figure.





Christians Braines  
Beaten out <sup>th</sup> Clubbe



Som Throne  
Downe From  
Rocks And  
Broken to  
Peeces



Som Broiled vpon Gridiron



Som Prest to Death with  
Great weights of Leade



Som Burnt at stakes



Som Stoned to Death



Som Beheaded with  
The sword



Som hanged  
vpon Gibbets







## CHAP. XV.

*The Ninth Primitive Persecution, which began Anno Christi 278.*



After the death of *Quintilian*, succeeded *Aurelian* in the Empire, who was by nature severe and rigorous, and a strict punisher of dissolute manners, so that it grew into a Proverb, *That he was a good Physitian, saving that he gave too bitter Medicines.* In the beginning of his reign, he was a moderate and discreet Prince, and no great disturber of the Christians, whom he neither molested in their Religion, nor in their Councils. But afterwards, through sinister suggestions of those which were about him, his nature being before inclinable to levity, he was altered to plain Tyranny, which he first shewed in the death of his own Sisters Son, and afterwards he raised the Ninth Persecution against the Church of *Christ*; but when he was about to sign a Proclamation or Edict for that Persecution, it pleased God that a Thunderbolt fell so near him, that all men thought he had been slain, and the Emperor was so terrified thereby, that he gave over his Tyrannical purpose, so that he rather intended, than moved Persecution. Having reigned about six years, he was slain.

A special Providence.

Peace continued the Church in Councils.

The Emperor's death was a great relief to the Church.

Since the Emperor's death, the Church was in a state of peace.

The Emperor's death was a great relief to the Church.

After whose death divers other Emperors succeeded, in whose time the Church had peace for about the space of forty four years. During which time it did mightily increase and flourish: Yea, the more the Christians had suffered, the more they were honored; Inasmuch as some of the Emperors did singularly favour them, preferred and made them Governors of Provinces.

*Dorotheus*, with his Wife, Children, and whole Family, were accepted, and highly advanced in the Emperors Court. Yea, *Gorgonius*, and divers others, for their Doctrine and Learning, were with their Princes in great estimation. The Bishops were also in great favour with the Rulers and Presidents where they lived; so that innumerable multitudes and Congregations assembled together in every City, and there were great concourses of such as daily flocked to the publick places of Prayer.

But through this great prosperity, the Christians, by reason of the corruption of their natures, and the temptations of Satan, began to degenerate, and to grow idle and delicate, striving and contending amongst themselves, upon every occasion, with railing words bespattering one another in a despightful manner, Bishops against Bishops, and People against People, moving hatred and sedition each against other: Besides, cursed hypocrisie and dissimulation increased more and more; by reason whereof Gods Judgments brake forth against them, which began first to fall upon those Christians which were Soldiers; but that touched the other very little, neither did they seek to appease Gods wrath, nor to call for Mercy, but thinking that they should escape well enough, they heaped iniquities daily more and more, one upon another. The Pastors being inflamed with mutual contention each against other, Then did the Lord raise up adversaries against his People, that raled their Churches to the ground, burnt the sacred

Scriptures

Scriptures in the open Market places, made the Pastors of the Church to hide themselves, and some with great shame were taken Prisoners, and were mocked of their enemies; and put to open reproach.

## C H A P. XVI.

*The Tenth Primitive Persecution, which began Anno Christi 308.*

**D**ioctlesian and Maximian having many wars, associated to themselves two Casars, Galerius, who was sent into the East against the Persians; and Constantius, who was sent into Britain, where he married Helena, the Daughter of King Coel; a Maiden excelling in Beauty, and no less famous for her Studies and Learning, by whom he had Constantine the Great.

Pride. These two Emperors having obtained many Victories, were so puffed up with pride, that they ordained a solemn Triumph at Rome. After which, Dioctlesian would needs be worshipped as God, saying, that he was Brother to the Sun and Moon, and adorning his shoes with gold and precious stones, he commanded the People to kiss his Feet. Then did he raise a great and grievous Persecution against the Church of God: and the Feast of Easter drawing nigh, he commanded all the Churches of the Christians to be spoiled, and cast down, and the Books of the holy Scriptures to be burnt, which was executed with all rigour and contempt that might be.

Bibles burnt.

Cruel Edicts.

Then he sent forth his Edicts for the displacing of all Christian Magistrates, and put all others out of their Offices, imprisoning such of the common people as would not abjure Christianity, and subscribe to the Heathen Idolatries.

Then were cruel Edicts sent abroad for the imprisoning of the Elders and Bishops, and constraining them by sundry kinds of torments to sacrifice to the Idols; whereupon ensued a great Persecution against the Governors of the Church, amongst whom many of them manfully passed through exceeding bitter torments: some were scourged all over their Bodies with Whips: some with racks and tearings of their flesh, were exceedingly cruciated: some one way, others another way were put to death.

Horrible torments.

False Accusations of Christians.

Some were violently drawn to the impure sacrifices, and as though they had sacrificed, (when indeed they did not,) were let go. Others neither coming to their Altars, nor touching any piece of their sacrifice, yet were born in hand by those which stood by, that they had sacrificed; and so being defamed by their adversaries, were let go. Others as dead men were carried out, and cast away, being but half dead.

Some were cast down on the pavement, and trailed a great space by the Legs, and the People made to believe that they had sacrificed; Others withstood them, stoutly affirming with a loud voice, that they had not sacrificed; withal saying, that they were Christians, and gloried in the profession of that Name.

Courage.

Humane infirmity.

Zeal.

Some cried that they neither had, nor ever would be partakers of that Idolatry, who were buffeted on the Face and Mouth by the Soldiers, that they might hold their peace. But if the Saints seemed never so little to do what their enemies would have them, they were made much of; yet none of these devices prevailed against the constant Servants of Jesus Christ; but of the weaker sort, through frailty, many fell at the first brunt.

When these Edicts were first set up at Nicomedia, a Christian, a Noble man born, moved with an holy zeal, ran, and took them down, and tare them in pieces, though the Emperors were present in the City; for which he was put to a most bitter death, which with great constancy and patience, he endured to the last.

These



These furious Tyrants, *Dioclesian* in the West, and *Maximian* in the East, raged exceedingly against the poor Saints of *Christ*. But *Dioclesian* proceeded more subtilly, first beginning with the Soldiers in his Camp; to whom the Marshal of the Field proposed, that they should either offer sacrifice, or leave their places and offices, and lay down their arms; whereunto the Christians resolutely answered, That they were not only ready to lay down their weapons, but to suffer death, if it was imposed upon them, rather than so to sin against God.

Stachey

Confancy

In the beginning of this Persecution, few were tormented, but afterwards the Emperor grew to greater cruelty. It cannot be expressed what number of Martyrs suffered; what blood was shed through all Cities and Regions for the Name of *Christ*.

In *Tyre* certain Christians were given to the most cruel wild Beasts, which yet would not hurt them; and the Lions, Bears and Leopards, which were kept hungry for the purpose, would not touch them: Yet did they vehemently rage against those that brought the Christians into the Stage, who though they stood, as they thought, without their reach, yet were they caught, and devoured by them. Afterwards these Martyrs were slain with the Sword, and cast into the Sea.

A Miracle of Mercy.

In notes I have examined the story

*Sylvanus*, Bishop of *Gazenses*, with thirty nine more, were slain in the *Mettal* Mines. *Pamphilus* of *Casarea*, died a glorious Martyr.

Sylvanus

Pamphilus

In *Syria*, all the chief Pastors were first cast into Prison, together with the Bishops, Elders and Deacons: *Tiranion* was thrown into the Sea. *Zenobius* a Physician, was slain with Brickbats.

Tiranion

Zenobius

At *Antioch* two young Maidens were thrown into the Sea. Also an aged Matron, and her two beautiful Daughters, being sought after, and at last found, rather than they would be drawn to do sacrifice, threw themselves headlong into a River. *Sylvanus* Bishop of *Emissa*, with some others were thrown to the wild Beasts.

Sylvanus

-101

The Christians in *Mesopotamia* were tormented divers ways: some of them were hanged up by the Feet, and with the smoak of a small fire strangled. So out-ragious was the Emperor in the beginning of this Persecution, that in *Nicomedia* he slew the chiefest Princes of his Court, whom a little before he prized as his own Children.

Also one *Peter* was hoisted up naked, and so beaten, and torn with Whips, that his bones might be seen; Then they poured upon him Salt and Vinegar, and lastly roasted him with a soft Fire. *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius*, men of great Authority under the Emperor, after divers torments were strangled with an Halter. *Anthimus*, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, with divers others, having made a good confession were Beheaded. Yea, *Serena*, the Wife of *Dioclesian* the Emperor, was Martyred for her Religion. Some others were bound Hand and Foot to a Post, and so burnt.

Peter

Dorotheus

Gorgonius

Anthimus

Serena, Dioclesian's Wife

Also many Christians of all ages and sorts, being met together in a Church, to celebrate the memorial of *Christ's* Nativity, *Maximian* the Emperor sent some to fire the Church, and burn them all; But first they commanded a Crier to proclaim, that whosoever would have life, should come out, and sacrifice to *Jupiter*, otherwise they should be all burnt; Then one stepping up boldly, in the name of all the rest, said, we are all Christians, and believe that *Christ* is our only God and King; and we will sacrifice to none but him; Hereupon the Fire was kindled, and some thousands of Men, Women and Children were burnt in that place.

Christians burnt in a Church

In *Arabia* many Martyrs were slain with Axes. In *Phrygia*, the Emperor sent his Edicts to a City, commanding them to sacrifice to the Idols: But the Major, and all the Citizens professed themselves to be Christians, whereupon the Emperor made his Army environ the City, and set it on Fire, whereby all the Inhabitants were burnt together in it.

A Christian City burnt

Eustatius

*Eustatius*, a  
Persecutor  
converted and  
Martyred.

*Eustatius*, an *Armenian*, and skilful in the *Greek Tongue*, highly honored and advanced by the Emperor, who also had executed many Christians, beholding the marvellous constancy of the Martyrs, privately learned the Christian Religion, burned exceedingly with a desire of Martyrdom, and not staying for Accusers, professed himself to be a Christian, openly execrating the vanity and madness of the Heathens; Being therefore apprehended, he was tied up, and bitterly beaten; afterwards he was parched with fire put to his Bowels, then basted with Salt and Vinegar, then scraped and bemangled with sharp cutting Shels, that his whole body seemed to be but one wound, yet afterwards, through Gods goodness, it was restored again whole. And lastly was he burned.

*Peter*.

In *Alexandria*, *Peter* the Bishop, and his Deacons constantly suffered Martyrdom: As also many other Bishops in *Egypt*, together with many famous and excellent men, suffered about the same time.

A Legion of  
Christians  
Martyred.

A whole Legion of Christian Soldiers, that lay at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, under their Christian Collonel *Mauritius*, because they refused to sacrifice to Idols, were first tithed over by the Emperors command, once, and again and afterwards, by the exhortation of *Mauritius*, they died all together constant Martyrs.

Inhumane  
cruelty.

The Persecution raged not only in *Asia* and *Africa*, but also in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, &c. in all which Countries an innumerable company of Christians were Martyred by sundry kinds of death. In *Trevers* were so many Christians slain, that their Blood ran like small Brooks, and discoloured great Rivers; yet this sufficed not the Tyrant, but he sent abroad his Horsemen, to command all those which had apprehended any Christians, immediately to put them to death.

Cruel tor-  
ments.

At *Colleen* also, and in *Rhetia* many were Martyred: yea, this Persecution extended into our *Britain*, where all the Christians were put to death.

Besides the kinds of death, the punishments were so great and horrible as no Tongue is able to express: as whippings, scourgings, rackings, horrible scrapings, Sword, Fire, Shipboats, whereinto many were put and sunk into the Sea: As also hanging upon Crosses, binding some to the bodies of Trees with their Heads hanging downward, hanging others by the middle upon Gallowses till they died of hunger: throwing others alive to Lions, Bears, Leopards, wild Bulls, &c. Pricking others with Bodkins and Talons of Beasts, till they were almost dead.

In *Thebeside*, they hanged up Women naked by one of their Feet, the rest of their Body hanging downwards, with many other sorts of punishments most cruel to be thought of: Some were bound to the Boughs of Trees, and had their Members torn asunder; others were mangled with Axes, some choaked with smoak over a slow Fire, some had their Hands, Ears, and Feet cut off, others were scorched and broiled upon Coals, yet not to death, but had the torment renewed every day.

In *Pontus* the Martyrs had other horrible torments inflicted on them, Some had their Fingers-ends under their Nails thrust in with Bodkins: Some were sprinkled all over with boiling Lead, having their necessary Members cut from them, others suffered most filthy and intolerable torments in their Bowels, and privy Members: what the outrage of this Persecution was in *Alexandria*, *Phileas* a Bishop thus writeth,

Heilish cru-  
elty.

Because (saith he) every man might torment the Holy Martyrs as he listed, some beat them with Cudgels; some with Rods, some with Whips, some with Thongs, some with Cords, some having their Hands bound behind them were lifted upon Timber-logs, and with certain Instruments had their Members and joynts stretched out, where their Bodies hanging, were subjected to the will of the Tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments: on their Sides, Bellies, Thighs, Legs, they scratched them with the claws of wild Beasts: some were hanged but by one Hand on the Engine, that they might



might feel the more grievous pulling out of the rest of their Members: Some were bound to Pillars, having no stay under their Feet, that with the weight of their Bodies being drawn out, they might feel the greater torment: and these torments endured all day long. The Judge commanding that they should not be let down, till either by the extremity of torment, or by the cold, they were near death; and then they were let down, and haled upon the ground.

They devised also another greater torment; For when the Christians were lamentably beaten, they had a new kind of rack, wherewith they, lying upright, were stretched by both the Feet above the fourth hole, with sharp shells strowed under them. Others were cast down upon the pavement, where they had so many torments inflicted upon them, that their sufferings cannot be imagined what they were: In the midst of which torments some died, their enemies being confounded with their singular patience.

Admirable  
patience.

Some half dead were thrust into Prisons, where, with their wounds and pain they ended their lives: Others being cured of their wounds, were again put to their choice; whether they would sacrifice to the Idols, and have their liberty, or have the sentence of death pass upon them, who did willingly chuse death for Christs sake, rather than to sin against him.

In *Nicomedia*, a Christian pulling down, and tearing the Emperors Edict, was stript and beaten till the bones appeared, and then washed in Salt and Vinegar, under which torments he died. Yet notwithstanding the horribleness of these tortures, the Christian Martyrs were so far from being dismayed, that they were confirmed and strengthened thereby, merrily and joyfully undergoing whatsoever was inflicted upon them.

Courage and  
constancy.

*Eusebius* saith, that himself saw the cruel Persecution in *Thebaide*, where the Swords of the Persecutors were blunted with the great slaughter of the Christians, and they sat down with weariness to rest them, whilst others took their places. Yet still the Christians shewed their willingness, and with courage, joy and smiling, received their sentence of death from the Judge, and to the last gasp, sang *Psalms* and *Hymns* of praise to God.

Memori  
weaned.

In *Alexandria* the Holy Martyrs, led with the love of better rewards, did not only bear the menaces of the cruel Soldiers, wherewith they threatened them, but also whatsoever torments they could devise for their destruction: Ye said *Suspi- tius*; Then the Christians with more greedy desire pressed and fought for Martyrdom, then now they do for Bishopricks. Yet some through infirmity in this Persecution fell back, for which they were excommunicated by the Church.

Humane infir-  
mity.

*Damasus* and others witness, that there were slain in thirty days, seventeen thousand Persons, besides a great number that were condemned to the Mines and quarries, with the like cruelty.

In *Alexandria* were slain with Axes three hundred: At *Colen* three hundred. *Mauritius* with his Christian Legion, being six thousand, six hundred, sixty six, whose Story, deserving perpetually to be remembered, is this:

*Maximian* sent for this *Mauritius* with his Legion of *Theban* Soldiers, under a pretence of employing them against his enemies: When they came to *Rome*, *Marcellus*, the blessed Bishop laboured to confirm them in the truth, to whom they promised perseverance in the Faith unto the death. Then they followed the Imperial Army into *France*, and when they were come thither, *Maximian* offered sacrifice to the Devils, and called all his Soldiers to the same, strictly charging them to fight against their enemies, and against the Christians which were enemies to his Gods. These Christian *Thebans* resolved rather to die, than to sacrifice, or to bear Arms against the Christians, wherewith the Tyrant being enraged, commanded every tenth Man of the Legion to be put to the Sword; Hereupon they strove who should submit their Necks to the stroke. *Mauritius* encourageth them greatly hereunto, and being called before the Emperor, he said, we, O Emperor, your Sol- diers, and yet the Servants of God, owe thee service of war, but to him innocency; of thee we receive wages, but of him life; therefore we cannot obey thee to deny God our Lord,

The Story of  
*Mauritius* and  
his Legion.

A most Chris-  
tian Speech.

and yours also, will ye nil ye: we are ready to obey you, if you enforce us not to disobey him: Otherwise we will rather obey him than you: we offer here our hands against any other enemies, but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, we may not: These hands of ours have skill to fight against wicked enemies, but not to murder godly friends, &c. we have engaged our Faith to God, we cannot be true to you, if we break covenant with him, &c. we see our Brethren and Fellows in Arms, cruelly put to the sword, which we rejoyce in, that they have been counted worthy to suffer for Christs sake, &c. Behold here we cast down our weapons, and had rather be killed, than to kill, and to die guiltless than to live guilty: we are ready to suffer what more you shall appoint, yea both Fire, sword, or any other torments. we confess our selves to be Christians, we cannot Persecute Christians, nor sacrifice to your devillish Idols. The Emperor being highly incensed with this answer, commanded the second time the Tenth Man to be slain, which being accomplished, when the Christian Soldiers would not yet condescend to his mind, he set upon them with his whole host, both of Foot and Horse, charging them to kill them all; The Christians made no resistance, but throwing down their Arms, offered their naked Necks to the Persecutors, and so were all slain.

Christian courage.

At that time, one *Victor*, an old Soldier, that for his age was dismissed, coming to the Army, as they were banquetting and making merry with the spoils of the Martyrs, was bidden to sit down with them; but he asked them what was the cause of their mirth, and understanding the truth, he detested them, and refused to eat with them; and being thereupon demanded whether he were a Christian? He answered that he was and ever would be. Then they rushed upon him; and made him partaker of the like Martyrdom and honour.

The mercies of the wicked are cruelty.

When *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, notwithstanding all the slaughter which they made, saw the number of Christians rather increased than diminished, so that they were out of all hope of utter rooting them out, and having now even their fill of Blood, they ceased at last of their own accord from putting any more Christians to death: Yet of a great multitude; they thrust out their right Eyes, and maimed their right Legs at the Ham, with a searing Iron, condemning them to the Metal-mynes, not so much for their labour, as desirous to afflict them thereby: and so having reigned together about one and twenty years, *Dioclesian* divested himself of the imperial Dignity, and lived a private life, and the like did *Maximian* also, resigning the Empire to *Galerius Maximinus*, and *Constantius*.

Gods judgments on Persecutors.

*Maximinus* was of a cruel Nature, a great Enchanter, vicious in his life, and a great enemy to the Christians, and therefore continued the Persecution of them, yet at length was revoked from his cruelty by the just Judgment of God upon him; For he was suddenly taken with an horrible and filthy Disease, which first began outwardly in his Flesh: and then proceeded more inwardly: His privy members putrified with a botchy corrupt Boil, and a *Fistula*, consuming, and eating up his Entrails, whence swarmed forth an innumerable company of Lice, with such a pestiferous stink, that no man could abide him; He being also very gross, his fat putrified, and stank intolerably; and because his Physicians could not abide the stink, he commanded them to be slain: others of them, because they could not cure his incurable Disease, he put to cruel deaths.

Hypocrisy.

At last being told that his Disease came from God, he began to bethink himself of all the cruelty which he had shewed to the Saints, confessed his offences to God, and gave command that the Persecution against the Christians should cease; requiring his Officers likewise to reedifie their Temples, and requested them to pray to their God for him.

This Edict much comforted and refreshed the Christians, who thereupon gathered together in every City, called their *Synods* and *Councils*; yea, the Infidels themselves extolled and magnified the true God of the Christians.

But



But this Tyrant *Maximinus* scarce suffered this peace to continue six moneths together, but again he forbad the Christians to meet, and privately stirred up the *Athenians* to petition him, that none of them might be suffered to live in their City: Also a Conjuror in *Athens* made an Image of *Jupiter*, which uttered these words, *Jupiter commandeth the Christians to be banished out of this City and Suburbs, because they are enemies to him.* Also certain Harlots were suborned to say, that they formerly were Christians, and privy to the wicked and lascivious acts which they exercised amongst themselves, upon *Sabbath* days, &c. And thereupon the Emperor commanded, that they should put them to death by all means possible. Then did the Persecution grow as great as ever it was, and the Governors of every Province fell upon the Christians, banishing some, and putting others to death.

*Silvanus* Bishop of *Emissa*, a very old man, and three others with him, were condemned to death. So was *Lucianus*, an Elder at *Antioch*. At *Alexandria*, *Peter* the Bishop was Beheaded. *Quirinus* Bishop of *Scefcannus* had an Hand-mill tied about his Neck, and was thrown Head-long into a River: where yet he floated a great while, exhorting the lookers on not to be dismayed with his punishment, and so with much ado, was at last drowned.

At *Rome*, many Bishops, Ministers and Elders were put to death. In sundry other places very many others suffered Martyrdom with fire, wild Beasts, drowning in the Sea, &c. Some were Crucified, some were slain with the Sword; some endured the cutting and burning of their Members; some had their Eyes thrust out; some were starved in Prisons, and whatsoever other cruelty the Magistrates could devise; All which the People of God endured, rather than they would offer sacrifice to the Idols. The like miseries did the Women also endure, for being inticed to the filthy use of their Bodies, some rather chose banishment, and others to prevent it, killed themselves.

Neither could Christians live safely in the Wilderness, but even from thence they were drawn to torments and death.

And whereas the Tyrant in his Edict had boasted of the plenty and prosperity of all things in the time of his Persecuting of the Saints, God to confute him, presently sent great drought, famine and pestilence, besides the Wars with the *Armenians*; by which calamities, the People were miserably wasted; corn was sold at an unreasonable rate, so that exceeding great multitudes died of hunger in the Cities, but far more in the Villages; most part of the Husbandmen dying of Famine and the Pestilence. Divers brought out their best treasure, and gave it for any kind of sustenance, though never so little. Others having sold their possessions for food, fell into extrem misery: Some did eat grass, others fed upon unwholesome herbs, whereby they hurt and poisoned their Bodies: Many Women were driven to leave the Cities, and beg up and down the Country: some through faintness fell down in the Streets, and holding up their hands, cryed miserably for some scraps or fragments of Bread, being ready to give up the Ghost; and being able to say no more, they cryed, *Hungry, Hungry.*

Some of the richer sort being tired with serving such multitudes of Beggars, began to grow hard-hearted, fearing lest themselves should fall into the like misery: By reason whereof the Market-places, Streets, and Lanes, lay full of dead Corpses, and naked Bodies were cast out unburied, many of which were devoured by Dogs, whereupon they which lived, fell to killing of the Dogs, lest running mad, they should fall upon them, and kill them.

The Pestilence also scattering through all Houses, killed very many, especially those of the richer sort, which escaped the Famine, whereby innumerable Magistrates, Princes and Presidents were quickly dispatched, so that all places were filled with mourning, and nothing was seen or heard but weeping and wailing every where. Death so reigned in every Family, that two or three dead Bodies were carried out of one House together. But notwithstanding that

Charity of  
Christians.

that these miscreants had been so cruel to them, yet the Christians were very diligent and charitable to them in all their extremities, travelling every day, some in curing the sick; some in burying of their dead; others called the multitude together, which were ready to famish, and distributed Bread unto them, whereby they occasioned them to glorifie the God of the Christians, and confessed them to be true Worshippers of God, as appeared by their works: and hereby the Lord wrought wonderfully for the peace of his Church, for after he had corrected them, he again shewed them mercy.

*Constantine* succeeded his Father, overcame *Maxentius* the Tyrant in Rome, and he together with *Licinius* set forth Edicts in favour of the Christians: See *Constantines life in my second part of Lives*. Yet *Maximinus* continued his Persecution in the East, whereupon *Constantine* and *Licinius* wrote to him to favour the Christians, and he finding that he was too weak to encounter with them, sent forth his Edicts to stop the Persecution: yet afterwards he picked new quarrels with them, and began to persecute them again: whereupon *Licinius* went against him, and overthrew him in a Battel: Then did *Maximinus* kill many of his Enchanters and Conjurers that had encouraged him, and promised him Victory.

Gods Judgements on Persecutors.

Shortly after the Lord striking him with a grievous disease, he glorified the God of the Christians, and made a Law for the safety and preservation of them: yet not long after by the vehemency of his disease, he ended his life.

Hypocrisie.

*Licinius*, that for a long time had pretended to the Christian Religion, and lived in great familiarity with *Constantine*, who had given him his Sister *Constantia* to be his Wife, began afterwards to discover his Hypocrisie, and the wickedness of his nature, secretly conspiring the death of *Constantine*: but the Lord discovering and preventing his conspiracies, he then fell out with him, and manifested his hatred of the Christian Religion, being puffed up with the Victory that he had got against *Maximinus*.

Wicked Laws.

He quarrelled with the Christians, because as he said, they prayed not for him, but for *Constantine*: and thereupon he first banished them all from his Court: Then he deprived all the Knights of their honourable order, except they would sacrifice to devils: Then he commanded that the Bishops should have no meetings to consult about their Ecclesiastical affairs: nor that any Christians should come to the Churches, or hold any assemblies; Then that Men and Women should not meet together to pray, that Women should not hear the Bishops, but chuse our Women to instruct them: That none should help or succour those that were in Prison, nor should bestow any alms upon them, though they should die for hunger, and that they which shewed any compassion to those which were condemned to death, should suffer the like punishment themselves; Then he Persecuted the Bishops, and slew those which were the most eminent of them: The flattering Officers also which were about him, thinking to please him thereby, slew many Bishops without any cause: yea many of their Bodies they cut into gobbets, and thrown into the Sea to feed Fishes: Some were banished, others had their goods confiscated; many Noblemen and Gentlemen were privily made away: and *Licinius* gave their unmarried Daughters to wicked Varlots to be deflowered, himself also violated many Women, both Wives and Maidens.

Cruelty.

This cruelty made many godly Persons voluntarily to forsake their Houses, and to live in woods, mountains, and desarts: He caused *Theodorus* to be hanged upon a Cross, to have nails thrust into his Arm-pits, and afterwards to be Beheaded: Divers other Bishops had their Hands cut off with a searing Iron. In *Sebastia* forty Christian Soldiers in the vehement cold Winter were cast into an Horsepond, where they ended their lives: The Wives of these forty Men were carried to *Heraclea*, where, together with a Deacon of that place, after they had suffered innumerable torments, they were slain with the Sword.

Theodorus.

*Constantine* being informed of all this wickedness, raised an Army, went against him, overcame him twice, and at last caused him to be put to death, as you may



may see in *Constantines Life* in my *Second Part*; whereby the Church obtained a General Peace.

Yet in this Tenth Persecution many other eminent Christians suffered Martyrdom, besides those before named.

*Galerius* in his time invaded *Antioch*, intending to force all Christians to renounce *Christ*, at what time they were assembled together: Whereupon one *Romanus* ran to them, declaring, That the Wolves were at hand, which would devour them; yet he exhorted them not to fear, by reason of the peril: And through *Gods* Grace, the Christians were greatly encouraged by him, so that old Men and Matrons, Fathers, Mothers, young Men and Maidens were all of one mind, being willing to shed their Blood in defence of their Profession. A Band of armed Men were sent against them, which were not able to wrest the staff of Faith out of their hands. Whereupon they sent word to their Captain, That they could not inforce the Christians to deny their Faith, by reason of *Romanus*, who did so mightily encourage them. The Captain commanded, that he should be brought before him, which was done accordingly. What (saith the Captain) art thou the Author of this Sedition? Art thou the cause that so many lose their lives? By the gods I swear, thou shalt answer for them all, and shalt suffer those torments that thou encouragest them to undergo. *Romanus* answered, Thy Sentence, O Emperor, I willingly imbrace; I refuse not to be sacrificed for my Brethren, and that by as cruel torments as thou canst invent, &c. The Captain being much enraged with this his stout Answer, commanded him to be trussed up, and his Bowels drawn out; whereupon the Executioners said, Not so, Sir, this Man is of Noble Parentage; and therefore he may not be put to so ignoble a death. Scourge him then (quoth the Captain) with whips, having knobs of Lead at the ends. But *Romanus* sung *Psalms* all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favor him for Nobilities sake. Not the Blood of Progenitors (saith he) but the Christian Profession makes me Noble. Then did he earnestly inveigh against the Captain, and derided their Idol gods, &c. But this further enraged the Tyrant; so that he commanded his sides to be Lanced with Knives, till the Bones were laid open: Yet still did the holy Martyr Preach the Living God, and the Lord *Jesus Christ* to him. Upon which, the Tyrant commanded them to strike out his Teeth, that his Speech might be hindered: Also his Face was buffeted, his Eye-lids torn with their Nails, his Cheeks gashed with Knives, the Skin of his Beard pulled off by little and little, &c. Yet the meek Martyr said, I thank thee, O Captain, that thou hast opened to me so many mouths as wounds, whereby I may Preach my Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*: Look how many wounds I have, so many mouths I have, lauding and praising God. The Captain astonished at his constancy, bad them give over tormenting him; yet he threatened to burn him, reviled him, and blasphemed God, saying, Thy Crucified *Christ* is but a yesterdays God, the gods of the Gentiles are of greatest antiquity. But *Romanus* taking occasion from hence, declared to him the Eternity of *Christ*, &c. withal saying, Give me a Christian Child of seven years old, and thou shalt hear what he will say. Hereupon a pretty Boy was called out of the multitude, to whom *Romanus* said, Tell me, my pretty Babe, whether thou think it reasons That we worship *Christ*, and in *Christ* one Father; or else, That we worship infinite gods? The Child answered, That certainly what we affirm to be God, must needs be one; which with one, is one and the same: And in as much as this one is *Christ*, of necessity *Christ* must be the true God. For that there be many gods, we Children cannot believe. The Captain amazed at this, said, Thou young villain and Traytor, where, and of whom learnedst thou this Lesson? O my Mother, said he, with whose Milk I sucked in this Lesson, That I must believe in *Christ*. The Mother was called, and she gladly appeared; the Tyrant commanded the Child to be horsed up, and scourged; the standers by beholding this merciless act, could not refrain from tears: The joyful and glad Mother alone, stood by with dry Cheeks, yea, she rebuked her sweet Babe, for desiring a cup of cold Water, charging him to thirst after the cup that the Babes of *Bethlem* once drunk of. She willed him

*Romanus* his Noble courage.

True Nobility

Note.

Blasphemy

A Child comforted.

to

to remember little *Isaac*, who willingly proffered his Neck to the dint of his Fathers Sword, &c. Then did the cruel tormentor pull off the skin, hair and all, from the crown of the Childs Head. The Mother crying, *Suffer my Child, anon thou shalt pass to him that will adorn thy head with a Crown of Eternal glory.* Thus the Mother counselleth and encourageth, the Child is encouraged, and receiveth the stripes with a smiling countenance. The Captain seeing the Child invincible, and himself vanquished, commands him to be cast into the stinking Prison, whilest the torments of *Romanus* were renewed and increased. Then was *Romanus* brought forth again, to receive new stripes upon his old sores, the flesh being torn, and the bare bones appearing; yet the cruel Tyrant, raging like a mad man, quarrelled with the Tormentors for dealing so mildly with him, commanding them to cut, prick, and pounce him; and then he passed sentence upon him, together with the Child, to be burned to death. To whom *Romanus* said, *I appeal from this unjust sentence of thine, to the Righteous Throne of Christ, that upright Judge; not because I fear thy cruel torments, and merciless handling, but that thy judgments may be known to be cruel and bloody.*

An Appeal to  
Christ.

When they came to the place of Execution, the Tormentors required the Child of his Mother; for she had carried it in her arms from the Prison. She kissing it, delivered it to them; and as the Executioner was striking off his head, she said, *Farewel my sweet Child.*

The Childs  
Martyrdom.

*All laud and praise, with heart and voice,  
O Lord, we yield to thee:  
To whom the death of all thy Saints,  
we know most dear to be.*

The Childs Head being cut off, the Mother wrapt it in her Garment, laid it to her Breast, and so departed. Then was *Romanus* cast into a mighty fire, which being quenched with a great storm of Rain, the Tyrant commanded his Tongue to be cut out, and afterwards caused him to be strangled in the Prison.

Gordius.

*Gordius*, a Centurion in *Cæsarea*, in the heat of this Persecution, left his Charge, living a solitary life in a Wilderness for a long time; at last, when a solemn Feast was celebrated to *Mars* in that City, and multitudes of People were assembled in the Theatre, to see the games; he came, and gat up into a conspicuous place, and with a loud voice said, *Behold, I am found of those which sought me not, &c.* The multitude hereupon looked about to see who it was that spake this, and *Gordius* being known, he was immediately brought before the Sheriff,

Courage.

and being asked, who, and what he was, and why he came thither? He told him the whole truth, professing, That he believed in *Christ*, valued not their threatnings, and chose this as a fit time to manifest his Profession in. Then did the Sheriff call for Scourges, Gibbets, and all manner of torments. To whom *Gordius* answered, That it would be a loss and damage to him, if he did not suffer divers torments and punishments for *Christ*, and his Cause. The Sheriff more incensed hereby, commanded all those torments to be inflicted on him, With which *Gordius* could not be overcome, but sang, *The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what Man can do unto me; and I will fear no evil, because thou Lord art with me, &c.* Then did he blame the Tormentors for favoring him; provoking them to do their utmost. The Sheriff not prevailing that way, sought by flattery to seduce him, promising him preferment, riches, treasures, honor, &c. if he would deny *Christ*. But *Gordius* derided his foolish madness, saying, *That he looked for greater preferment in Heaven, than he could give him here upon Earth.* Then was he condemned, and had out of the City to be burnt; multitudes followed him, and some kissing him, with tears intreated him to pity himself; to whom he answered, *weep not, I pray you for me, but for the Enemies of God, which fight against the Christians: weep, I say, for them which prepare a fire for us, purchasing Hell fire thereby for themselves in the day of vengeance: And cease, I pray you, thus to molest my quiet and settled mind. For truly, for the Name of Christ I am ready to suffer a thousand deaths, &c.* Others perswaded him to deny *Christ* with his

Flattery.

Constancy.

mouth,



mouth, and to keep his Conscience to himself. *My tongue (saith he) which by Gods goodness I have, cannot be brought to deny the Author and Giver of the same: For with the heart we believe unto Righteousness, and with the tongue we confess unto Salvation.* And thus, perswading and encouraging the People to be willing to die in the like cause, with an unappalled countenance, he willingly gave himself to be burnt.

Also Menas an Egyptian, and a Soldier by Profession, in this Persecution, forsook all, and went into a Desert, where he gave himself to Fasting, Prayer, Meditation, and Reading of the Scriptures. At last returning into the City of Coris, when the People were at their pastimes, he with a loud voice proclaimed himself to be a Christian; and thereupon was carried before the President, and being demanded of his Faith, he said, *Convenient it is that I confess God, in whom is light, and no darkness; for with the heart we believe to Righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made to Salvation.* Then was he pinched and excruciated with sundry torments: But (said he) *there is nothing in my mind, that can be compared to the Kingdom of Heaven; neither is all the world, if it were weighed in a balance, comparable to the price of one Soul.* And further said, *who can separate us from the love of Christ? Can tribulation, or anguish? &c.* And again, *I have learned of my Lord Christ, not to fear them that can kill the Body, and have no power to kill the Soul, &c.* Having indured manifold torments, he received the sentence of death, and at the place of execution, he said, *I give thee thanks, my Lord God, which hast accepted me to be a partaker of thy precious Death, and hast not suffered me to be devoured of my fierce Enemies, but hast made me constant in thy true Faith unto the end.* And so he lost his head, but found a crown.

Basil relates a story, That the Emperors Officer brought the Edict against the Christians to a place to be published, and privily suborned some to detect and accuse the Christians: He also caused the Sword, Gibbet, Wheel, and Whips to be brought forth; at the sight thereof, the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble: Some for fear fled, others stood in doubt what to do; some again, for fear denied their Faith, others suffered cruel torments, but at last vanquished by the intolerable pain; they made shipwrack of their Consciences, and lost the glory of their Confession.

Amongst others, Forty young Gentlemen that were Soldiers, freely and boldly confessed themselves to be Christians, declaring to the Marshal their names, who amazed at this their boldness, stood in doubt what to do. He assayed with fair words and flatteries to win them, perswading them to consider their youth, and not to change a pleasant life, for a painful and untimely death, promising them honor, money, &c. But they boldly answered, *That they neither desired, money, honor, nor life, but only the Celestial Kingdom of Christ; for the love of which they were ready to endure the wheel, Cross, Fire, &c.* The Marshal being much offended herewith, devised a new torment: For spying a Pond in the Street that did lie open to the Northern wind, it being in the cold Winter time, he caused them to be put into it all night; but they being merry, comforted one another as they put off their cloaths, saying, *we put not off now our cloaths, but our old Man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiscence, for which, we bless and praise God. For by means of the Serpent we once put on the old Man, but by the means of Jesus Christ we now put him off.* And being brought naked to the place, where they felt the vehement cold, they were put into the Pond, so that all their Members were stark and stiff with it: And as soon as it was day, they having breath yet remaining in them, were brought to the fire, wherein they were consumed into Ashes, which Ashes were thrown into the flood.

It hapned that one of the company being more lively, and not so near death as the rest, the Executioners pitied him, and delivered him to his Mother, who stood by, to save his life; but she led him to the Piles of Wood, where the other starved Creatures lay ready to be burnt, admonishing him to accomplish the Blessed

Menas;

Note!

Humane infirmity.

Forty young Gentlemen.

Tentation of flattery.

A Mother had courage to see her Son to die.

Blessed

Blessed Journey he had taken in hand, which accordingly he did, and was burnt with his Companions.

*Cyrus.*

*John.*

*Athanasia.*

*Cyrus*, a Physitian of *Alexandria*, in this Persecution, fled into *Syria*, where he lived a private life, unto whom, one *John*, a Soldier, adjoyned himself: But not long after, one *Athanasia* with her three Daughters, being Virgins, were cast into Prison at *Canope* in *Egypt*, for the Profession of their Faith: *Cyrus* being of their acquaintance, fearing, lest through infirmity they should fall, he together with his partner *John*, went thither to the Prison to comfort and confirm them; for which he was accused to the President, who thereupon condemned them all, and so they were Beheaded.

*Sebastian.*

*Sebastian* also, born in *France*, and Captain of the Avant-guard of the Emperor, incouraged many Martyrs by his exhortations unto Constancy, and kept them in the Faith; for which, being accused to the Emperor, he caused him to be brought forth into the open Field, where by his own Soldiers he was thrust through with Arrows.

*Barlaam.*

*Basil* also maketh mention of one *Barlaam*, who having indured all sorts of tortures to the point of death, was then by the Tormentors laid upon the Altar, and they put Fire and Frankincense in his right hand, hoping, That the burning of fire would have forced him to scatter the Incense upon the Altar, and so to have Sacrificed. But his hand, induring the fire, remained steady; the Martyr, in the mean time, singing, *Blessed be the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight, &c.*

*Vitalis.*

*Ambrose* mentioneth one *Agricola*, and *Vitalis* his Servant, who agreed betwixt themselves, to give their lives, with other Martyrs, for the Name of *Christ*. *Vitalis* first offering himself to Martyrdom, the Persecutors labored by all means to draw him to deny *Christ*; but not prevailing, they exercised upon him all sorts of torments, so that he had no whole skin left on all his Body. *Vitalis* in the midst of his sufferings, having by Prayer commended himself to God, gave up the ghost. Then was *Agricola* let upon by the Tormentors, whose virtuous life, and gentle conditions, had won him such respect, that they delayed tormenting of him; but he provoking them to make quicker speed, they fastned him to the Cross, where he finished his Martyrdom.

*Constancy.*

*Agricola.*

*Vincentius.*

Horrible  
cruelty.

Joy unspeak-  
able.

*Augustine* writes of one *Vincentius*, a *Spaniard*, who, by *Dacianus* the President, was first laid upon the Rack, till all the Joynts of his Body cracked; then were all his Members flased and indented with deadly wounds; then they miserably scratched all his Body with Iron-combs, filed very sharp: They laid his Body, being all out of joynt upon an Iron-grate, opened it with Iron-hooks; seared it with Fiery-plates, and then besprinkled it with hot burning Salt. Lastly, they drew him, and cast him into a vile Dungeon, the Floor whereof was thick spred with the sharpest Shells, his Feet were fast locked in the Stocks, and so left him without all worldly comfort. But the Lord his God was with him, the holy Spirit of God, whose office it is to comfort the afflicted, filled his heart with joy unspeakable: So that he there ended his life with much comfort.

*Procopius.*

Also *Procopius* in *Palestine*, after his Conversion, brake his Images of Gold and Silver, and distributed them amongst the Poor; whereupon he had all sorts of torments inflicted on him, racking, cording, tearing of his flesh, firing, goring, stabbing; and lastly, had his Head cut off.

*George.*  
*Zeal.*

*George*, a young Man of *Cappadocia*, stoutly inveighing against the impious Idolatry of the Emperor, was apprehended, torn with hooked Irons, burnt with hot Lime, stretched out with Cords, after had his Hands and Feet cut off, and lastly, was Beheaded.

*Hermogenes.*

*Hermogenes*, the President of *Athens*, being converted by beholding the Patience and Constancy of two Martyrs in their torments, suffered himself for the same Faith.



In Portugal, a noble Virgin named *Eulalia*, not much above twelve years old, had profers of great Marriages made unto her: But she seeing the furious rage of this Persecution, had a great mind to joyn her self to the number of the Martyrs; for which end, she poured out her heart in Prayer to God for strength and Faith to inable her thereunto: But her godly Parents fearing that her ready mind to die for *Christs* cause, might make her guilty of her own death, they kept her close at their Countrey-house, a great way from the City. There she lived quietly for a while; but at last, detesting to make such delay, she stole out of her Fathers house in the night, and travelled all alone through by-ways, with much difficulty and weariness towards the City; whither she came in the morning, and going before the Judge, she with a loud voice said, *I pray you, what a shame is it for you thus wickedly to kill Mens Souls, and to break their Bodies in pieces, to compel them to deny the Omnipotent God? would you know who I am? I am a Christian, and an Enemy to your Devilish Sacrifices; I spurn your Idols under my Feet, I confesse God Omnipotent with my heart and mouth, &c.* Go to therefore thou Hangman, burn, cut and mangle these my Earthly Members; thou maist easily break a brittle Substance, but thou canst not hurt my inward Mind by any thing thou canst do. The Judge inrageth herewith, said to the Hangman, Take her and pull her out by the hair of her head to torments, let her feel the power of our gods, and know what we can do. But yet, O sturdy Girl, I would fain have thee, before thou diest, to revoke thy wickedness: Remember the honorable House, of which thou art come, and thy Friends tears: wilt thou kill thy self in the flower of thy youth, so near honorable Marriages? Dost not the glistening pomp of the Brid-bed move thee, &c. Behold here the Engines prepared for thy death; either thou shalt be beheaded with the Sword, or torn with wild Beasts, or consumed with fire to ashes, &c. yet this thou mayest escape if thou wilt: what greater matter is it for thee, with thy fingers to put a little Incense into the Censers: yet thereby thou shalt be delivered.

To this *Eulalia* answered not, being in a great Passion, but spit in the Tyrants face, and spurned abroad the heap of Incense. Whereupon, without further delay, the Hangman, with both their strengths, pulled out her Joynts, scratched her with the Talons of Wild Beasts to the hard Bones, she singing and praising God, in the mean time, saying, Behold, O Lord, I will not forget thee, what a pleasure is it for them, O Christ, that remember thy Triumphant Victories, to attain to these high Dignities! &c. Yea, when, as out of a warm Fountain, her fair and white skin was discoloured with the Purple Blood that flowed from her torn Members, she wept not, but chearfully sang praises unto God; thereupon they gored her mangled Body with the Iron Grate, terribly harrowed her flesh, and burned her Breasts with flaming Torches; then, setting fire to her long hair, which covered her naked Body, when it came to her face, she opened her mouth, and sucked in the flame, and so peaceably slept in the Lord.

Also *Agnes*, a young Virgin, being accused for a Christian, was brought before the Judge, who first labored by flatteries, then, by threatening her with cruel torments, to draw her to the denial of her Faith: But she being strengthened by Christ, told him, That she feared not his torments, which she was willing to undergo, yea, and death it self for Christs sake. If (said the Judge) it be so easie with thee to undergo torments; yet I know that thou prizest thy Virginity: Therefore it is fully determined, that except thou sacrifice to the gods, thou shalt be put into the Common Stews. Hereupon many youths did flock together, craving, That *Agnes* might be exposed as a prey to there filthy lusts; to whom she said, Christ is not forgetful of those that are his, neither will he leave me destitute of his help, nor suffer my unspeckled chastity to be defiled by you, &c. You shall willingly bathe your Swords in my Blood, but you shall not defile my Body with filthy lust, for any thing that you can do. Then the Judge commanded, That she should be set naked at the corner of a Street; whereupon the multitude sorrowed, and were ashamed to see so shameless a sight, turning away their faces, and so departed; But one amongst the rest, looking upon her in a shameless manner, behold a flame of fire, like a flash of Lightning,

Faith.

struck out both his eyes, and he, falling down, wallowed in the Kennel-dirt; whereupon *Agnes* sang praises unto God. The cruel Tyrant enraged hereby, commanded the Executioner to draw out his Sword, and dispatch her. She seeing a sturdy Soldier coming towards her with a naked Sword, rejoiced, saying, *This, O this is he that I love, I will make hast to meet him, and no longer protract my longing desires; I will willingly receive the length of his Sword into my Breast. O Eternal Father, vouchsafe to open the Gates of Heaven to my Soul that seeketh thee.* And so kneeling down, and praying unto Christ, the Executioner with his bloody hand, finished her hope.

*Julia.*  
An excellent  
story.

Strength of  
Faith.

Tentation.  
Constancy.

Barbara.

*Basil*, in one of his Orations, relates a story of one *Julia*, from whom, one of the Emperors Officers took all her Goods, Lands, and Servants, contrary to all Equity; whereupon she complained to the Judges, and a day of hearing was appointed, where the spoiled Woman lamentably declared her cause. But the wicked villain that had robbed her, said, *That her Action was of no force, for she was an Outlaw, for not observing the Emperors gods; and that she was a Christian.* His Allegation was allowed, Incense was prepared for her to offer to the gods; which if she refused, she should neither have protection, nor benefit of the Emperors Laws, nor continue her life. She hearing this, in the mighty strength of God, said, *Farewel riches, welcome poverty, farewell life, welcome death; All that I have, were it a thousand times more, would I lo'e, rather then speak one wicked word against God my Creator. I yield thee most hearty thanks, O my God, for this gift of Grace; that I can condemn and despise this frail and transitory world, esteeming the Profession of Christ, above all Treasures.* And thenceforth when any Question was proposed to her, her answer was, *I am the servant of Jesus Christ.* Her Kindred and Friends earnestly solicited her to change her mind; but she constantly refused, with detestation of their Idolatry. Then did the cruel Judge condemn her to be burnt, which Sentence she imbraced joyfully, as a thing most sweet and delectable; and so she addressed her self to the flames, in countenance, gesture, and words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with singular constancy; and so imbracing the fire, she sweetly slept in the Lord.

*Barbara*, a Noble Woman in *Thuseia*, after miserable imprisonment, sharp cords, and burning flames put to her sides, was at last Beheaded, together with many others.

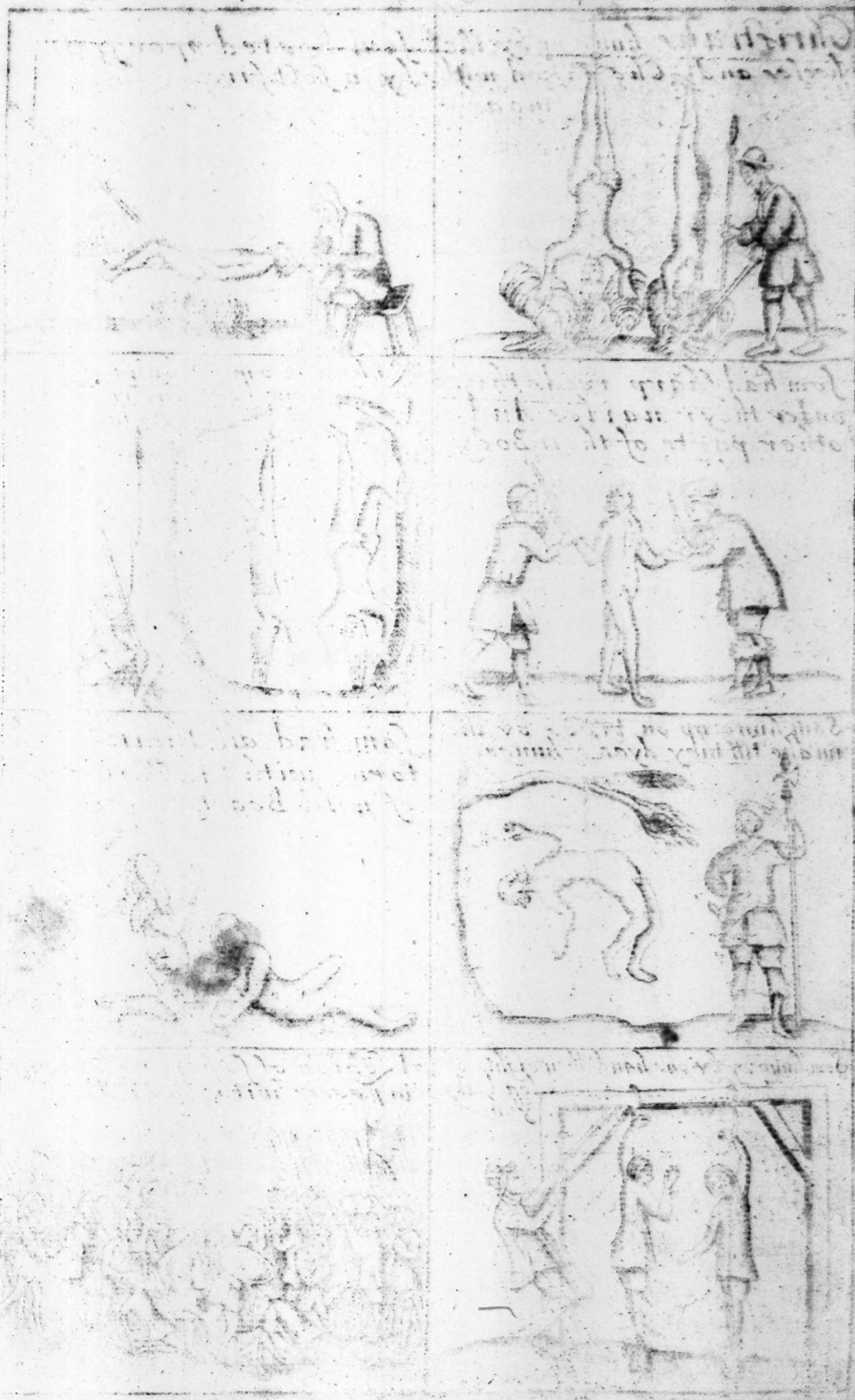
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Here place the Fourth Figure.

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CHAP.





Christians hung up by the  
heelles and Choked with  
Smoake



Som Rested upon spits  
by a soft fire



Som had sharp reeds thrust  
under theyr nailles And  
other parts of their Body



Naked women hung up by  
one Legg one trees till  
they dyed



Som hung up on trees by the  
midle till they dyed of hunger



Som had all their flesh  
torne with the Clawes  
of wild Beasts



Som hung up by one hand to weighte of  
lead at  
theyr heelles



A Legion of soldiers hewen  
in peeces with swords







## CHAP. XVII.

*The Persecution of the Christians in Persia, under Sapoꝛes, about the same time.*



He Idolatrous Magicians in Persia, taking counsel together against the Christians, acculed them to Sapoꝛes for keeping correspondence with, and favoring the Roman Emperour, which was Constantine the Great.

The King being much moved herewith, took occasion to oppꝛess them with Taxes and Tributes, to their utter undoing, and killed there Ministers with the Sword. He also called before him Simeon their Bishop, who remaining constant and valiant, he commanded him to be led forth to torment; yet did he neither shrink for fear, nor make any humble suit for pardon, which the King being offended at, required him either to worship him after the Countrey manner, or else he would destroy him, and all other Christians in his Land. But Simeon, neither allured with promises, nor terrified with threatnings, could by neither be induced to the Idolatrous worship: For which cause, he was sent away to Prison, and as he was going, there was sitting at the Court Gate, an Eunuch, an old Tutor of the Kings, named *Ustazares*, once a Christian, but now fallen from his Profession; who seeing Simeon led by, rose up and did him reverence. Simeon, on the contrary, rebuked him, crying out against him, for revolting from his Profession. Whereupon, the Eunuch burst forth into tears, laid aside his costly apparel, and put on black mourning weeds; and sitting at the Court Gate weeping, he said to himself, *wo is me, with what face hereafter shall I look upon God, seeing Simeon disdaineth with one gentle word to salute me?* This being carried to the Kings ears, he was exceeding angry, and sending for him, he first with gentle words and large promises, spake him fair, and asked him, *Why he mourned?* Whether there was any thing in his House, that was denied him? *&c.* Whereunto *Ustazares* answered, *That there was nothing in that Earthly house that was detained from him.* Yea, said he, O King, would God any other grief or calamity in the world had hapned to me, rather then this, for which I justly sorrow. For that is my grief, *That I am alive this day, who should have died long since, and that I see this Sun, which dissemblingly, to pleasure you, I have seemed to worship; for which I have deserved a double death.* First, For dissembling with you: Secondly, For that thereby I have denied Christ. Withal vowing, That he would never hereafter forsake the Creator, to worship the Creature, &c.

Sapoꝛes was much astonished hereat, and doubted, Whether to use him gently, or with rigor; but at last in his mood, he commanded him to be beheaded. But as he was going to execution, he requested an Eunuch that attended on the King, to desire him for all the old and faithful service that he had done to his Father and him, that he would cause it to be proclaimed openly at his death, That he was Beheaded, not for any Treachery against the King or Realm, but for that he was a Christian, and would not deny his God. This the King yielded to, and so it was performed; and this he desired, because by his former

Magicians  
up to  
Sapoꝛes.

Simeon:

The King  
King required  
Divine worship.

Ustazares

Zeal

Recovery of  
us fall.

Temptation

Ustazares

Alas

His Martyrdom.

Simeon Beheaded.

Pusices.

His Martyrdom.

Magicians Authors of Persecution.

Simeons Sisters, Slanders.

Bishops and Ministers persecuted.

Andas, Hormisdas.

Constancy.

Suenes.

Apostacy he had discouraged many Christians ; and therefore he sought by his Profession and Example, to encourage them to the like sufferings.

*Simeon*, in Prison, hearing of his death, much rejoiced and praised God for it ; and the very next day, he, with above an hundred more Christians were Beheaded likewise. There was present at their Martyrdom one *Pusices*, an Officer to the King, who beholding an aged Minister to tremble, when he saw the others Beheaded before him, said unto him, *O Father ! shut thine eyes for a little moment, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt see God in glory.* Hereupon *Pusices* was apprehended, and carried before the King, in whose presence he made a bold Confession of his Faith ; for which cause, they made a hole in his Neck, and pulled out his Tongue backward, and so he was put to death, together with one of his Daughters that was a Virgin.

The year after, when the Christians were met together to celebrate the memorial of *Christs* Passion, *Sapoies* sent forth a cruel Edict, *That all they should be put to death that professed the Name of Christ* ; and this he did at the instigation of the wicked Magicians. Whereupon an innumerable company of Christians, both in Cities and Towns were slain by the Sword ; some being sought for, others offering themselves willingly, least they should seem to deny *Christ*. In this Persecution, many of the Kings own Court, and Household-servants, suffered Martyrdom ; amongst whom was *Azides*, an Eunuch, whom the King intirely loved, inasmuch, as hearing that he was slain, he was so offended and grieved at it, that he commanded, that thenceforth no more Christians should be slain ; but only the Doctors and Teachers of the Church.

About this time the Queen fell very sick, upon which occasion, the wicked Jews and Magicians accused two of *Simeons* Sisters, which were godly Virgins, that by charms and enchantments they had procured her sickness to revenge the death of *Simeon*. This Accusation being believed, they were both condemned, and with a Saw cut in funder by the middle, whose quarters were hung upon Stakes, the Queen going betwixt them, thinking thereby to be freed of her sickness.

Then ensued a great Persecution against the Bishops and Ministers, who were daily dragged forth to the slaughter : But first they cruelly scourged them, and put them to other great torments, because they would not worship the Sun.

Miserable, and almost innumerable, were the slaughters under this *Sapoies*, of Bishops, Ministers, Deacons, and other Religious Men, and holy Virgins : so that the *Persians* themselves, reckon up above Sixteen thousand Men and Women that suffered Martyrdom.

The report of the miserable condition of the Christians, coming to the ears of *Constantine* the Great, put the good Emperor into great heaviness ; who studying how to relieve them, it so fell out, That about that time there came Ambassadors to him to *Rome* from *Sapoies*, whom he entertained courteously, and granted all their requests ; and then, by them, wrote his Letters to *Sapoies*, in the behalf of the Christians, whereby he did something mitigate the heat of the *Persian* Persecution ; yet afterwards it was renewed again. At which time suffered *Andas* the Bishop, and *Hormisdas*, a Nobleman's Son of great reputation amongst the *Persians*, whom, when the King understood to be a Christian, and resolute in his Profession, he condemned him to keep his Elephants naked. Afterwards the King looking out, and seeing him all swart, and tanned with the Sun ; he commanded that a Shirt should be put upon him, and that he should be brought before him : Then did the King ask him, *If he would yet deny Christ ?* *Hormisdas* hearing this, tare off his Shirt, and cast it from him, saying, *If you think that I will deny my Faith for a Shirt, have here your gift again, &c.* Whereupon he was banished the Countrey.

Also *Suenes*, a Nobleman that had under him one hundred servants, because he would not deny his Christian Profession, was so hated by the King, that he made the worst of his servants Lord over him, and over all that he had, and coupled his Wife to him, and made *Suenes* himself to serve him.

Also



## The Persecution under Julian the Apostata:

Also Benjamin, a Deacon, was thrust into Prison, where he was kept two years; but at the length, at the request of the Roman Ambassadors, he was released: Yet afterwards, when contrary to the Kings Commandment, he preached and taught every where the Gospel of Christ, he was again apprehended, and miserably tormented, having twenty sharp Reeds thrust under the Nails of his Fingers and Toes; but he laughing at it, had a sharper Reed thrust into his Yard, with horrible pain; and lastly, had a long ragged Thorny stalk thrust through his Fundament into his Bowels, whereof he died.

*These Primitive Persecutions are Collected out of Eusebius, Socrates Scholast. Evagrius, Nicepho. Theod. The Imperial History, and the Magd. History.*

### CHAP. XVIII.

*The Persecution of the Church under Julian the Apostata, Anno Christi 365.*

Julian was Nephew to Constantius, the Son of Constantine, and was by him made Caesar, and sent against the Germans; where after some smaller Victories, having overcome his Enemies in a great and bloody Battle, he was by his Army made Augustus; and afterward Constantius his death, succeeded in the whole Empire, both of the East and West. He was brought up in the Christian Religion, and was indowed with excellent parts; but when he came to the Empire, he Apostatised from his former Profession, and turned Heathen, and became a deadly Enemy to the Church of Christ, and a great Persecutor of it.

The first thing that he did, was to open the Idol Temples, shut up his Predecessors, and to suffer the Gentiles to commit their Superstitious Idolatries, and publickly to adore their Idols. His next design was, to supplant the Christian Religion, being induced thereto by the Devil and his own wickedness: And the better to effect the same, he practised a means never before used by any, which was to shew himself pitiful, and not cruel; perceiving, that by means of the torments inflicted on the Martyrs, the holy Christian Faith was greatly increased; and therefore he took a contrary course, and sought by gifts, favors, flatteries, and bestowing offices and dignities, to draw them to renounce the Christian Faith, and to sacrifice to false gods; and by this means there were not a few, who being covetous and ambitious, desiring to be rich and honored, fell from their Christian Profession.

Then did he make Laws, and General Decrees, That no Christian should be Master of any Arts or Sciences; neither should study in any Schools, that so through the desire of Learning they might turn Idolaters, or else they should remain ignorant and illiterate; and so be insufficient to Preach the Christian Faith.

He also ordained, That no Christian should have any charge, or hold any Office of Justice, neither should be a Captain in the Wars, nor enjoy any other dignity.

Thus he used all the inventions that possibly he could devise, to make War against Jesus Christ, without shedding any Christian Blood, that so he might take the Crown from the holy Martyrs, which they formerly obtained by the Persecution of the Sword.\* And indeed, this was the greatest and most dangerous Persecution that ever the Church endured.

Amongst other of his subtil devices to bring Christianity into contempt, this was one. He entertained about him many witty, but wicked persons, who made it their business, to scoff at and deride the Christians with all

manner

manner of base jeers; and those which excelled most in this wicked practise, he most loved and honored, advancing them to offices, both in his Court and Army.

Barbarous  
cruelty.

During his short reign, though himself put none to death, as is before specified; yet the Heathen Idolaters, in sundry places, proceeded far otherwise; especially in *Palestine*, where they burnt many Christians alive, others they stripped naked, and tying cords to their Feet, dragged them up and down the paved Streets, till their flesh was torn from their Bones; Upon others they poured scalding water: Some they stoned, or beat out their Brains with clubs: and having thus murdered them, they burnt their Bodies, and then took their Bones, and mingled them with the Bones of Camels and Asses, that they might not be known for Mens Bones.

The Christians in *Alexandria* were most cruelly used by the *Ethnicks*, or *Pagans*: Some were slain with the Sword, some were fastned to the Crois, some brained, some stoned; and such was their rage against Christianity, that one Brother spared not another, nor Parents their Children, nor Children their Parents.

Emilianus.  
Domitius.  
Theodorus.

*Emilianus* was burned in *Thracia*. *Domitius* was slain in his Cave. *Theodorus* for singing a *Psalm* at the removing of the Body of *Babylas*, being apprehended, was examined with exquisite torments, and so cruelly excruciated from morning till almost noon, that hardly he escaped with life, and being afterwards asked by his Friends, how he could endure such extream torments, he said, that at first he felt some pain, but afterwards there stood by him a young man, who as he was sweating with the pain, wiped away his sweat, and oft-times refreshed him with cold water, wherewith he was so delighted, that when he was let down from the Engine, it grieved him more than before.

A Miracle of  
Mercy.

Artemius.  
Two Brethren  
Martyrs.

*Artemius* also, a Captain of the *Egyptian* Souldiers, was Beheaded for his Religion, though other causes were pretended. Two Christian Brethren were dragged through the streets, and murdered by the Idolatrous people of *Gaza*.

Barbarous  
cruelty.

But the cruelty of the wicked *Arethusians* exceeded against the Christian Ministers and Virgins, whom they set forth naked before the multitude to be scorned by them. Then did they cover them with Hogs-meat, and ripping up their Bellies, put Barly into them, and so caused their Bowels and flesh to be devoured by their hungry Swine.

Marcus Are-  
thusus.

Their cruelty most raged against *Marcus Arethusus*, the Christian Bishop of that City, who formerly, by the command of *Constantine*, had pulled down their Idol-Temple, and set up a Church for the Christians in the room thereof; The *Arethusians* knowing how *Julian* hated him, accused him as a Traitor and Enemy to the Emperor: Whereupon at first he prepared himself to fly, but when he perceived that some of his Friends were apprehended in his stead, he returned, and of his own accord offered himself to those that thirsted for his Blood: Whom when they had gotten, neither pitying his old age, nor reverencing his holy and blameless Conversation, they stript him naked, and pitifully beat him; Then they cast him into a foul, filthy sinking Prison: They also caused Boys to thrust him in with sharp sticks to augment his pain: Lastly, they put him into a Basket, anointed him with hony and broth, and so hung him abroad in the heat of the Sun, to be meat for Wasps and Flies to feed upon; and this they did to enforce him, either to build up their Idol-Temple again, or to give them money to pay for the doing of it, but he stoutly refused both; They profered to forgive one half, if he would pay the other; which he still refusing, and contemning all their torments, they at last demanded of him but a small sum of money, but he answered, *It is as great wickedness to confer one half-penny in case of impiety, as if a man should give the whole*. Whereupon, despairing to prevail, they left him, and went their ways.

Courage.

Barbarous  
cruelty.

Allo



Also *Cyrillus*, a Deacon in *Hieropolis*, who in *Constantine's* time had broken in pieces the Images of the Gentiles; they took him, ript up his Belly, drew the Liver out of his Body, which with barbarous inhumanity they chewed with their Teeth; But the Lord suffered not this brutishness to go unpunished, for their Teeth shortly after fell out of their Jaw-Bones, and their Tongues rotted in their Mouths; and they fell stark blind.

*Cyrillus*

Gods Judgment on Persecutors,

*Mark* boldly reproves *Julian*.

Blasphemy.

Devilish subtilty.

Christians wisdom.

Government of Masters.

Christians courage.

*Apollo's* Image broken with Lightning.

*Julian* when he came to *Constantinople*, offered sacrifice in the Cathedral Church to the Goddess *Fortune*; about which time, *Mark*, Bishop of *Chalcedon* in *Bythinia*, being blind, caused himself to be led to the Emperor, whom he rebuked sharply, calling him an impious Person, an *Apostate*, and an *Atheist*; He on the contrary, called the Bishop, blind Fool, saying further, *Thy God of Galilee will not restore thee thy sight again*. *Mark* replied, *I thank God which made me blind, lest that ever I should set mine Eyes upon so ungracious a Face as thine is*. In the Market-places of the Cities, *Julian* set up his own Image, amongst the Images of the Heathen gods; to the end that whosoever should do civil reverence to his Image, might also seem to worship the gods of the Gentiles; and that they who would not bow to the Idols, might seem to refuse due reverence to the Emperor. When he distributed gold to his Captains and Soldiers, he erected an Altar near to his Throne, with coals burning upon it, and incense on a Table by, and none might receive the gold before he had cast incense on the coals upon the Altar, by which subtilty he circumvented many, who discerned not his purpose to intangle them with the rites of Idolatrous services.

All about *Antioch* he dedicated all the Fountains to the Goddesses of the Gentiles, and caused all the Victuals that were sold in the Market to be sprinkled with Heathenish Holy water: yet did the Christians without scruple drink of the Water, and eat of the Meat according to that rule, *whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, and ask no question for conscience sake*, &c. *Jovianus* and *Maxentius*, two brave Captains, used much boldness and liberty in reproving him for his Heathenish superstitions, which so enraged him, that he caused them to be put to death.

In *Casarea*, the Inhabitants being most Christians, had formerly overthrown the Temples of *Jupiter* and *Apollo*; and now in *Julian's* time, they overthrew the Temple of *Fortune*, which so enraged him, that he disarmed them, exacted of them three hundred pounds weight of gold, and compelled their Clergy to serve in his Wars, threatening further to put to death all the Inhabitants thereof at his return, but it pleased God that his own death prevented it.

About this time, *Julian* going to enquire of the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delfos*, there came down fire from heaven, and destroyed the Temple, and beat the Image of *Apollo* into pieces, like to the smallest powder or dust.

When he came to *Antioch*, there was a noble Woman, called *Publia*, who had the education and government of divers young Virgins; these she caused, as *Julian* passed by her house, to sing with a loud voice, *The Idols of the Heathen are silver and gold, the works of mens hands*, &c. This so angered the Emperor, that he sent them a command to sing no more as he went that way; but *Publia* was so far from fearing him, that the next time he came, she made them sing the same Verse, and to add to it, *Let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered*, &c. This so incensed *Julian*, that he sent for her to him, crossed at her, and caused her to be clapt on the cheeks in a disgraceful manner; But she looked upon it as a great honour thus to suffer reproach for *Christs* sake; and coming home, she caused her Maids still to sing Psalms of the Emperors fury and madness.

Afterwards the Emperor intending to war against the Persians, let a great fine upon every ones head that would not sacrifice to the Idols, whereby he much enriched himself by the spoil of the Christians.

Then

*Athanasius driven away.*

Then were false Accusations forged against *Athanasius*, so that he was forced to flee; yet he thus comforted himself and friends, *Nubecula est, cito pertransibit*, This Persecution is but a little cloud, and will soon pass away.

Courage.

In his flight, he took a Ship upon the River *Nilus* to flee to *Thebais*, but *Julian* sent an Earl after him, to bring him back again, who pursuing him with sails and oars, had almost overtaken taken his Ship, whereupon the Marriners would have run her ashore, and fled into a Wilderness that was hard by, to whom *Athanasius* said, *Quid turbamini filii? quin in occursum eamus persecutori nostro, ut intelligat, quia longe major est qui nos defendit, quam qui persequitur*: My Sons, why are you thus affrighted? Let us rather turn and meet our pursuer, that he may know, that he is greater which defends us, then he that follows to apprehend us. Hereupon the Marriners turned back again, and the Earl supposing nothing less than that *Athanasius* was in the Ship that came towards him, he only called to them, and enquired whether they had not heard of *Athanasius*? They answered, that they had seen *Athanasius* a little before; whereupon he hastened forward to overtake him, and *Athanasius* in his Ship returned back privately into *Alexandria*, where he lay hid till that Persecution was over.

A special Providence.

Blasphemy.

*Julians* Officers in exacting the fines of the Christians, demanded more than they were assessed at, and sometimes tormented their Bodies also; of which wrongs when they complained to the Emperor, he scoffingly answered them, *Its your part, when you are injured, to take it patiently, for so your God commandeth you.*

Zeal.

Courage.

At *Meris* in *Phrygia*, the Governor Commanded the Idol-Temple to be set open and cleansed, and began himself to worship the Idols: Whereupon some Christians, inflamed with Zeal, in the night time, brake into the Temple, threw down the Idols, and stamped them to powder. The Governor being wonderfully incensed herewith, purposed to execute some Christian Citizens which were innocent and guiltless, whereupon the Authors of their own accord, presented themselves before him, chusing rather to die for the truth, than that others should suffer for their sakes: Thereupon the Governor commanded them to sacrifice to the Idols, or else he would severely punish them; But they, setting at nought his threats, prepared themselves to suffer what he could inflict; Then did he assay them with all kinds of torments, and at last laid them on the Grid-iron, and broiled them to death, to whom they said, *If thou love, O Tyrant, for broiled meat, turn up the other side, lest in eating, the blood run about thy teeth.*

When *Julian* went against the *Persians*, of very malice and hatred against the Christians, whom scornfully he called *Galileans*, he made a vow, that if he obtained the Victory, he would sacrifice to his gods the blood of those Christians which would not sacrifice to the Idols: But what the issue of that expedition was, See in my second part, in the Life of *Jovianus*.

Collected out of the Imperial History, and Socrates Scholasticus, Theodor. and the Magd. Hist. Cent. 4.

## CHAP. XIX.

The Persecution of the Church under the Arrian Hereticks, which began, Anno Christi 339.

Note.

**C**onstantine the Great, dying, divided his Empire amongst his three Sons *Constantius*, *Constans*, and *Constantine*. *Constantius* that governed the East, was seduced by an *Arrian* Presbyter, who had been in his Fathers Court, with his Aunt *Constantia*; So pernicious a thing it is to have deceitful Hereticks lurking in Princes Courts, and Ladies Chambers.

This



This Presbyter complained to *Constantius* that the return of *Athanasius* from banishment was very dangerous to the peace of the Common-wealth: Yea, he so far incensed the Emperor against him, that he sent a Captain with five thousand armed men to slay him; But the Lord delivered him miraculously out of their hands; For the armed Soldiers being placed round about the Church where he was, he went safely through the midst of them undiscerned, though many *Arrians* were present on purpose to point him out to the Soldiers, as a Sheep ordained for the slaughter.

But neither in banishment could he enjoy peace and safety, for this *Arrian* Emperor sent to all the Officers in his Army to search him out, wheresoever he was, proposing a great Reward to those that could bring *Athanasius* to him, either alive or dead; whereupon he was forced to hide himself in a deep Pit, where he lay six years never so much as seeing the light of the Sun, till at last a Maid that used to carry him his Food, was corrupted by those which sought for him, to betray him to them: But it pleased God by his Spirit to reveal to him his danger, whereby he escaped a little before they came to apprehend him.

Afterwards *Constans* forced his Brother *Constantius*, though much against his will, to restore *Athanasius* to his Church at *Alexandria*: But after the death of that good Emperor *Constans*, *Constantius* drave him into banishment again; yet the Lord stirred up a godly Woman to hide him in her house, till the death of *Constantius*.

In *Alexandria* in the room of *Athanasius*, was *George* an *Arrian* Bishop placed, who also was furnished with armed Soldiers to assist him in his devillish devices. Thereupon he caused a great fire to be made, took many Christian Virgins; caused them to be stripped naked, requiring them to renounce their Faith, or else they should be burned: but when the sight of the fire could not terrifie them, he caused their Faces to be so dashed with strokes, that their countenances were disfigured; yet like patient Soldiers of *Christ* they endured all kind of rebuke for his Names sake.

Thirty Bishops of *Egypt* and *Lybia*, were slain in the fury of this *Arrian* Persecution. Fourteen Bishops were banished, whereof some of them died in the way, the rest in Exile. Forty Orthodox Christians in *Alexandria* were scourged with rods, because they would not communicate with the *Arrian* Bishop *George*, and so pitiously handled, that some pieces of the rods were so deeply fixed in their flesh, that they could not be drawn out, and many through excessive pain of their wounded Bodies, died.

The like cruelty did the *Arrians* exercise in *Constantinople*. *Paul* the good Bishop was banished to *Cucusus*, where he was strangled by the *Arrians*. *Macedonius* a notable Heretick was placed in his room, who used no less cruelty in forcing men to communicate with him, then was used formerly to force them to sacrifice to Idols.

These Hereticks used also great diligence in procuring Councils to establish their Errors. But not long after the Emperor died, following much that he had changed the form of the *Nicene* Faith.

After the death of *Jovian*, *Valentinian* succeeded in the Empire, who associated to himself his Brother *Valens*, and made him Emperor of the East. This *Valens* was an *Arrian*, and raised up a cruel Persecution against the Orthodox: Concerning which *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Oration of the praise of *Basil*, thus writeth, *Insurrexit repente nebula grandine plena, & perulose stridens, quæ omnes Ecclesias in quas incidit, contrivit, & prostravit, Christi cultus, pariter & omnes, qui post persecutorem persecutor fuit, & post Apostatam, non quidem Apostata, sed nihilo tamen meliorem se Christianis præbens: Christi nomen pro se ferens Christum mentiebatur.* *Miletius* Bishop of *Antioch* he banished to *Armenia*. *Eusebius* Bishop of *Samosata*, to *Thrace*. *Pelagius* Bishop of *Emesa*, to *Arabia*.

*Athanasius* persecuted of *Constantius*.

*Athanasius* miraculously delivered.

His miraculous deliverance.

His banishment and danger.

His miraculous deliverance.

He is restored for a time, and again banished.

Christian Virgins shamefully abused.

The *Arrian* cruelty.

Bishop *Paul* banished.

Subtily.

*Anna* *Christi*.

Persecution raised by *Valens*.

He succeeded.

*Eusebius*, *Pelagius*.

An admirable  
Story.

Courage.

Gods Provi-  
dence.Eighty godly  
Ministers bur-  
ned.Cruelty of  
Hereticks.

Peter.

Cruelty.

The Emperor  
refused admo-  
nition.Gods Judg-  
ment on Per-  
secutors.

He was exceedingly filled with wrath against the Bishops, assembled in the Council of *Lampacum*, because they adhered to the *Nicene* Faith. In *Constantinople* he banished all the Orthodox. In *Edissa*, he commanded them all to be slain as they were assembled together in the Church. The Lieutenant that had received this charge from him, being more merciful than his Master, gave private notice to the Christians, that they should not assemble at that time; But they, neither regarding his advice, nor fearing his threats, flocked to the Church in great Companies: and whilst the Lieutenant with many armed Soldiers, hastened thitherward to fulfil the Emperors command, a Woman leading a Child in her hand, all in haste, brake the ranks, and thrust into the armed troops; The Lieutenant being moved therewith, called the Woman before him, saying, *Thou fond and unfortunate woman, whither runnest thou so rashly? Thither,* (said she) *whither others hasten; Hast thou not heard* (said he) *that the Lieutenant will slay as many as he finds there? I heard it* (said she) *and therefore I make the more haste to the place. But whether* (said he) *ledest thou this Child? That he also* (said she) *may be accounted in the number of the Martyrs.* Hereupon the Lieutenant returned back to the Emperor, and told him that all the Christians from the highest to the lowest prepared themselves to die in the defence of their Faith, and withal he shewed him what a rash thing it was to murder so great a multitude, &c. and so with his reasons perswaded the Emperor, that he appeased his wrath, and prevented the mischief at that time.

In *Constantinople* the *Arrians*, favored by the Emperor, crowed insolently over the Christians, they scourged, reviled, imprisoned, amerced, and laid upon them all the intolerable burthens they could devise. Hereupon eighty godly Ministers, in the name of all the rest, addressed themselves to the Emperor, complaining of the out-rages that were done to them, craving some relief: But this cruel Tyrant commanded *Modestus* the General of his Army, to embark them all in a Ship, as if he would have sent them into banishment, but secretly he gave direction to the Marriners, to set the Ship on fire, and to retire themselves into a Boat, and so these holy Martyrs glorified the Name of *Christ*, by patient suffering of a double death, burning and drowning.

In all the Eastern parts he tormented many with sundry sorts of grievous torments, put many to death, drowned many in the Sea, and in Rivers.

About this time he consulted with Necromancers, to know who should succeed him in the Empire: The Devil answered ambiguously, that his Name should began with *Th*. Whereupon he put to death as many as were called *Theodorus*, *Theodotus*, *Theodosius* or *Theodulus*.

*Athanasius* being dead at *Alexandria*, their succeeded him a godly and holy Man, named *Peter*, but the Emperor presently sent Soldiers, which elapt him in Prison, and the rest of the Ministers were banished, some to one place, some to another.

After this he sent forth an Edict for the persecuting of all the Orthodox in *Egypt*: Whereupon many were stript of their raiment, scourged, fettered in Prisons, crushed in pieces with stones, beheaded, driven into deserts, where they wandred in sheeps-skins and goats-skins, destitute of aid and succour, Many hid themselves in mountains, in dens, caves and hollow rocks.

*Terentius* and *Trajan*, two worthy Captains, used some liberty in admonishing the Emperor to abstain from persecuting of the innocent; But the Lord was minded to destroy him, and therefore he could receive no wholsom admonition; For many of the *Goths*, whom he entertained as Soldiers to assist him against his enemies, turned against himself, so that he fled, and was overtaken in a Village, which the *Goths* set on fire whereby he died miserably, leaving none to succeed him, and his Name a curse and execration to all ages.

Collected out of *Magd. Hist.* *Socrates* and *Theod.*



The Persecution by the Donatists.

**A**Bout the year of our Lord 410. there sprang up in *Africk* the *Donatists* and *Circumcellions*, who first made a great Schism in the Church, and afterwards raised up a great Persecution against the Orthodox: concerning which, *S. Augustine* complains in sundry places; And in his 50 Epistle to *Earl Boniface*, he thus writes of it, *In hoc labore multi Catholici, & maxime Episcopi, & Clerici horrenda, & dura perpassi sunt, quae commemorare longum est, &c.* In this disturbance, the Orthodox, especially the Bishops and Ministers, suffered hard and horrible things, the particulars whereof are long to recite, for some of them had their Eyes put out: Some Bishops had their Hands and Tongues cut off; and some were slain outright. To speak nothing of the cruel slaughter of others that were sound and sincere: Of the plundering of their Houses, of the outrageous burning, not only of their private habitations, but of their Churches also; yea, so vile and violent were they, that they stuck not to burn the sacred Scriptures.

Bloody Schismatics.

Profane Schismatics.

Turbulent Schismatics.

Profane Schismatics.  
Gods Judgment on them.  
Impure Schismatics.

*Optatus* in his second Book tells us, that when *Julian* the Apostate came to the Empire, the *Donatists* preferred a petition to him, wherein they desired leave to return to their places in *Africk*, from whence formerly they had been banished. *Julian* knowing what furious and turbulent spirits they were of, and how prejudicial their Return would be to the *Catholic* Church, easily assented to their petition, and so they returned full fraught with malice and revenge, and presently employed all their abilities, partly by subtilty to seduce the common People, partly by violence to oppress the Orthodox Bishops and Ministers, of whom, some they thrust out of their Churches, others they slew.

Some of their chief Bishops, taking armed Soldiers with them, went to the Castle of *Lemella*, where finding the Church shut against them, they commanded their attendance to get upon it, to uncover the roof, and so having broken in to it, they set upon some Deacons, whom they found there, wounded some, and slew two of them outright. In all places where they came, they profaned all holy things; The Sacramental Bread they threw to their Dogs; But behold the just judgment of God against these profane Schismatics; those very Dogs shortly after running mad, fell upon their own Masters, and tore them in pieces.

Virgins they deflowered, and Wives they defiled. So usual a thing it is for those which adulterate the holy truths of God, to be given over to corporal uncleanness.

These furious Persons dispersed themselves all over *Africk*, and would not suffer the Orthodox to preach the truth against their Errors: By their violent assaults, thieveries, rapines, burnings and murders, they destroyed many, and affrighted all, &c.

CHAP. XX.

The Persecution of the Church in *Africk*, by the *Arrian* Vandals, which began Anno Christi 427.

**T**He cruel *Vandals* passing out of *Spain* into *Africk*, under *Genserick* their Captain, finding the Province peaceable and quiet, set upon the flourishingest part of the land, wasting and destroying all before them with Fire and Sword, not sparing so much as the shrubs and bushes which bare fruit, lest they should minister relief to those poor Christians which hid themselves in dens, in mountains, and steep cliffs: But especially they raged against the Churches and Temples of the Saints, burning all them to the ground, and where they found any of them shut, they brake them open with their Maces. The Bishops and Ministers they destroyed especially, with many kinds of torments, seeking by tortures to force them to deliver up whatsoever gold and silver they had.

Cruelty of Heretics.

had of their own or belonging to the Church ; and where they gat any, they still tormented them afresh, to inforce them to confesse more.

Prodigious.

The mouths of some they wrested open with iron, thrusting into them stinking mire and dirt : Some they tormented by wresting their fore-heads and legs with bow-strings, till they crackt again ; Into the mouths of others they poured sea-water, vinegar, with the dregs of oyl and grease ; and neither weakness of sex, nor respect of nobility, nor reverence of their Ministry, mitigated their cruel minds ; yea, their fury most abounded where there appeared any dignity or worthiness.

Ministers laden with burthens.

Many of the Ministers and Nobles they loaded with mighty burthens, as if they had been Camels or Horses, and made them carry them after them ; and if they went slowly, they hasted them with iron pricks and goads, so that some of them under their burthens, gave up the Ghost. Reverend gray Hairs found no priviledg of Mercy ; guiltless Infants felt their barbarous rage, whom they dashed against the ground, violently pulling little ones from their Mothers Breasts to brain them ; of others, by wide stretching of their tender Legs, they tore them in pieces, from the fundament ; The stately buildings they burnt down, and levelled with the earth : The chief Churches in *Carthage* they imployed to their own Heretical worship. Where any strong Castles were held against them, they brought multitudes of Christians, slew them, and left their Bodies lying about the Castles, that by the stench thereof they might force them to surrender.

Pampinian.

Who can expresse the number of Ministers that were by them tortured ! *Pampinian* the Bishop of *Mansuetus* was tortured with burning plates of iron all over his Body. The Bishop of *Urice* was burnt to death.

Hippo besieged.

Then did they also besiege the City of *Hippo*, where *St. Augustine* was, who before that time had compiled two hundred thirty two Books, Epistles innumerable, besides his Expositions on the *Psalms* and *Gospels*, and his Homilies to the People. See more of this in my first part of *Lives in the life of St. Austine*.

A special Providence.

When they had taken the Regal City of *Carthage*, they enslaved the Citizens and Senators, publishing a decree that they should presently bring forth whatsoever gold, silver, precious stones, or rich apparel they possessed, and thereby dispoiled them of all in one day ; Then did they take the Bishop and all the Ministers of that City, and thrust them naked into weather broken-ships, and so banished them, whom yet the Lord of his great Mercy directed, and brought in safety to the City of *Naples*. The Senators and Nobles they first banished from the City, and then drave them beyond-sea. The dead Bodies of the Christians they would not suffer to be buried but in the Night, and without any solemnity.

Pride.

The Bishops and Ministers through all the Province, being dispoiled of all their substance, and turned out of their Churches, assembled together, and presented a petition to *Genserick*, that they might, at least in private, be suffered to instruct their people, to whom he proudly answered, *I have decreed that none of your profession should remain in the Countrey, how then dare you prefer such a request ?* and withal, he would at that instant have drowned them all in the Sea, but that the importunity of some about him, stopt him.

A noble Earl Martyred.

There was also a noble Earl, called *Sebastian*, a man of great wisdom and courage, whom *Genserick* much feared, and therefore sought occasion to put him to death : which that he might the better effect, he moved him to be re-baptized by one of his Priests, and to turn *Arrian* : The Earl therefore requested him to call for a fine manchet, which being done, he said, *This loaf, that it might be fine and white, hath been boulded from the bran, and moistened with liquor, and baked : but if you now cause it to be broken in pieces, steeped in water, kneaded and baked again, if it come out better, I will do as you would have me.* *Genserick* understanding his meaning, could not tell what to answer for the present, yet afterwards he caused him to be put to death.



If any Minister in his Sermon occasionally, did but mention *Pharaoh, Nebuchadrezzar, Herod, &c.* presently it was laid to his charge, that he meant it by the King; and thereupon he was banished.

An evil Conscience.

Yet notwithstanding all this Cruelty, the People of God stood fast in their holy Profession, and rather increased then otherwise.

Constancy.

Rome sacked.

Afterwards, at the request of *Valentinian*, the Empetor, *Genferick* suffered the Orthodox in *Carthage* to chuse them a Bishop, which they did; and not long after, *Genferick*, with his *Vandals*, took the famous City of *Rome*, carrying away with him, not only all the Treasure that of a long time had been stored up there; but many of the People also, who, when they were brought into *Africk*, were shared between the *Vandals*, and the *Moors*: So that Husbands were separated from their Wives, Parents from their Children. Which this godly Bishop hearing of, he caused all the Gold and Silver Vessels belonging to the Church, to be sold for their Redemption; that so married Persons, and Parents, and Children might enjoy the comfort of their Relations. Then also did he provide food and lodging for them, and night and day went amongst them himself, to see how they did, to minister to their wants, and comfort them. But this procured him such hatred amongst the *Arrians*, that they sought to slay him: But the Lord about this time took him to himself, whereby he escaped their malice.

Charity.

Gods Providence.

One of *Genfericks* Colonels, having some Christian slaves, and a beautiful and a godly Virgin amongst them, he took occasion to vex them with fetters and torments, thereby to force them to Rebaptization; which they constantly refusing, he caused them to be stripped, and beaten with ragged cudgels, till their flesh was torn in pieces, &c. At last they were banished to *Capfur*, an Heathen Kingdom of the *Moors*, where it pleased God so to bless their labors, that many of them were converted, and sending for an Orthodox Minister, were Baptized.

A Special Providence.  
Moors converted.

This coming to *Genfericks* ears, he commanded these Servants of God to be drawn at a Chariots tail, thorow thickets of Thorns, till they were torn in pieces; and these newly converted *Moors*, he caused their naked Bodies to be haled backwards and forwards, thorow Bushes and Brambles, and others of them to be tied to Wild Beasts, and so to be rent in sunder. The Poor Christians lying thus, each to other, O Brother pray for me; God hath fulfilled our desire. O this is the way to the Kingdom of Heaven.

Cruelty of Heretics.

*Genferick* further raging against the Orthodox, sent one *Proculus* into the *Zengian* Province, to dispoil all the Churches of their Ornaments, and the Ministers of their Books, that thereby they might be disabled to holy Services; which command was executed with all rigor. And whereas the Bishop of *Habensa* refused to deliver them up, he was expelled the City, and all Men at great penalty were forbidden to harbor him; so that, being above eighty years old, he lay naked for a long time, under the open Skie.

The Bishop of Habensa.

About *Easter*, when the Christians were met together in a Church, to celebrate the Remembrance of *Christs* Resurrection, the *Arrians* with a great power of armed Men, set upon this innocent company, who with their naked Swords slew many. The Minister that was Preaching, they shot through the Throat with an Arrow: And such of them as escaped death, were by the command of the King, executed by sundry kinds of torments.

Christians murdered at a Sermon.

In other places, when the Christians were administering the Sacrament, the Hereticks rushed in amongst them, taking the Bread and Wine, and trampling them under their prophane feet.

Horrible prophaneity.

Then did *Genferick* command, that none but *Arrians* should bear any Office, either about himself or his children. And a Bishop called *Armagast*, they took, and first nipped his Forehead and Legs with Bow-strings; then did they hang him up by one Foot, with his Head downward, yet did he seem to all Men as if he slept in a Feather-bed; which so iraged *Theoderick*, the Kings Son, that he commanded him to be Beheaded: But some about him dissuaded him from it.

A Special Providence.

Because

because said they, *He will be accounted a Martyr*. Then was he banished to dig in Mines; yet afterwards he was sent for again, and made a Cow-herd near to Carthage, that he might be a continual object of scorn.

Saturus his noble courage.

Tentation.

Refuted.

Genfericks death.

Manicheans punished.

Eugenius chosen Bishop.

Envy;

Cruelty of Hereticks.

Constancy.

Constancy.

Barbarous cruelty.

There was also one *Saturus* a Nobleman, eminent for holiness, whom the Tyrant much labored to draw to the *Arrian* Profession; but he refusing, the King told him, *That if he presently consented not, he should forfeit his House and Goods; that his Children and Slaves should be sold, and his wife should be given to the Camel-driver*: Yet no menaces could shake his Faith. His Wife hearing of her doom, went to her Husband as he was praying; with her garments rent, her hair disheveled, her children at her heels, and a sucking infant in her hands, whom she cast at her Husbands feet, and took him about the knees, saying, *Have compassion (O my sweetest) of me thy poor wife, and of these thy children; look upon them, let them not be made slaves; let not me be yoked to a base Marriage, &c.* That which thou art required to do, thou dost it not willingly, but by constraint, and therefore it will not be laid to thy charge. He gave her an answer in the words of *Job*, *Thou speakest like a foolish Woman; thou attest the Devils part; if thou lovest thy Husband, thou wouldst never seek to draw him to sin, which will procure the second death. I am resolved therefore, as my Lord commands me; to forsake Wife, Children, Lands, House, &c. that I may be his Disciple*: And accordingly he was dispoiled of all, and turned out a begging, yet all were forbidden to harbor him.

*Genferick* having reigned Thirty seven years and three Moneths, died.

*Genferick* being dead, his Son *Hunrick* succeeded him, who at first was more moderate to the Christians, insomuch, as they began to hold their meetings as before time. The *Manichean* Hereticks he sought out, and though most of them were of his own Religion; yet he burnt some, and banished others.

At the request of the Emperor *Zeno*, and *Placidia* his Wife, he suffered the Church of *Carthage* to chuse their own Bishop, having been destitute of one for Twenty four years. Then they chose *Eugenius*, an humble, holy, and charitable Man, whose fame increasing, the *Arrian* Bishops much envied him, and put into the Kings Head to forbid him to Preach; and not to suffer any to enter into the Church that were attired after the manner of the *Vandals*. To which command *Eugenius* thus answered, *The House of God is free for all; those which enter, no Man may drive forth*. The King being incensed with this answer, placed torturers at the Church-door, who when they espied any Man or Woman in a *Vandal*s habit, about to go into the Church, clapping Fleh-hooks on their heads, and twisting them in their hair, with a strong twitch they pulled off hair, scalp and all, whereby some lost their eyes, and some their lives.

The Women, besides these torments, they carried thorow the Streets, to be made a publick laughing stock, yet could they not force them to alter their Religion.

Then did *Hunrick* ordain, That none of his Courtiers which dissented from his Religion, should receive their ordinary Pensions and Salaries. He also did send many of them who had been delicately brought up, to *Utica*, in the parching heat of the Sun, to dig the Land for Corn; yet they went chearfully; and comforted themselves in the Lord.

He commanded that no Man should be a Knight, or bear any publick Office, except he turned *Arrian*: Whereupon, very many with invincible courage, forsook their Honors and Offices, rather than their Faith.

Many Virgins he caused to be proved by the Midwives in a most shameful manner; hanging them up from the ground with mighty weights at their feet, and putting to their sides, breasts, back, and bellies, red hot plates of Iron, to compel them to confess that their Bishops and Ministers lay with them, that so he might from thence have an occasion to persecute them. Many of these died under the pain, and others remained lame and crooked all their lives after, yet would they not confess any such thing.

Then



Then did he banish into the Wilderness, of Bishops, Ministers, Deacons, and other Members of *Christ*, Four thousand nine hundred seventy and six; some of them being lame with the Gout, others blind with Age: Amongst whom also, was *Felix*, Bishop of *Abiris*, possessed with a dead Palsie, and therefore unable, either to go or ride; which the cruel King being informed of, and requested that he might be suffered to stay, he answered, *If he be not able to ride, let wild Bulls be coupled to drag him to the place appointed.* So that they were fain to carry him on a Mules back across, as if he had been a Sack.

Multitudes banished.

Felix.

So were all these holy Confessors brought to the City of *Sicca*, where the *Moors* were to receive them, and transport them thence to the Wilderness. Thither came two *Arrian* Earls, and with great subtilty sought to withdraw them from their steadfastness, saying, *What mean you to be so obstinate, as not to obey the Kings Laws, whereas by complying with him, you may be preferred to honor?* But they all cried out, *We be Christians, we be Catholicks, we believe, and confess the Trinity in Unity.* Hereupon were they shut up in a grievous Prison.

Tentation.

Many Mothers also voluntarily followed their little Children, much rejoicing that they had born Martyrs. Others sought to draw them to Rebaptization by the Hereticks; but, through *Gods* Grace, they could not prevail.

Constancy.

As they passed on the way, travelling more by night than by day, because of the excessive heat, a Woman hastened after them, leading in hand a little Child, encouraging him, saying, *Run Sirra, seest thou all the Saints, how merrily they go forwards, and hasten to their Crown?* One of the company rebuked her, and asked her whither she went? To whom she answered, *Pray for me, I go with this little Boy, my Nephew, to the place of banishment, lest the Enemies finding him alone, should seduce him from the way of Truth, into the way of Error.*

An excellent story.

The Enemies being more enraged, because of their constancy, when they came to their Lodgings, penned them up in narrow places: And there was denied to them all the comfort of access of their Friends, for permitting whereof formerly, their Keepers had been beaten with staves. These blessed Saints were tumbled one upon another, as Grains of Corn; neither could they have means of stepping aside to ease Nature, so that the stink of their Excrements exceeded their other pain.

Cruelty of Hereticks.

They were brought forth, their Garments, Heads, and Faces besmeared with dirt in a pitiful manner; and by the clamorous *Moors* they were hastned forward in their journey; yet they went singing with great joy unto the Lord, *Lo, This honor have all his Saints.* Then came to them the blessed Bishop *Cyprian*, who to their singular consolation, comforted every one of them with fatherly affections, and with streams of tears was ready to lay down his life for the Brethren, and would fain have accompanied them, if he might have been suffered. He bestowed all that he had amongst them, for which he afterwards suffered imprisonment, and much hardship, and at last had his hearts desire in being banished.

Cyprian's sympathy.

Charity.

There came great multitudes from sundry Countreys and Cities, to behold these Servants of *God*, and many casting their Children at their feet, crying thus, *To whom will you leave us wretches, whilst you go forward to your Crown? Who shall Baptize our Infants? Instruct and Administer the Sacraments to us? Our hearts serve us well to go with you, if we might.* But now none were suffered any more to go with them for their comfort; but they were pressed forwards, and made to run.

When any of the aged, or tender Children fainted, they were first punched forwards with staves; and the *Moors* were commanded to tie ropes to the feet of such as were unable to go, and to hale them thorow the rough places, so that, first their Garments were rent, then their flesh, and their heads were dashed against the sharp edges of Rocks, whereby very many of them died.

Barbarous cruelty.

The rest that were stronger, came at last to the Wilderness, where the Beasts, they had Barley given them for their Food: There were also abundance

A special Providence.

of venomous Serpents and Scorpions in that place, whose sting was deadly; yet, thorow Gods great Providence, none of these Servants of Christ gat any hurt thereby.

Subtily of Hereticks.

Hunrick in the seventh year of his reign, directed his Mandate to *Eugenius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, and told all other Bishops in *Africk*, that they should by such a day meet at *Carthage*, to defend by disputation their Faith against the *Arrian* Bishops; but withal, by the tenor of the Decree, they perceived, that he would not suffer any of them to live within his Dominions; which caused great heaviness amongst them. *Eugenius* returned answer, That since it was the common Cause of all the Christian Churches, it was but equal, that Bishops, out of other Countreys, should be requested to be there present also. And this he did, not because they suspected their own abilities to defend the Truth; but because he knew that strangers might use more liberty of Speech then they could; and that other Bishops might be witnesses of their Sufferings. But this request did but more enrage this unreasonable Tyrant.

The appointed day approaching, many Bishops resorted to *Carthage*, worn out with Afflictions and Sorrows; yet for many days after their coming, there was no mention of disputing, till, in the mean time, the King had singled out the learnedst and skilfullest of them, that by sundry calumnies he might make them away: Amongst whom was *Latius*, a stout and learned Man, whom he first imprisoned, and then burnt him in the fire, that so he might strike a fear into the rest.

Pride of Hereticks.

At last the Disputation began, and the Orthodox, to avoid tumult, chose out some to answer for all the rest. The *Arrians* placed themselves upon lofty Thrones, whilst the Orthodox stood below upon their Feet; whereupon they said, *Conference is to be taken in hand, not where proud Superiority of Power bears sway, but where, by common consent, the Disputants upon equal terms debate the Controversies, that Truth may come to light, &c.* Hereupon all the Catholics were commanded to have an hundred strokes apiece with a Cudgel, given them for this Speech.

Unjust cruelty.

Whereupon *Eugenius* said, *The Lord from Heaven behold the violence which we suffer, and consider the tribulation which we sustain from our Persecutors.* Then did the Orthodox Bishops desire the *Arrians* to propound what they intended: But the *Arrian* Bishops seeing them ready to dispute with them, sought out tergiversations, and declined the dispute. Hereupon the Orthodox drew forth a Declaration of their Faith, excellently well penned, and exhibited it with this Protestation, *If you be desirous to know our Belief, the Faith which we hold is herein comprised.* The *Arrians* stormed exceedingly at this, giving them outrageous language, and presently by false calumnies they accused them to the King, and so incensed him, That by an Edict, in one day, he caused all the Christian Churches, through *Africk*, to be shut up, giving to the *Arrians* all the Goods and Churches of the Orthodox.

A Confession of Faith.

A wicked Edict.

Cruelty of Hereticks.

Then did he command, that all those godly Bishops that were met together at *Carthage*, should be spoiled of all that they had in their Lodgings, and so driven out of the City Gates; having neither Servant, nor Beast, nor Garment to shift them in, left unto them: And all men were forbidden either to harbor them, or give them any sustenance, the King threatening to burn, him and all his family, that should relieve them.

The Bishops being thus turned out, lay in the open Fields, round about the Walls: And when the Tyrant went forth to the Fish-ponds, they met him, saying, *why are we so afflicted? what evil have we done? If we be called to dispute, why are we spoiled of all we have? why are we slandered? why are we forced to remain here amongst the Dung-hills, afflicted with hunger and nakedness, far from our Churches and Houses?* Herewith the Tyrant was so enraged, that he commanded his Horsemen to ride over them, whereby many of them were sore bruised and wounded, especially the aged and weak men. Then did he command them to meet him at the Temple of *Memory*; and when they came thither, they had this



this writing delivered to them. *Our Lord King Hunrick, lamenting your obstinacy in refusing to obey his Will, and to imbrace his Religion, yet intends to deal graciously with you; and if you will take this Oath, he will send you back to your Churches and Houses.* They all said with one consent, *we are all Christians, and Bishops, and hold the Apostolical, and only true Faith;* and thereupon they made a brief Confession of their Faith. But the Kings Commissioners urged them, without any further delay, to take the Oath contained in that Paper. Whereupon they answered, *Do you think us brut Beasts, that we should so easily swear to a writing, wherein we know not what is contained?* Then was the Oath read unto them, which was this, *You shall swear that after the death of the Lord our King, his Son Hilderick shall succeed him in the Kingdom; and that none of you shall send Letters beyond the Seas. If you take this Oath, he will restore you to your Churches.*

Devillish  
ludley.

They that were plain-meaning Men amongst them, were willing to take it; but others that saw further into the subtilty of it, refused it. Then were those which would take it, commanded to separate themselves from the other, which being done, a Notary presently took their names, and of what Cities they were; he did the like also by the Refusers. And so both Parties were committed to ward, and shortly after the King sent them word; first, to those that would have taken the Oath. *Because that you, contrary to the rule of the Gospel, which saith, Thou shalt not swear at all, would have sworn. The Kings will is, that you shall never see your Churches more, but shall be banished into the wilderness, and never perform any Ministerial Office again; and there you shall Till the Ground.* But to the Refusers of the Oath, he said, *Because you desire not the reign of our Lords Son, you shall therefore be immediately sent away to the Isle of Corfe, there to hew Timber for the Ships.*

A wicked  
Sentence.

He also sent abroad through all *Africk*, his cruel tormentors: So that no place, no house remained free from lamentation, screeching, and out-cries. They spared neither Age nor Sex, but only such as yielded to their will: Some they cudgelled with Staves; some they hung up, others they burned. Women, and especially Gentlewomen, they openly tortured stark naked without all shame: Amongst whom was *Dionysia*, whom when they saw bolder, and more beautiful than the rest; they first commanded her to be stripped naked, and made ready for the cudgels, who spake boldly to them, saying, *I am assured of the love of my God, vex me how you will, only my woman-hood, disclose you not.* But they, with greater rage, set her naked upon an high place for a publick spectacle; then did they whip her till the streams of blood flowed all over her body: Whereupon she boldly said, *Ye Ministers of Satan, that which you do for my reproach, is to me an honor.* And beholding her only Son, that was young and tender, and seemed fearful of torments, checking him with a Motherly Authority, she so encouraged him, that he became much more constant than before. To whom in the midst of his terrible torments, she said, *Remember, O my Child, that we were Baptized in the Name of the holy Trinity: Let us not lose the Garment of our Salvation, least it be said, Cast them into utter darkness, where is weeping and wailing and gnashing of Teeth: For that pain is to be dreaded, that never endeth; and that life to be desired, that always lasteth.* The Youth was so encouraged hereby, that he persevered patient in all his sufferings, till, in the midst of his torments, he gave up the ghost. Many by her Exhortations and Examples were gained to God, and animated in their sufferings.

Dionysia

Impudence of  
Heresicks.

Courage!

She encouraged  
her Son.The benefit of  
good Examples.

Not long after, *Cyrillus*, the Arrian Bishop at Carthage, stirred up the Tyrant against the Christians, telling him, *That he could never expect to enjoy his Kingdom in peace, so long as he suffered any of them to live.* Hereupon he sent for Seven eminent Christians from Capsa to Carthage, whom he first assaulted with flattery and large promises of honor, riches, &c. If so be they would imbrace his Faith. But these Servants of Christ rejected all those proffers, crying out, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism;* saying also, *Do with our Bodies what you please, torment*

Slanders.

Tentation.

Courage and  
constancy.

them at your will, it is better for us to suffer these momentary pains, than to indure everlasting torments.

Gods mercy

Hereupon they were sent to Prison, loaded with great Iron chains, and thrust into a stinking Dungeon: But God stirred up the hearts of many godly Persons (by great bribes to the Jayler) to procure daily access to them; and by their Exhortations, they were so corroborated in the Faith, that they much desired to suffer the like things for Christ with these Men, and would willingly have laid down their Necks to the Persecutors Swords.

Many burned in a Ship.

The Tyrant hearing of it, was exceedingly intraged, caused them to be kept closer, loaden with more Chains, and to be put to great torments. He causes also a Ship to be filled with combustible matter, commanding, That these holy Martyrs should be put into it, and fast bound in the same, and fire to be set to the Ship in the Sea, that they might be burned to death.

Admirable courage and comfort.

When they were brought out of the Prison, the multitude of Gods People accompanied them to the Ship, who as innocent Lambs were led to be sacrificed, looking upon their weighty Irons as rare Jewels and Ornaments. With cheerfulness and alacrity they went towards the place of Execution, as if they had gone to a Banquet, singing with one voice unto the Lord, as they went along the Street, saying, *This is our desired day, more Festival than any Festivity: Behold, now is the accepted time, behold, now is the day of Salvation! When for the Faith of our Lord God, we indure death, that we may not loose the Garment of obtained Faith.* The People also with one voice cried, *Fear not, O Servants of God, neither dread the threats of your Enemies. Die for Christ, who died for us, that he might redeem us with the price of his saving Blood.*

Tentation:

Constancy of a Boy.

Amongst these was a pretty Boy, to whom a subtil Seducer said, *why hastest thou, my pretty Boy, unto death; let them go, they are mad. Take my counsel, and thou shalt not only have life, but great advancement in the Kings Court.* To whom the Lad answered, *Thou shalt not get me from the Fellowship of these holy Men who bred me up; with whom I lived in the fear of God, and with whom I desire to die; and with whom I trust, I shall obtain the glory to come.* And so being all put into the Ship, they were burned together.

After the death of Hunrick, Gundabund succeeded in the Kingdom, who continuing in the steps of his cruel Predecessors, afflicted the Christians grievously by sundry kinds of Persecution, during the space of twelve years; at the end whereof he died, and Thrasamund succeeded him. A Man that excelled all his Predecessors in magnanimity and courage.

His manner was, by perswasions, flatteries, promises, and rewards, to seek to draw the Christians to his Arrian Heresie; but they which would not be prevailed with hereby, he no way punished or molested them.

An excellent example of an Heathen.

Profanels of Hereticks.

In his time there were great Wars between the Moors and Vandals; the Moors had one Cabaon for their General, who commanded all his Soldiers to use abstinence in their Diet, and to abstain from Women, and from all injury and wrong-doing. The Women he inclosed within Trenches by themselves, commanding, That under pain of Death, no Man should have access to them. Then did he send forth a certain company of Moors, commanding them privately to follow the Camp of the Vandals, and that wheresoever the Vandals profaned any Church of the Christians, presently after their departure, they should follow and purge the same. For (saith he) *if the Christians God be a good God, then will he assist them that are devoted to him, and punish the Blasphemers.* These Men in counterfeit base attire, followed the Vandals Camp; and whereas the Vandals where ever they came, took up the Christians Churches for their Horses, and Beasts of burthen, carrying themselves very insolently against God and his House, beating and abusing the Ministers and Church-Officers, making them to attend upon them as their slaves. After their departure, the Moors, on the contrary, cleansed the Churches, carried out the Dung, kneeled down to, and revered the Ministers, and distributed Money to the Poor; and thus they did continually.

Then



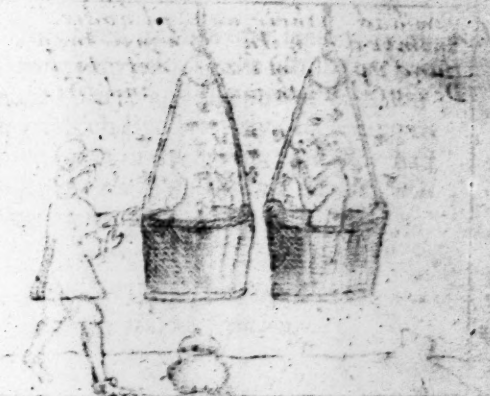
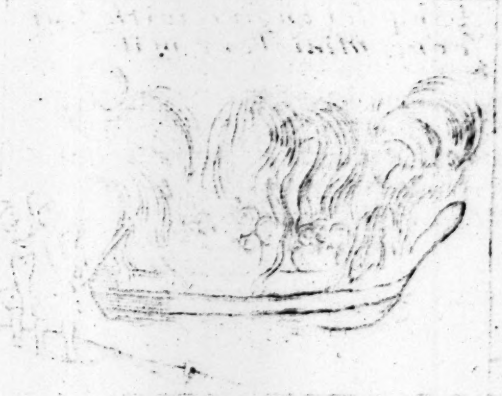


Fig. 5:

Som were sawed  
asunder in the middle



Womens Bellies Ript  
open Barly put into y<sup>m</sup>  
And so deuoured by  
swine



Som had their naked bodies  
Anointed with honey then  
Hung up in baskets to be  
Deuoured with wasps and flies



A ship set on fire with four  
score ministers in it



Ministers Loaden with  
great burthens and prickt  
forward with swords  
speares



Children Cut in peeces  
from the fundament



Som were tyed by the  
feet And halled throw  
Rough places till they were  
torne in peeces



Som had stinking water  
vineger & grease poured  
downe their throates





Then did *Cabaon* prepare to give his Enemies Battle; and whereas the *Vandals* were all Horſemen, and very well mounted, their Horſes were ſo affrighted at the ſight of the *Moors* Camels, that they were preſently put into diſorder, and the *Moors* with Darts and Arrows did ſo pelt them, that they put them to flight, and ſlew many of them; whereof *Thraſamund* ſhortly after died of grief.

Then did *Uderick*, the Son of *Hunrich*, ſucceed in the Kingdom, who was equally mild and gentle, both to the *Vandals* and Chriſtians, and one that kept very fair correſpondence with the Emperour *Juſtinian*. But *Gilimer*, a cunning and ambitious Man, depoſed him, and uſurped the Kingdom to himſelf. Whereupon *Juſtinian* ſent againſt him, that brave and gallant General *Billiſarius*, who overcame him in ſeveral Battles, took him priſoner, freed the Chriſtians from Perſecution, and ſubverted the Empire of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, after they had reigned there for the ſpace of Ninety years, wherein, for the moſt part, they had been cruel Perſecutors of the true Church of God.

The deſtruction of the cruel ſecuting *Vandals*.

*Salvian*, who was Biſhop of *Maſilia*, and lived at the ſame ſeaſon, complaineth, That before theſe brutiſh *Vandals* came into *Africk*, the Church of God there, was much degenerated from its ancient Purity, and the power of Godlineſs was much decayed; inſomuch, as they which lived exactly, according to the Rule of Gods Word, were hiſſed at as they went in the ſtreets, as if they had been Monſters. whereupon, ſaith he, the paſſage of the *Vandals* into *Africk*, was not to be imputed to Gods rigor, but to the Africans wickedneſs, &c.

Sin the forerunner of Perſecution.

Collected out of a Book written by *Victor*, Biſhop of *Utica*, who lived at the ſame time, and was himſelf a Sufferer under this Perſecution.

Here place the Fifth Figure.



CHAP



THE  
P E R S E C U T I O N  
OF THE  
C H U R C H  
UNDER THE  
P A P A C Y.

C H A P. XXI.

*The Persecutions of the Waldenses, which began Anno Christi 1160.*



The first Reformers.

When the Darknes of Popery had overspread the Christian World, so that Kings and Princes employed their Authority to establish the *Romish* Idolatry, appointing to slaughter such as denied Transubstantiation, Adoration of the Host, bowing the Knees before it, &c. This occasioned many Christians to detest this Superstition, as unknown to the Apostles and Primitive Church. And first of all, God raised up *Berengarius*, presently after the year One thousand, who boldly and faithfully Preached the Truth, and against the *Romish* Errors, continuing his Ministry till about the time that *William* the Conqueror came into *England*; whereupon the Gospellers were called *Berengarians*, till about the year One hundred and ten. At which time, common notice being taken of their Separation from the Church of *Rome*, and their disagreeing from so many of their Tenents, they were branded with the odious name of Hereticks. And twenty years after, when they were grown into a very great multitude, they had one *Peter Bruis* for their most famous Preacher, who taught long and publicly at *Tholouse*, under the protection and favor of a Noble Earl, called *Hildephonsus*: Whereupon in those parts they were called *Petro-Bruisians*. For *Peter Bruis*, Anno Christi 1120. published their Tenents in a Book called *Antichrist*, wherein he declared both the ground of their Doctrine, and the causes of their Separation from the *Romish* Church.

Twenty years after this, they were grown into a mighty multitude about Anno Christi 1140. whereupon the Popes of *Rome* now began to lay about them for their Extirpation: For which end, he stirred up his most learned followers to write against them; and warned Princes to take heed of them, and to banish them out of their Territories.

Anno



Anno Christi 1147. they had *Henry of Tholouse* for their most eminent Preacher, whereupon they began to be called *Henericians*; and because they were well red in the Scriptures, especially in the Epistles of *S. Paul*, whom by way of eminency, they called *The Apostle*, alleaging Texts out of him, and would admit of no Testimonies for the proof of Religion; but only out of Scripture, they were called *Apostolicks*. And shortly after, God raised up *Peter Valdo*, a Citizen of *Lions* in *France*, who shewed himself most couragious in opposing the Popish inventions; withal taxing divers other innovations which were crept into the Church of *Rome*; and he was the more eagerly hearkened unto, because he was in high esteem for his Learning and Piety, and his Liberality to the Poor: For besides the nourishing of their Bodies, he did also feed their Souls, by exhorting them to seek *Jesus Christ*, and Salvation by him. The Archbishop of *Lions* being informed that *Valdo* used thus to instruct the People, boldly taxing the Vices, Luxury, and Pride of the Pope and his Clergy, forbade him the same, upon pain of Excommunication, and proceeded against him as an Heretick. *Valdo* replied, *That he could not be silent in a cause of so great importance, as the Salvation of Mens Souls; wherein he must obey God, rather than Man.* Then did the Archbishop seek to have him apprehended, but could not effect it, *Valdo* having many great Friends, and being generally beloved, whereby he continued (though closely) in *Lions* three years.

Peter Valdo.

Charity.

Popish malice.

Christian courage.

Pope *Alexander* the Third, being informed, that divers Persons in *Lions* questioned his Sovereign Authority over the whole Church, cursed *Valdo*, and his Adherents; commanding the Archbishop to proceed against them by Ecclesiastical Censures, to their utter extirpation; whereupon they were wholly chased out of *Lions*. *Valdo* and his Followers, were called *waldenses*, which afterwards spread themselves into divers Countreys and Companies.

Pope Alexander ralleth Persecution.

The Opinions of these *waldenses*, for which they were so declaimed against, and cruelly persecuted by the *Romanists*, were these.

- I. **T**hat holy Oyl is not to be mingled in Baptism.
- II. That all such Prayers are superstitious and vain, which are made over the Oyl, Salt, wax, Incense, Boughs of Olives and Palms, Ecclesiastical Garments, Calices, Church-yards, and such like things.
- III. That time is spent in vain, in Ecclesiastical singings, and saying the Canonical hours.
- IV. That Flesh and Eggs may be eaten in Lent; and that there is no merit in abstinence at such times.
- V. That when necessity requires, all sorts of Persons may marry, Ministers as well as others.
- VI. That Auricular Confession is not necessary.
- VII. That Confirmation is not a Sacrament.
- VIII. That Obedience is not to be performed to the Pope.
- IX. That Ministers should live upon Tithes and Offerings.
- X. That there is no difference between a Bishop and a Minister.
- XI. That it is not the dignity, but deserts, of a Presbyter, that makes him a better Man.
- XII. That they administer the Sacrament, without the accustomed Form of the Roman Church.
- XIII. They say that Images are to be taken out of Churches, and that to adore them, was Idolatry.
- XIV. They contemned the Popes Indulgences, and say, That they were of no virtue.
- XV. They refused to take any Oath, whereby they should be infected to accuse themselves, or their friends.
- XVI. They maintained their Ministers out of their own Purses, thinking it unreasonable that such should be diverted from their Studies, whilst they were to get their livings with their own hands.
- XVII.

- XVII. They held, that the Miracles done in the Church of Rome, were false Miracles.
- XVIII. That the Religion of the Fryer Mendicants was invented by the Devil.
- XIX. That the Pope of Rome was not to be obeyed.
- XX. That Whoredom and Stews were not to be permitted, under pretence of avoiding Adultery and Rapes.
- XXI. That there is no Purgatory, wherein the Souls of the deceased are to be purged, before they be admitted into Heaven.
- XXII. That a Presbyter, falling into scandalous Sin, ought to be suspended from his Office, till he had sufficiently testified his Repentance.
- XXIII. That the Saints deceased, are not to be worshipped and prayed unto.
- XXIV. That it matters not for the place of their Burial, whether it were holy or no.
- XXV. They admitted no extreame Unction amongst the Sacraments of the Church.
- XXVI. They say, that Masses, Indulgences, and Prayers, do not profit the Dead.
- XXVII. They admitted no Prayers, but such as did correspond with the Lords Prayer; which they made the Rule of all their Prayers.
- XXVIII. Lastly, Though their Adversaries charged them with holding, That every Layman might freely Preach to the People, yet they had Bishops, and Orders amongst themselves; as the Order of Bulgary, the Order of Druguria: And they who were their Ministers, were ordained thereunto, though they were not of the Romish Institution; as Niculus Viguierius, and others report of them.

Gods Providence.  
Persecution  
spreads the  
Gospel.  
King of  
France persecutes them.

Valdo himself went into Dauphiney, conversing in the Mountains of the same Province, with certain rude persons, yet capable of receiving his Belief: His Disciples also spread into Picardy, whence they were called Picards. Against whom afterwards King Philip (inforced by the Ecclesiastical Persons) took Arms, and overthrew Three hundred Gentlemens Houses that followed their part, and destroyed some Walled Towns, pursuing them into Flanders, whether they fled, and causing many of them there to be burnt to death.

This Persecution caused many of them to flee into Germany, and Alsatia, where they spread their Doctrine; and shortly after, the Bishops of Mayence and Strasburgh, raised up a great Persecution against them, causing five and thirty Burghesses of Mayence, to be burnt in one fire, and eighteen in another, who with great constancy suffered death.

Many burnt.

At Strasburgh eighty were burnt, at the instance of the Bishop; yet multitudes of People received such Edification by the Exhortations, Constancy, and Patience of the Martyrs, that Anno 1315. in the County of Passau, and about Bohemia, there were above Eighty thousand Persons that made Profession of the same Faith.

The spreading  
of the Gospel.

Anno Christi 1160. some of them came into England, and at Oxford were punished in the most barbarous and cruel manner, as ever were any Christians for Religion sake, before that time; as you may see in my English Martyrology. And three years after in the Council of Turon, or Towers in France, viz. One thousand one hundred sixty three, Pope Alexander the Third, made a Decree, That these Gospellers, and all their Favorers, should be excommunicated; and that none should sell them any thing, or buy any thing of them, according as it was fore-prophefied, Revel. 13. 17.

Malicious  
slanders.

But notwithstanding all these devices, they had goodly Churches in Bulgary, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary. The Popish Monks to make them odious, and to have the better occasion to persecute them, raised up many foul slanders of them, as, That they were Sorcerers, Buggerers, &c. That they assembled themselves in the night time; and that the Pastors commanded the Lights to be put out, saying, *Qui potest capere, capiat*, Carch who catch can. Whereupon they committed abominable incest, the Son with the Mother, the Brother with the Sister, the Father with his Daughter, &c. They charged them also with many foul



foul and false Opinions. From which Accusations, they by a Publick Apology and Vindication cleared themselves; which they published both in *French*, and their own Language.

Vindication.

*Rainerus* the Monk, saith of them, That amongst all those which have risen up against the Church of *Rome*, the *Waldenses* were the most dangerous, in regard of their long continuance: For some say, That it hath continued from the time of Pope *Sylvester*; and some say, From the Apostles time. And because this Sect (saith he) is more general, and there is scarce any Countrey, in which it hath not taken footing: And because it hath a great appearance of Piety; for they carry themselves uprightly before men, and believe rightly touching God in all things, holding all the Articles of the Creed; only they hate and revile the Church of *Rome*; and therein (saith he) they are easily believed of the People.

The great increase of the Waldenses.

*Cesarinus* saith, That this Heresie so increased, that in a short time it infected Usque ad mille Civitates, a thousand Cities, *Parsons* saith, That they had an Army of Seventy thousand men to fight for them; yea, they were so spread in Germany, that they could travel from *Collen* to *Milan* in Italy, and every night lodge with Hosts of their own Profession.

Hereupon the Pope hath always used all his art for their utter extirpation, by his Thunder-bolts, Curses, Canons, Constitutions, Decrees, and whatsoever else might make them odious to Kings, Princes, and People, giving them over to Satan, interdicting them all Communion and Society with others, making them incapable of any charges, honors, profits, to inherit Lands, to make Wills to be buried in Church-yards, yea, Confiscating their Goods, disinheriting their Heirs; and where they could apprehend any of them, they condemned them to be delivered to the Secular power, their Houses to be razed, their Lands and Goods to be confiscated; commanding Kings, Princes, Magistrates, Consuls, and People, to make an exact Inquisition, to shut the City Gates, to ring the Toll-bell; to arm themselves, to apprehend, kill, or use any other violence to them, giving to their Accusers a third part of their estates; condemning all Favorers of them to the same punishment.

Popes rage and malice.

Anno Christi 1163. came some of these godly Persons to *Collen* in Germany, out of the parts of *Flanders*, where they secretly remained; for a time, in a Barn near the City: But the diligence of the Popish Clergy found them out by their not coming to their Church, and so caused them to be apprehended, and brought before them; and after examination, because they constantly adhered to the Truth, and would by no means be brought to recant the same, they condemned them, and delivered them to the Secular power; who carrying them out of the City, (being four Men, and one young Woman) they first bound the four Men to a Stake, and set fire to them. The People much pitied the young Woman, and would fain have saved her; hoping, That the burning of her companions would have wrought her to a recantation: But she, perceiving their drift, struggled out of the hands of those that held her, and voluntarily leaped into the fire, whereby she was burned with them. *Godfridus Monachus.*

Five burned at Collen.

Anno Christi 1194. *Aldephonsus*, King of *Arragon* (probably by the instigation of Pope *Celestine*, and mis-information of his Clergy) published this evil Edict against them.

A bloody Edict against the Waldenses.

**A**ldophonius, By the Grace of God, King of *Arragon*, &c. To all Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Prelates of the Church in his Kingdom; to Earls, Viscounts, Knights, and all the People of his Kingdom; and to all that are in Authority, health, &c. Because God would have us to be over his People, it is a worthy and just thing, That we take continual care, as far as in us lies, of the Salvation, and defence of them: Wherefore being imitators of our Predecessors, and in obedience to the Canons, we judge, That all Hereticks cast out of the sight of God, and of all Catholics, are to be condemned, and persecuted every where, namely, the *Waldenses*, or

Peop

Poor Men of Lions, whereof there is no small number, who being cursed by his holy Church. we also command to depart; and flee from all our Kingdoms, and places within our power, as Enemies to the Cross of Christ, our selves, and this Kingdom. Therefore, whosoever from this day forward shall presume to receive the foresaid Waldenses into their Houses, or to hear their doleful Preaching, or to give them Meat, or any other relief; let him know, that he hath incurred the indignation of God, and of us, and that he shall be punished as a Traytor, and all his Goods shall be confiscated without remedy or Appeal. And this our Edict, we command to be published upon Sundays, by Bishops, and all Rectors of Churches, &c. through all our Dominions. And we command that the foresaid punishments be inflicted upon all Transgressors of it, by our Bailiffs, Justices, &c. And if any of the foresaid naughty people, whether noble or ignoble, shall presume to stay three days after the Publication hereof; and not hast their removal; we will, and command all Men to bring upon them all mischief, disgrace, and grievance (except Death, or cutting off their Members) which shall be grateful and acceptable to us; neither shall they fear any punishment for the same; &c.

But this same *Aldephonsus* that made this cruel Edict, by the just retribution of God, the very next year lost part of his Kingdom to the *Moors*, and his Son also Fifty thousand of his Men slain in one Battle. *Hoveden*.

They defend themselves by Arms.

The *Popelings* exercising such cruelty against the *Gospellers*, they began to defend themselves by Arms, repelling force with force: And when, being overpowered by multitude, they could defend themselves no longer, they left their places, and became Soldiers abroad; and many of them became very helpful to our King *Henry* the Second in his Wars, when he was molested about Archbishop *Becket's* death: Also our King *Richard* the First, at his return out of the *Holy Land*, (as they called it) made good use of them (who though they were cursed by the Pope; yet were they blessed by God) for the recovery of his Right, and for the defence of his People.

Valdo's Zeal and Courage.

*Valdo*, notwithstanding all the curses of the Pope, continued to publish, That the Pope was Antichrist, the Mass an abomination, the Host an Idol, and Purgatory a fable. Whereupon Pope *Innocent* the Third, Anno 1198. seeing that the other remedies were not sufficient to suppress these Hereticks, as he called them, authorised certain Monks Inquisitors, who by Process should apprehend and deliver them to the Secular power; by a far shorter, but much more cruel way than was used formerly. For by this means the People were delivered by thousands into the Magistrates hands, and by them to the Executioners; whereby, in a few years, all Christendom was moved with compassion, to see all those burnt and hanged, that did trust only in Christ for Salvation.

Sanguis Martyrum, semen Ecclesie.

The Pope seeing that this suppressed not, but rather increased the number of his Enemies, sent certain Bishops and Monks to Preach in those places of the *waldenses*; but their Preaching converted not any of them from their former opinions.

Dominicans instituted.

Amongst those Monks was *Dominick*, who was a zealous Persecutor of these Saints of God, both in word and deed; who seeing himself to be in Authority, instituted an Order of Begging Monks, called after his name *Dominicans*; which order was confirmed by the Pope, for their zealous assisting of him against the *waldenses*; and this *Dominick* labored in the Inquisition, with such contentment to the Popes; that from that time forward, the Monks of his Order have always been employed in the Inquisition.

Inquisitors began Anno Christi 1176.

The power of these Inquisitors was without limitation, they could assemble the People by the sound of a Bell, when they pleased, proceed against the Bishops themselves, they could imprison and release without controul; any accusation was sufficient with them; a Sorcerer, a Whore, was a sufficient witness in the case of pretended Heresie: It mattered not who accused, or whether by word of mouth, or ticket thrown in before the Inquisitor, for Process was thereby



thereby framed without party, without Witnesses, or without other Law, then Injustice, the pleasure of the Inquisitors.

To be rich was a crime near to *Heretic*, and he that had any thing to lose, was in the way to be undone, either as an *Heretic*, or as a favorer of them: yea, bare suspicion stopped the mouths of Parents, Kinsfolk, and Friends, that they durst not intercede each for other. If any did but convey a Cup of cold water, or a pad of straw to the poor Saints that lay in stinking dungeons, he was condemned as a favorer of the *Heretics*, and brought to the same or worse extremities.

Prodigious cruelty.

No Advocate durst undertake the defence of his nearest kinsman, or friends; no Notary durst receive any Act in his favour; yea, death it self made not an end of their punishment, for sometimes they passed sentence against the Bones of the dead, to dis-inter and burn them, it may be thirty years after the death of the party accused.

Such as were Heirs had nothing certain, for if their Fathers or kindred were accused, they durst not undertake the defence of their own right, possess their own inheritance, without the crime or suspicion of *Heretic*. The greatest and richest amongst the people were constrained even to adore these Monks Inquisitors, and to give them great sums for the building of their Convents and Houses; for fear to be accused of *Heretic*.

And the better to keep the People in aw, these Inquisitors would sometimes lead in Triumph their Prisoners in their processions, enjoying some of them to whip themselves, others to go in their shirts bare-foot and bare-headed, having a Withe about their necks, and a Torch in their hands for the greater terror to the beholders, seeing Persons of all estates and sexes in so miserable a condition.

Some of these accused Persons were sent into the Holy Land, or enrolled for some other expedition against the *Turks* and Infidels, where they were to serve for a certain time at their own charge: in the mean time these Fathers Inquisitors took possession of their Houses and goods, and when they returned home, they must not so much as enquire whether these Monks had in their absence lain with their Wives, lest they would be condemned as back-sliders, and unworthy of favor.

Anno Christi, 1201. A gallant Knight that was one of these *Waldenses*, called *Enraudus*, whom *Henry*, Earl of *Nivers* had made Governor of his Land, was accused of *Heretic*, and brought before the Popes Legat, who called a Common Council at *Paris* against him, consisting of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and Ministers of *Paris*, who after examination of Witnesses, condemned him for an *Heretic*, and so delivered him to the secular power, by whom he was burned in the flames. *Chron. Rol. Altsidorensis*.

A Knight burned.

In O<sup>ro</sup>. Anno Christi 1207. in the Town of *Mont-royal* near *Carasson* in the Earldom of *Tholouse*, there was held a famous disputation between *Didacus* Bishop of *Oxon*, a Spaniard: Frier *Dominick*; *Peter* of the New Castle, the Popes Legat, and *Raph* his Colleague on the one party, and *Arnold Hot*, Pastor of the *Albingenses*, with some other of his Fellow-laborers on the other party: The Arbitrators were two noble Men, viz. *Bernard de villa nova*, and *Pernall* of *Arras*; and two Plebians, viz. *Raimond Godins*, and *Arnold Riberia*. The Questions disputed upon were these: First, that the Church of *Rome* is not the Spouse of *Christ*; nor an Holy Church, but an impure one, and instructed by the Doctrine of Satan. Secondly, That their Ecclesiastical Polity is not good, nor holy, nor established by *Jesus Christ*. Thirdly, That Mass, as it is celebrated therein, was not instituted by *Christ*, or his Apostles. The Bishop undertook to prove the contrary: But after three days disputation, he desired fifteen days to commit his Arguments to writing, and *Arnold Hot* required eight days to put in his Answer.

A Disputation between the Popelings and the Waldenses.

The Popelings  
bathed.

At the day appointed the Bishop brought in a very long writing; and *Hof* desired to answer by word of mouth, intreating his Auditors that he might not seem troublesome to them, if he were long in answering so long a discourse; and it was granted that he should be heard with patience without interruption, and so he discoursed for divers hours four days together, to the great admiration of all that heard him, and so ready was he therein, that all the Bishops, Abbats, Monks, and Priests, wished themselves elsewhere; For he framed his answer to each point in order, as it was set down in the writing, and that with such plainness and perspicuity, that he gave all that were present to understand, that this Bishop, though he had written much, yet had he concluded nothing that might truly turn to the advantage of the Church of *Rome* against his Assertions: Then did *Arnold* request, that forasmuch as the Bishops, and himself in the beginning of the conference, were bound to prove whatsoever they affirmed by the Word of God only, it might now be imposed upon the Bishops, and Priests to make good their Mass as they sing it, part by part, to have been instituted by the Son of God, and so used by the Apostles, &c. But the Bishops were not able to prove that the Mass, or any part of it was so ordained or used, whereupon they were much discontented, and ashamed. *Arnold* proceeded to prove that it was not instituted by *Christ* or his Apostles. For (said he) *if the Mass were the holy Supper instituted by our Saviour, there would remain after the consecration, that which was in the Supper of our Lord, viz. Bread: But in the Mass there is no Bread; For by Transubstantiation the Bread is vanished, therefore the Mass is not the holy Supper of the Lord, &c.* The Bishops, Legats, Monks, and Priests having nothing to answer to these things, retired themselves, not being willing to hear any more: and fearing lest these Gospellers should work such an impression on the hearts of those that were present, as might shake their belief touching the Mass, they dissolved the Assembly. *Nich. Vignierius.*

Horrible cruelty.

Between the years 1176: which was the time when this Inquisition was first erected, to the year 1228. there was so great a havock made of poor Christians, that the Arch-Bishops of *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Narbonne*, being assembled at the request of the said Inquisitors, to confer with them about divers difficulties in the execution of their offices, had compassion of the great number that were accused and cast into Prison, saying, *we hear that you have apprehended such a multitude of the Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charge of their food, but to provide lime and stone to build Prisons for them, we therefore advise you to forbear this rigor till the Pope be advertised, and direct what he will have done in this case, &c.* Yet notwithstanding all this cruelty, there was in the year 1260. according to the report of *George Morrel* in his memorials, p. 54. above eight hundred thousand Persons that made profession of the Faith of the *Waldenses*.

The number  
of the *Walden-*  
*ses*.

Besides the Churches that they had in *Valentinois*, where their Faith was propagated from the Father to the Son, their Religion spread also beyond the *Alps* into the Valley of *Pragela*, within the jurisdiction of the Arch-Bishop of *Turin*, from whence were peopled the *Waldensian* Valleys of *Piedmont*, *La Perouse*, *St. Martain*, *Angrogne*, &c. This Valley of *Pragela* was one of the safest retiring places that the *Waldenses* had, being environed on all sides with mountains almost inaccessible, into the Caves whereof they retired themselves in the times of Persecution: and though they were weakened on all sides, environed with enemies, and in danger of being apprehended if they looked but forth of their doors; yet was there never any worldly respect that had power to alter their holy resolution from the Father to the Son, to serve God, taking his Word for the rule of their Faith, and his Law for the rule of their obedience: yea, no sooner were the Infants weaned from their Mothers Breasts, but their Parents took a singular delight to instruct them in the Christian Faith.

Their godly  
lives.

Good Pastors.

There Pastors also did not only preach to them on the *sabbath* days, but went in the Week days to instruct them in the Villages and Hamlets, not sparing themselves for the roughness of the Rocks, the coldness of the air, and the cragginess



cragginess of the Country, where they were fain to climb up high Mountains to visit their flocks.

There was also holy Discipline exercised among them: The People prayed with fervency at Night when they went to their rest, and in the Morning before they went about their labor, they had Schools wherein their Children were taught and nurtured.

But whilst they thus busily sought the advancement of Gods glory, and their own salvation, the Devil raised up a Persecution against them. Anno 1380. by a Monk Inquisitor, called Francis Boralli, who had a commission to enquire after the Waldenses in Aix, Arles, Ambrun, Vienne, Geneva, Amone, Savoy, the Venetian County, the Principality of Orange, the City of Avignon, &c. which commission he received from Pope Clement the seventh.

This Monk cited to appear before him at Ambrun, all the Inhabitants of Frassinere, Argentire, and of the Valley Pate upon pain of excommunication: But they appeared not, whereupon they were condemned of contumacy, and excommunicated: and for the space of thirteen years, as he caught any of them, he delivered them up to the secular power to be burnt at Grenoble, the number of whom was an hundred and fifty Men, divers Women, with many of their Sons and Daughters, besides about eighty Persons of Argentire.

The Inquisitors also adjudged to themselves two parts of all their goods, and the third part to the temporal powers: They forbade all their bordering Neighbors also to assist, receive, visit, or defend them or to converse with them in any sort upon pain of being attainted, and punished as favorers of Hereticks, &c.

The Waldenses of the Valley of Pragela, Anno 1400. were assaulted by their enemies on the side of Susa in Piedmont: But most of their assaults proved in vain, because these Waldenses retired into the high Mountains, hiding themselves in the Caves and hollow places thereof, from whence they much endamaged those that came to assail them. Their enemies seeing this, came upon them in the depth of Winter, when those poor People never suspected it, all the Mountains being covered over with Snow: and thereupon they retired into the highest Mountain of all the Alps, together with their Wives and Children, the Mothers carrying some in their Cradles, and leading others by the hand: yet the enemy followed them till Night, and slew many before they could recover the Mountain, and they which were so slain had the better bargain: For Night coming on, these poor People being in the Snow, without any means to make a Fire for their Infants, many of them were benumbed, and in the Morning above eighty of them were frozen to death in their Cradles, and most of their Mothers died also, and divers others were giving up the last gasp: The enemies lay all Night in these Peoples Houses, which they ransacked and pillaged, and so returned to Susa, but by the way, meeting with a poor Waldensian Woman, they hanged her upon a Tree, and so departed.

The Waldenses of the Valley of Frassinere, were greatly Persecuted by the Arch-Bishop of Ambrun, Anno 1460. who made a Monk called John Poyless his Commissioner against them, which Monk proceeded with such diligence and violence, that scarce any Person could escape his hands, but that he was either apprehended for an Heretick, or a favorer of them, whereby many Papists suffered amongst the rest, which caused them to petition King Lewis the eleventh of France, by his authority to stay the course of that Persecution: and thereupon the King wrote his Letter to the Governor of Dauphine, signifying, that whereas the Inquisitors had daily sent forth their process against many poor People in those parts without reasonable cause, putting some to the rack, and condemning them for matters whereof they were never guilty, and which they could not prove by any Witness: and of others they had exacted great sums of Money, and divers ways had unjustly vexed and molested them: He therefore decreed that for the time to come all such process should be void, and of none effect.

nor any wrong done to them in body, goods, or good name, except there were any that obstinately maintained and affirmed any thing against the holy *Catholick Faith*.

Yet the Arch-Bishop continues it.

Popish malice. Slanders.

But the Arch-Bishop was so far from ceasing the Persecution upon this Edict, that he grew more violent by reason of the last clause, pretending that he did not any thing contrary to the Kings precept, seeing they which were cited, appeared not to justify themselves, &c. He also suborned many Priests, which were his own Officers, to depose, that all they which had petitioned the King were *Waldenses*: He also hired one *John Pelegrin* to accuse them for assembling themselves in dark places to commit Whoredom, &c. and then he sent to the Court to justify himself from the complaint made to the King against him, that he had persecuted the *Waldenses* rather out of covetousness to get their goods, than out of zeal to the *Catholick Faith*: But this single witness prevailed but little, seeing there were many others who deposed, that they had never seen any such villany amongst the *Waldenses*, nor any the least appearance of the same.

James Paterni.

Yet did not the Arch-Bishop cease to prosecute them to the uttermost of his power, so that he caused most of them to flee away, only one *James Paterni* stood to it, averring before the Court that he was unjustly vexed, contrary to the Kings Letters, demanding a copy of the proceedings, that he might right himself by Law: Thereupon the Arch-Bishop left him, and fell upon those that wanted the like courage, citing the Consuls of *Frassiniere* to answer for themselves, and all the Inhabitants of their Valley: But they refused, saying, that they had nothing to say before the Arch-Bishop, seeing their cause was now depending before the King and his Council, protesting against the Arch-Bishops power, and demanding a Copy of the Kings Letter: But the Arch-Bishop, notwithstanding this protestation, sent them to the Fire, without any other indictment.

The Arch-Bishops cruelty.

Gods judgments on Persecutors.

Yet the Lord left not this cruelty long unrevenge, for shortly after the Arch-Bishop died by the stroke of Gods justice, and so ended his Persecution, Anno Christi 1487.

Popish Lies.

Gods Providence.

One villany of the Inquisitor *Valesi* may not be forgotten, which was this: When he examined any of the *Waldenses*, whether he believed that the Bread on the Sacrament, after the Consecration, was changed into the real and natural Body of Christ which hung upon the Cross? If the *Waldenses* answered, No; He set down his answer thus, That he believed not in God. When he asked, whether we ought not to pray to Saints? If they answered, No; He set down, That they ruled upon, and spake evil of the Saints: When he enquired, whether we ought not to pray to the Virgin Mary in our necessities? If they answered, No; He set down, That they spake blasphemy against the Virgin Mary, &c. And by Gods providence these Records were kept in the Arch-Bishop of *Ambruns* house, till the City and their Records fell into the hands of the Protestants an hundred years after, and so God brought all their Knavery to light.

Popish subtlety.

Barbarous cruelty.

Anno 1488. Pope Innocent the Eighth sent *Albert de Capitaneis*, Arch-Deacon of *Cremona* against these *Waldenses*, who craved aid of the Kings Lieutenant of *Dauphine*, against them. This Lieutenant for his service levied troops of men, and at the Arch-Deacons request, led them against the *Waldenses* in the Valley of *Loyse*, and to colour his proceedings with a pretence of justice, he took a Counsellor of the Court along with him. But when they came to the Valley, they found no Inhabitants, for they were all retired into their Caves in the high Mountains, having carried their little Children, and all their provision of Food with them. Then did this cruel Lieutenants cause much Wood to be laid to the mouths of the Caves, and set it on fire, so that some were choked with smok, others burnt with the fire, others cast themselves headlong from the Rocks, and were broken in pieces, and if any stirred out they were presently slain by the Soldiers.



## The Persecution of the Waldenses.

In this Persecution, there were found within the Caves four hundred Infants stifled in their Cradles, or in the arms of their dead Mothers: and in all, there perished above three thousand Men and Women at that time, so that there were no Inhabitants left in all that Valley: And to prevent the coming of any more of them thither, the Lieutenant gave all their goods and possessions to whom he pleased.

Then did he march against the Waldenses of *Pragela*, and *Frassaniere*, but they, providing for their own safety, attended him at the passages and narrow straits of their Vallies, so that he was forced to retire.

After a while, *Albert de Capitanen*, being called to another place, he substituted a *Franciscan* named *Francis Ploieri*, who Anno 1489. began anew to inform against the Waldenses of *Frassaniere*, citing them to appear before him at *Ambrun*, and for non-appearing, he excommunicated them, and condemned them for Hereticks, to be delivered to the secular power, and their goods to be confiscated; and in this judgment their assisted one *Ponce*, a certain Counsellor of *Dauphine*. These Men afterwards caught two of their Pastors [*Francis Gerondin*, and *Peter James*] who being asked why the Waldenses increased so fast; and spread so far; They answered, *Because the Popish Priests live so dissolutely, and because the Cardinals are so covetous, proud and luxurious, it being commonly known that there is neither Pope, Cardinal, nor Bishop, but keeps his whore, and few or none but had their youths for Sodomy besides; And therefore it is easie for the Waldensian Pastors to persuade the People, that their Religion could not be good, whose fruits were so bad, &c.*

This Persecution grew exceeding hot, the Inquisitor and Counsellor sending as many as they could catch to the fire without admitting any appeal: and if any interceded for them, though the Father for the Child, or the Child for the Father, he was presently committed to Prison, and indicted as a favorer of Hereticks.

Anno 1594. *Antoni Fakri*, and *Christopher de Salience* had Commissions sent them from the Pope, to commence suit against the Waldenses in *Dauphine*; who apprehending the Widow of one *Peter Berand*, they imprisoned, and oft examined her, and thereby drew from her whatever she knew of the Assemblies of the Waldenses, of the Persons that frequented them, and of the places and times of their meeting, which afterwards brought great trouble to the said Churches of Christ, and of gain to the Inquisitors.

King *Lewis* the Twelfth succeeding King *Francis*, Anno 1598. the Inhabitants of *Frassaniere* petitioned him to take some order for the restitution of their goods, which by the Inquisitors were detained from them. The King referred it to his Chancellor, who procured a Commissary from the Pope, and Commissioner from the King, to be sent down to examine the business. These accordingly, having examined divers Witnesses against the Waldenses, and finding their innocency, did at last absolve them; The Kings Commissioner publicly professing, that he desired to be but as good a Christian as the worst of those of *Frassaniere* were: and returning to the King, they made report to him of that which they had done: The King thereupon ordered, that the goods of the Waldenses should be restored.

When the Kings order came to *Ambrun*, it was the opinion of most men, that seeing most of these goods were in the possession of the Arch-Bishop, that therefore he should give a good example in the beginning to restore them; but the Arch-Bishop answered, *That the goods which he held were annexed to his Arch-Bishoprick, and incorporated to his Church, and therefore it was out of the Kings jurisdiction, and he did not believe that the King would meddle therein.* Yet being willing to please the King, he proffered to restore them their Vineyards, provided that the Lords of *Dauphine* would restore the goods which they had. But there was not one that would restore what they had so unjustly gotten, so that the poor people were wholly frustrated of their expectations.

A grievous Persecution

The Lieutenant repulsed

Plain dealing

Popish uncharitableness

In Dauphine

The weakness of a Woman

The innocency of the Waldenses

Popish obstinacy and injustice

Then

Then did they summon the Arch-Bishop and those refusers before the King, but these great Ones having more Friends and favor at Court, than the poor People had, their excuse was admitted, which was, that they could not restore the goods, before the Pope had absolved those of *Fraffaniere* from the sentence of excommunication.

A special Providence.

Anno 1560. The President of *Provence* made a Speech to the Assembly of Estates to root out these *waldenses*: Whereupon they raised an Army for the effecting of it; But as soon as the Men were in Arms, it pleased God, by the death of King *Francis*, to put an end to that design, whereby the *waldensian* Churches in *Dauphine* enjoyed peace, and were well furnished with godly Pastors, who held them in the exercise of Religion, though they were in continual danger of being Persecuted to the death for the same.

In Piedmont.

Love.

The *waldenses* in *Dauphine*, many years before this being multiplied, so that the Country could not feed them, dispersed themselves abroad into divers parts, whereof some went into *Piedmont*, who lived in great love with those of *Dauphine*, and though they were always oppressed with troubles, yet with hearty love and charity, they ever succored one another, not sparing their lives and goods for their mutual conversation.

Popish malice.

The first Persecution in *Piedmont* was occasioned by the Priests, who complained to the Arch-Bishop of *Turin*, That these People lived not according to the manner and belief of the Church of *Rome*; That they offered not for the dead, cared not for Masses, Absolutions, or to get any of theirs out of the pains of Purgatory, &c. Hereupon the Arch-Bishop Persecuted them, complaining of them to their Princes to make them odious: But the Prince enquiring of their Neighbors, heard that they were of a good conversation, fearing God, without deceit or malice, loving plain dealing, always ready to serve their Prince with alacrity, &c. He therefore purposed not to molest them: But the Priests and Monks gaining nothing by their Belief, charged them with an infinite number of calumnies, and ever and anon catching one or other of them, they delivered them to the Inquisitors, and the Inquisitors to the Executioners; so that there was scarce a Town or City in *Piedmont*, where some of them had not been put to death.

Slanders.

Persecution in Piedmont.

Cruelty.

At *Turin* one of them had his bowels torn out of his Belly, and put into a Basin before his Face, and then was he cruelly Martyred.

Catelin Girard.

At *Revel* in the Marquisat of *Saluces*, one *Catelin Girard* being on the block whereon he should be burnt, requested his Executioner to give him two stones, which he refused to do, fearing lest he would throw them at some Body, but he protesting the contrary, at last they gave him two stones, which he held in his hands, and said, *when I shall have eaten these stones, then shall you see an end of our Religion, for which you now put me to death*, and so he threw them on the ground, and died cheerfully.

Popish malice.

Thus they burnt many of them in the Fire, till Anno 1488. and then they resolved to assault them by open force, because they saw that otherwise they should never be able to extirpate them: Besides, their constant sufferings converted many to the Faith. Hereupon they levied an Army of Eighteen thousand Men, besides many Inhabitants of *Piedmont*, who ran to the pillage from all parts. These marched all at once to *Angrogne*, *Lucerne*, *La Perouse*, &c. They raised also forces in *Dauphine*, wherewith they over-ran the Valley of *Pragela*, so that they, being put to defend themselves, could not assist their Friends in *Piedmont*. But the Enemy by this division of his forces, being weakened, was every where beaten, especially in the Valley of *Angrogne*, where the *waldensians* having been informed of the levies of their enemies against them, prepared themselves to receive and resist them, keeping the strait passages, where few men might defend themselves against many.

They defended themselves with long Targets of Wood, whereby they covered themselves from the hurt of their Enemies Arrows. Whilst they were thus bickering



bickering with Enemies, the Women and Children upon their knees cried out, *O God help us*. The Enemies made themselves merry with this sight, and amongst them, one Capt. *Saguer*, who as he was imitating the Women, was slain, and tumbled down in a very deep Valley.

Prayer.  
Profaneness  
A just Judgment.

Another Captain, crying out to the Women in derision, was killed with the shot of an Arrow in the Throat. Hereupon the Soldiers betook themselves all to their heels, and the greatest part slew themselves, by tumbling down from the Rocks.

A special Providence.

Another providence of God was this, That the Enemies approaching to the strongest entrance by nature, might there have fortified themselves, and so made themselves Masters of that Valley: But God sent so thick a Cloud, and dark a Fog, that they could scarce see one another, whereby they wanted opportunity to discover their advantage, and therefore departed: which the waldenses seeing, courageously pursued them, and by that means the Enemy being dispersed, and not seeing which ways they went, the greatest part fell head-long down the Mountains, quitting their arms and booty which they had gotten at their first entrance into the Valley, by which means the waldenses recovered it again.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

Then it pleased God to move the Princes heart (which was *Philip* the Seventh, Duke of *Savoy*; and Lord of *Piedmont*) with pity towards these poor People, saying, *That he would not have that People which had been always true, faithful and obedient to him, to be unjustly destroyed by Arms*; Being content that twelve of the Principal should come to him to *Pignerol* to crave pardon for all the rest, for taking arms in their own defence, without his authority: These he entertained lovingly, forgiving all that was past, during the War. And having been informed that all their Children were born with black Throats, with four rows of Teeth, and all hairy, he caused some of them to be brought to him, and seeing them fair and perfect Creatures, he was much displeased with himself for believing so easily the reports which were brought to him against them, giving command that none should hereafter molest them, but that they should enjoy all the privileges which the rest of his subjects in *Piedmont* did.

Gods mercy.

Slanders.

Notwithstanding which, the Monks Inquisitors daily sent out process against them, lay in wait for them, and as they could apprehend any of them, delivered them over to the secular power. This Persecution lasted to *Anno 1532*. at which time the waldenses ordered, that their exercises of Religion should be performed no more in covert, as formerly they had been, but in publick, that every one might know them, and that their Pastors should preach the Gospel openly, not fearing any Persecution that might happen unto them.

Zeal and Courage.

The Prince being advertised hereof, was highly offended with them, and thereupon caused one of his Commanders to hast with his Troops in the said Vallies, which was performed with such diligence, that he was entred with Five hundred Horse and Foot, before they were aware, ransacking, plundering and wasting all before them. Then did the waldenses leave their ploughs, putting themselves into passes, and with their slings charged their enemies with such multitudes of stones, that they were constrained to flee, and to abandon their prey, many remaining dead upon the ground.

Persecution renewed.

This news was presently carried to the Prince, and withal he was told, that these People were not to be subdued with Arms, they knowing better the straits of their Countrey, then the Assailants, and that the skin of one of the waldenses would cost him the lives of a dozen of his other Subjects: whereupon he used Arms no more against them, But as any of them was caught in *Piedmont*, he put them to death, if they changed not their Belief.

Notwithstanding which rigor, they persisted in their resolution, and that things might be carried on in the better order, they assembled out of all their Vallies

Continued.

The antiquity  
of the Faith.

Unity.

Zeal.

The first  
French Bibles  
Printed.

One of them  
drowned.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

The Pope stirs  
up Persecuti-  
on.

Courage.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

Bartholomew  
Heffor.

Vallies to *Angrogne*, Anno 1535. viz: The Heads of all their Families, with their Pastors, where they heard that their Brethren of *Provence*, and *Dauphine* had sent two of their Pastors, *George Morrell*, and *Peter Masson* into *Germany*, to confer with *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, and others about their Belief, which they had held from Father to Son, time out of mind. Where also the *German* Divines acknowledged, that God had been very merciful and gracious to them, in preserving them undefiled, in the midst of so many superstitions which had defiled all Christendom under the tyranny of *Antichrist*; encouraging and exhorting them not to bury those Talents which God had given them: only they blamed them for delaying so long to make a publick profession of their adhering to the Gospel, and causing it to be preached publicly, leaving the success to God, &c. Then were the Letters of *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer*, which they sent to them, openly read, together with the Propositions and Articles of Religion which they had agreed upon, which were all approved, signed and sworn to by all the Assistants with one consent, to perform, observe, believe and retain amongst them inviolably, as being conformable to the Doctrine which they had been taught from their Fore-fathers for many hundred years, and all taken out of the Word of God.

When this Agreement came abroad to the ears of the Priests, they were much astonished, despairing to see these People reclaimed and brought back to the Church of *Rome*; whereupon they retired from amongst them without speaking a word.

The *Waldenses*, because they had only the *New Testament* and some Books of the Old, amongst them in the *Waldensian* Tongue, resolved speedily to send the whole Bible to the Press, all their Books hitherto being but Manuscripts, and those but a few. They sent therefore some to *Newcastle* in *Suitzerland*, where they gave Fifteen hundred Crowns in Gold to a Printer, who brought to light the first Impression of the *French Bible* that was seen in *France*. They sent also to *Geneva* to make a large supply of Books fit for the instruction of the People; But their Messenger, as he passed over the hill *De Gap*, was apprehended for a spy by the Lord of *Champelion*, and as soon as they knew him to be a *Waldensian*, they sent him to *Grenoble*, where he was first imprisoned, and then in the Night, drowned in the River, lest he should speak of his belief before the People.

Shortly after there hapned Wars between King *Francis* the First, and the Princes of *Piedmont*, which, through Gods grace, turned to the great peace and quiet of those poor People; which peace continued till Pope *Paul* the Third solicited the Parliament of *Turin* to Persecute them as pernicious *Hereticks*: Whereupon the Parliament caused a great number of them to be burnt at *Turin*. Then these *Waldenses* petitioned the King that they might not be Persecuted for their Religion, in which they and their Ancestors had lived for many Hundred years. But the King rejected their Petition, commanding them to live according to the Laws of the *Roman* Church, upon pain of being punished as *Hereticks*: adding, that he did not burn the *Lutherans* through his whole Kingdom of *France*, to let them amongst the *Alps* escape.

Hereupon the Parliament of *Turin* commanded them presently to send away all their Ministers, and receive the Priests to sing Mass, &c. To which they answered, that they could not receive any such commandment, it being contrary to Gods Word, whom they would rather obey than Men. But through Gods mercy, the King had other imployments elsewhere; whereby they wanted leisure to prosecute those Servants of *Christ*, and therefore they only proceeded by the Inquisition, receiving such as the Monks condemned to the Fire.

Anno 1555. They increased the Persecution, condemning to the Fire *Bartholomew Heffor* a Stationer, to be executed at *Turin*, who died with admirable constancy, and so edifying the Spectators, that they wept and compassionated him, justifying



## The Persecution of the waldenses.

justifying him in their Speeches, and praying for him. Hereupon the Parliament resolved wholly to extirpate them, and for that end sent two Men with Authority, either to reform, or root them out.

These Persons went first to *Perouse*, whereby Proclamation in the Kings Name, they command all to go to Mass, upon pain of loosing their lives. Then they went to *Pignerol*, where they cited many to appear before them; and amongst others, a poor simple laboring Man appeared, whom the President commanded to have his Child rebaptized by a Priest. The Man requested respite to pray to God before he answered him, which, with great laughter, was granted. Then falling down on his knees, he prayed unto God; and when he had done, he said to the President, *I will cause my Child to be rebaptized, upon condition, th<sup>t</sup> you will give me a Bill, signed with your own hand, that you will discharge me of the sin which I shall commit hereby; and bear one day before God the punishment and condemnation which should befall me for the same; taking this iniquity upon you and yours.* The President hearing this, commanded him out of his presence, and pressed him no further.

Persecution  
repent.

Profane

Prudence

The President framed divers Indictments against sundry Persons in the *Valleys*, and collected whatsoever he thought might hurt them; and going to one of their Churches, he caused a Monk, that he brought along with him, to Preach in the presence of the People: And when he had ended, the People desired that some one of their Pastors there present, might answer his Discourse, but that was denied by the President, whereupon there was such a murmur amongst the People, that the President, without any more Speech, gat him away to *Turin*; where he reported all to the Parliament, and withal told them, *That if they sought by violence to reclaim this People, they were resolved to defend themselves; and that the places of their abode, were of such strength, that it was a work for a King of France to root them out.* Thereupon, this Report and the Indictments were sent to the King, who having other occasions, returned no answer that year; only the Inquisitors proceeded as they could catch any, to deliver them to the Secular power.

At the years end, the King commanded the Parliament to cause them to do that by force, which they would not by words be brought to. Then did the Parliament send the President again to *Angrogne*, where he commanded them in the Name of the King, to go to Mass, upon pain of forfeiting their Lives and Goods: But they answered, *That they could not obey such Commands against the Command of God.* Then he commanded, that twelve of the principal of them, together with all their Ministers and School-masters, should presently yield up their Bodies to the Prisons of *Turin*, &c. They answered, *That they could not obey that command, or appear at Turin, because they should thereby endanger their lives.* The Parliament was so incensed at this answer, that as many as they could apprehend, they burnt; amongst whom was *Jeffery Varnicle*, Minister of *Angrogne*, Anno 1557. By whose death, the People that were present, were much edified, seeing his constancy of invoking God to the last.

Popish malice

The Protestant Princes of *Germany* hearing of this great Persecution, interceded in their behalf to King *Henry the Second of France*, who promised to have regard to this request of theirs, and indeed they enjoyed Peace afterwards: till the Peace was concluded betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Spain*; and that the Duke of *Savoy* was restored to his estate, which was Anno 1559. The year after, the Popes Nuntio reproved the Duke, for that, with all his power, he had not persecuted the *Waldenses*, and that if he did not now endeavor to reduce them to the *Romish Church*, or to root them out, his Holiness should have cause to suspect that he was a favorer of them. Hereupon the Duke presently commanded them to go to Mass, upon the pain of their lives: But they not obeying him, he set upon them by open force, and yet at the same time, he caused them to be pursued by the Monks Inquisitors also; so that a great Persecution was

The German  
Prince inter-  
ceeds for  
them.

Popish malice

A great Per-  
secution.

raised against the Poor Christians: Some were taken and burnt, who shewed invincible constancy in all their torments and death.

Humane infirmity.

To recite all the outrages, cruelties and villanies practised against them, would be too tedious: Many fled, and their Houses and Goods were ransacked and spoiled. One of their Ministers was apprehended, and put to a shameful and cruel death, but he shewed such admirable patience therein, as astonished his very adversaries: Some also were taken and sent to be Gally-slaves; yet some, through weakness, yielded to the adversaries, and were more cruelly handled than those that remained constant in the Truth.

Popish malice.

Three of the most cruel Persecutors of these Faithful Servants of *Jesus Christ*, were, First *Thomas Jacomet*, a Monk, an Apostate, that had renounced the known Truth, and persecuted mortally and maliciously the Poor Christians against his own Conscience: He was a Whoremonger, and given over to all Villanies, and filthy living, a *Sodomite*, &c. His delight was to spoil, rob, and torment the Captives of these *Waldenses*. The second was a Collateral, called *Corbis*, who in the Examination of the Prisoners was very rigorous, and burnt many of them: But in the end, feeling a remorse in his Conscience, he protested, That he would meddle with them no more. The third was the Provost of Justice, who lay in wait in the High-ways to apprehend them, when they went abroad in the morning, or as they went to the Market.

A special Providence.

The Monks also of *Pignerol* vexed the Churches, near about them, grievously, some they took prisoners, and kept them in their Abbeys: Then they assembled a company of Ruffians, sending them to spoil the Churches, and to take Prisoners, Men, Women, and Children; of whom, some by torments they forced to abjure; others they sent to the Galleys, others they burnt.

The Gentlemen of the Valley of *S. Martin* vexed their Tenants grievously, spoiling some of their Goods, imprisoning others, and vexing them by all means. Two of those Gentlemen, getting some Ruffians to them in the night time, set upon a Village called *Renclaret*, which the Inhabitants perceiving, fled into the Mountains covered with Snow, naked, and without victuals. In the morning these villains took a Minister of that Valley, who was coming to visit these people of *Renclaret*, and burnt him: But three nights after, they of *Pragela*, pitying their friends of *Renclaret*, sent Four hundred Men against the Ruffians, who fought with them, and without the loss of one Man, put them to flight, and restored their Friends to their Houses.

Treachery.

A year after, one of these Gentlemen called *Truchet*, with a company of Ruffians, arrested the Minister of *Renclaret*, as he was at his Sermon; but the people were so moved at his outrageous dealing, especially the Women, that they had almost strangled *Truchet*, and so canvassed the rest of his company, that they had no mind to come any more.

Shortly after they took another Minister, as he was going to Preach in a Parish, a mile from his House; but the People hearing of it, speedily pursued them, and recovered their Minister again: But when the Villains saw that they were like to lose their prey, they so wounded him, that they left him for dead.

Prodigious Villany.

The Monks of *Pignerol* sent some Ruffians by night to the Ministers House of *S. Germain*, who were conducted by a Traytor that knew the House, and formerly had frequented it. This fellow knocking at the door, and the Minister knowing his voice, opened the door, but perceiving himself to be betrayed, he fled at a back door, yet was quickly taken, and sorely wounded; notwithstanding which, they pricked him with Halberds to hasten his pace, as they carried him away: They also slew and hurt many others. The Minister, after sore imprisonment, endured a cruel death with much constancy: At his death the Inquisitors caused two poor Women, that they kept in prison, to carry Faggots to burn him, and to say to him their Pastor, *Take this, thou wicked Heretick, in recompence*



## The Persecution of the Waldenses.

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compence of that naughty Doctrine that thou hast taught us. To whom he replied, *Ah good women, I have taught you well, but you have learned ill.*

In brief, they so persecuted these poor people, that they forced them to forsake their Houses, and to flee into the Mountains, loosing all their estates; so that many that had lived well, and relieved others, were now fain to crave relief and succor of others.

The Monks with their Troops of Ruffians, continued thus to molest and persecute these poor people; whereupon they asked their Ministers, *whether it were not lawful for them to defend themselves against such violence?* The Ministers answered, *That it was,* only they advised them to avoid bloodshed as much as might be. This question being resolved, they of *Luserne* and *Angrogne* sent some to aid their Friends of *S. Germain*, against the Monks.

In *June*, divers of these *Waldenses* went out into the Countrey to reap their Harvest, and in sundry places were all taken prisoners, not knowing of each others calamity; but *God* so wrought, that miraculously they all escaped out of prison, to the great astonishment of their adversaries. At the same time also, others who had been long in Prison, and longed for nothing but death, through *Gods* providence, were delivered after a wonderful sort.

A miracle of Mercy.

In *July*, they of *Angrogne*, being at their Harvest on the Hill side of *S. Germain*, perceived a company of Soldiers that were spoiling the Inhabitants of *S. Germain*: Whereupon they made an out-cry, upon which, the people of *Angrogne* ran presently thither-ward; some by the Valley, others over the Mountain: They which went by the Valley, being above fifty men, met with the spoilers, who were a hundred and twenty men well appointed, with whom they fought, and gave them a great overthrow. Some were hurt others drowned, and but few hardly escaped; not one of *Angrogne* being hurt in the fight.

A special Providence.

The Monks were so affrighted with this defeat, that they ran away from their Abbey to *Pignerol*, to save their Relicks and Images, which they carried thither: And if the Ministers would have suffered their people to have attempted it, they might easily have freed their Brethren which were imprisoned in the Abbey.

Popish subtilty.

After this these Monks, being assisted by a Captain, took many of the Inhabitants of the Valley of *Luserne* prisoners, spoiling their Goods, driving away their Cattle; and in the end, ransomed them for great sums of Money.

About this time, a Gentleman of *Campillon* promised his Neighbors, that if they would give him thirty Crowns, he would secure them against trouble; but when he had got the Money, he caused some Soldiers to come to his House, and in the night, sending for the poor men, which suspected no danger, he trayterously endeavored to deliver them into the hands of their mortal enemies: But *God*, who succors his in their greatest necessity, discovered to one of them the danger they were in, whereby they all fled, and escaped.

Popish simulation and perfidiousness.

Then were strict commands sent through all the Countrey, to banish all the *Waldenses*, together with the Gospel, out of the Mountains and Vallies of *Piedmont*: But the people still desired, that they might have leave to serve *God* purely, according to the Rules of the Word.

In the end of *October*, a rumor was spread abroad, That an Army was raising wholly to destroy them; yea, and such malefactors as were in prisons, or banished, were pardoned, upon condition, that they should take Arms to destroy the *Waldenses*. Hereupon the Ministers met together to consult what was to be done in so great an extremity. And first they enjoined a General and Publick Fast to seek *God* for direction; and in the end concluded, that they should not defend themselves by Arms; but that forsaking their Houses, and taking their best movables with them, they should retire unto the high Mountains; but if their enemies pursued them thither, that then they should take such advice as *God* should please to give them.

Fasting and Prayer.

This counsel all the People submitted to, and for eight days space, were as busie as Ants in Summer, to remove their Goods and Provisions; which though they did in great danger, yet with great courage and alacrity, praising God and singing *psalms*, every one chearing up another. But other Ministers hearing of this resolution, wrote to them, that they thought it strange that in such an extreme necessity, they should not rather resolve to defend themselves against violence, proving, That it was lawful for them so to do, to defend the true Religion, and the lives of themselves, wives and children, knowing that it was not the Duke, but the Pope that thus stirred him up against them.

During this time, their Adversaries cried nothing, but, *To the fire with them, to the fire with them*; and presently by Proclamations set up every where, *Angrogne* was exposed to the fire and Sword. The Army also approached to their Borders, and the people retired into the Mountains. But when they saw some Horsemen not only spoiling their Goods, but taking some of their Brethren prisoners, they came back, and set upon them; in which bickering some of the Enemies were slain, and the rest retired to their Camp: Not one of the *waldenses* was slain or hurt. But two of these Horsemen that fled, galloping away before the rest, when they came near to the Army, cried out, *They come, they come*. Whereupon the whole Army was so astonished, that every Man fled away, none pursuing, and the Captain could not all that day get them into order again.

A special Providence.

Power of Prayer.

The next day the Army under the Lord of *Trinity*, was Mustered in a Meadow, near to *Angrogne*; they of the Town had sent some to stop the passages, that the Army should not enter; and in the mean time, they retired into the Meadow of *Tour*, not expecting the Army so soon; so that there were but few that kept the passages: But when those few perceived their Enemies preparing themselves to fight, they all fell down upon their knees, praying earnestly unto God to pity them, and not to look on their sins, but on the Cause that they maintained, to turn the hearts of their Enemies, and so to work that there might be no effusion of Blood; but if it were his will to take them, their Wives and Infants out of this World, that it would please him mercifully to receive them into his Kingdom. Their Prayers being ended, they perceived their Enemies to come through the Vines to win the top of the Mountain; whereupon the combat began in divers places, and continued until night: The Poor *waldenses* being but few, and only armed with Slings and Cross-bows, were much oppressed by the multitudes of their Enemies; so that at last they retired to the top of the Mountain, where they defended themselves till night. But having found a place where they might withstand their Enemies, they turned again and slew divers of them.

Profaneness.

A special Providence.

At Even the Enemies began to Incamp themselves, which the *waldenses* perceiving, they fell to Prayer, desiring God to assist and succor them; for which, the Enemies flouted and laughed them to scorn. The poor people devised to send a Drum into a Valley hard by, and as they were at Prayer, the Drum beat up in the Valley: Whereupon, the Lord of *Trinity* caused his Soldiers to retreat, which was a great advantage to the *waldenses*, who were weary, thirsty, and in great peril, if God, by this means, had not given them some rest. Of the *waldenses* there were but three slain, but many of their Enemies; and more hurt, of whom few recovered.

This combat much encouraged the *waldenses*, and as much terrified their Enemies, who in their retreat, burnt many houses, and destroyed the Vines that were in the Prefs.

A just reward.

Then did the Lord of *Trinity* Incamp in the Valley of *Luserne*, by a Village, the People whereof had always hated the *waldenses*, and much rejoiced at this hurt that was now done to them; but they were paid back in their own coin, being all destroyed by the Army.

Then



Then did the Lord of *Trinity* place four Garrisons in four several Fortresses, so that the poor *Waldenses* found themselves in a sea of troubles; whereupon they first betook themselves to Prayer, then sent to their Friends for aid, who sent them all that they could make. Then did the Lord of *Trinity* send his Army to *Villars* and *Tailletet*; the lesser part went towards *Villars*. The People seeing their Enemies approaching, called upon *God* with fervent Prayer, then set upon their Enemies, slew some, hurt others, and the rest fled. The other Company going towards *Tailletet*, they of that place were but few in number; yet making their Prayers to *God*, and commending their cause to him, they set valiantly upon their Enemies. During which bickering, they of *Villars*, encouraged by their late success, came to help their Friends, and set so lustily upon their Enemies, that they put them to flight: But in the pursuit of them, they fell into an ambush, and were invironed by their Enemies; yet, through *God's* mercy, they all escaped without the loss of one man: On the Enemies side there were so many slain, that they were laid together by whole Cart loads.

Prayer.

A special Providence.

Another party of the Enemies going to spoil a rich man's house, some of his Neighbors, not being above seventy, set upon them, put them to flight, took away their Drum, and recovered their booty from them.

Now did the Lord of *Trinity* send to them, telling them how much the Duke and his Dutcheſs favored them, and promised himself to mediate for them, that they might live in Peace: But whileſt by theſe pretences, he sought to make them ſecure, he ſent part of his Army to get the Hill of *Tailletet*; and another part had already gotten the way that led to the Meadow of *Toure*; whereby the *Angrognians* might have been eaſily incloſed: But they perceiving it, immediately ſent ſome to encounter with their Enemies, who gat the victory, purſued them to their Camp, and ſlew very many of them, without the loſs of one Man.

Popiſh ſubtilty.

The Lord of *Trinity* cunningly excuſed this attempt, and ſent to them to draw up a Supplication to the Duke, which was accordingly done, wherein they promiſed to render all honor and reverence unto *God*, according to his Word, and all due obedience to the Duke, &c. But in the mean time *Trinity* grievouſly vexed them of *Tailletet*, upon pretence, That they had not preſented themſelves to treat of this Agreement, taking their Arms from them, and cauſing them to aſk pardon on their knees.

Perfidiousneſs.

But preſently after news brought them, that the Enemies had gotten to the top of the Mountain, and had taken all the Paſſages; whereat they were ſore amazed, and ran with all ſpeed to defend their Wives and Children: Some they ſaved, but the moſt of their Goods were already in the Enemies hands, who, at this time, did them much miſchief.

Yet after this, the Lord of *Trinity* ſent word again to them that were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people, moſt of them truſting to his promiſe, returned; but the next morning the Enemies came to apprehend them and their Miniſters, beſetting the place on every ſide; then they that were ſwift of Foot, eſcaped, all the reſt were taken; yet *God* miraculoſly delivered them. For an old Man that could not run ſo faſt as the other, was eſpied by a Soldier, who ran with a naked Sword to have ſlain him; the old Man ſeeing the imminent danger, caught him by the Legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the Hill: The Soldier cried, *Help, help, this villain will kill me.* Hereupon his Fellow ran to his reſcue; but in the mean time the old Man eſcaped; and the reſt ſeeing what the old Man had done, though they had loſt their Weapons, yet took heart of graſs, and with Stones and Slings, drave away their Enemies; and thereby they all eſcaped.

Papiſts treachery.

A notable ſtory.

A ſpecial Providence.

The next day the Soldiers went again to *Tailletet*, robbing, ſpoiling, and carrying away all that they could find, but moſt of the people were retired towards *Villars*: Then did the Soldiers range all about, and took divers priſoners,

Barbarous cruelty.

whom

whom they used cruelly; and one Soldier bit off one of their Ears, saying, *I will carry the flesh of this wicked Heretick with me into my Countrey.* They found also two Women, the Mother and the Daughter, in a Cave, whom they wounded to death: And in another Cave, an old Man of an hundred years old, with his Grand-Daughter of eighteen years old that fed him; the Man they slew, the Maid they would have ravished, who flying from them, tumbled down the Mountains, and died.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

About the same time there was one *John Martin* that made his boasts every where, That if he could meet with the Minister of *Angrogne*, he would slit his Nose: But shortly after, a Wolf met him, and setting upon him, bit off his Nose; whereupon he ran mad, and died miserably.

A certain Soldier promised the Lord of *Trinity*, to bring to him the Minister of *Tailleret*, and accordingly never ceased till he found him: But as he was pursuing of him, some out of the Mountains rescued the Minister, and slew the Soldier with Stones.

Uncleanneſs,

These Soldiers were so extream abusive to Women, that many Papists that lived by, sent their Daughters into the Mountains to the *Waldenses* to preserve their chastity.

Popish Perfidiousness.

Then did the Lord of *Trinity* promise, That if they would pay him Eight thousand Crowns, he would withdraw his Army, and be gone. They being desirous of Peace, sold their Cattle to raise the Money; but when he had received it, he continued his Army there still.

Their Ministers sent away.

The Lord of *Trinity* required them to send away their Ministers till the matter were determined before the Duke, or else by his Army he would force them to it: Whereupon by mutual consent they agreed, That the Ministers should withdraw for the present, till the Army was retired, which was not done without great sighs, and lamentations and tears. At that time there fell an extraordinary Snow, so that the people with great difficulty, were fain to make way for their Ministers to pass: But the Army hearing that the Ministers were gathered together, they sent out a Company of Harquebushers to apprehend them, who came but one hour too late to have taken them: Then did they search every Cave, House, and Chest, to seek them; whereby they robbed the poor people of all their best things. They also beset the Ministers house of *Angrogne*, to whom the Lord of *Trinity* had promised safety, but it pleased God that he escaped; the Soldiers pursued him into the Mountains, but could not overtake him: Whereupon they plundered his House, burnt his Books and Writings, and so returned.

The next morning command was given to the Rulers of *Angrogne*, within twenty four hours, to deliver up their Minister, or else *Angrogne* should be put to fire and sword. They answered, *That they knew not where he was, for the Soldiers had driven him over the Mountains.* Then did the Soldiers burn Houses, break the Mills, spoil the People, and do all the mischief they could, and so departed.

Cruelty.

The Lord of *Trinity* left Garrisons in the Fortresses, and caused the poor *Waldenses* to maintain them, who, not content with their wages, pillaged and robbed all about them; and having taken fourteen Men, they bound them, and were leading them away prisoners; but their Wives and Children pursued them so fiercely with Stones, that they were glad to let their prisoners go, and had much ado to save themselves. To others that they caught, they hung up by the heels and hands, and having tormented them almost to death, at last released them for a great sum of Money. Another Garrison in the night went to *Tailleret*, brake in at the Windows and tops of Houses, spoiling all, and took also fourteen prisoners, whom they bound, two and two together, and were carrying them to the Fortress; but two of them getting loose, so valiantly assaulted the Soldiers, and beat them with Stones, that they forced them to let go their other Prisoners. Yet two others they took, and carried them to the Fort; one was but a Child,



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Child, whom the Captain strangled with his own hands, the other was fifty years old, whom they bound; and took a Creature that lives in Horf-dung, and put into his Navel, covering them with a Dish, which in a short space did eat into his Belly, and killed him.

Barbarous  
cruelty.

The *waldenses* were in great perplexity, by reason of these Garrisons, but especially for the want of their Ministers: Whereupon they resolved to call them back, yet to have Preaching only in private, because they would not embitter the Soldiers, till their Messengers returned from the Duke. These Messengers were cruelly handled at the Court, and at last sent back with a command, *That they should entertain Priests to say Mass, &c.* When this Report was made to their Brethren that sent them, there was wonderful lamentation, weeping and mourning. Then did they send two of their Ministers to the Church of *Fragela*, to shew them of the pitiful condition of the Churches in *Piedmont*, and to ask their advice, how to prevent danger: And in the next place they all fell to Prayer, and having long called upon God for Counsel and Direction in so great a strait, they resolved upon debate, That the People in *Piedmont* and *Dauphine* should joyn in a League together, wherein they promised, through Gods Grace and Assistance, to maintain the pure Preaching of the Gospel, and administering the holy Sacraments, to yield obedience to their Superior, so far as they were commanded by the Word of God, and one to be aiding and assisting to the other. That none should conclude any thing touching the estate of Religion, without the consent of the rest of the Valleys.

Prayer in dan-  
ger.

A League

During this Treaty, all the Householders were required to be present at Mass, and such as would do it, should live in Peace; but such as refused should be condemned to be burnt, or sent to the Gallies: So that the People were constrained to flee, die, or renounce the Gospel. The first they would have chosen, but could not do it by reason of the great Snow; whereupon, they exhorted one another, saying, *we shall be all called for to morrow, to renounce God, and to return to Idolatry: Let us therefore make a Solemn Protestation, That we will live and die, in the Confession of Gods holy Word: Let us in the Morning hear a Sermon, and then cast down to the Ground, all the Idols and Altars!* And to this all agreed.

A good resolu-  
tion.

In the Morning they put their Resolutions into execution, beating down the Images, and casting down the Altars. Then they went to *Villars* to do the like there; but by the way they incountred with a Band of Soldiers, who were going to spoil a Village, and to fetch away the Inhabitants prisoners. These Soldiers seeing them so ill provided, mocked them, and discharged their Guns at them; but they taking courage, with Stones beat the Soldiers, pursuing them to the Fortrefs. Then did they go to *Villars*, and having destroyed the Idols and Altars there, they returned to besiege the Fortrefs, demanding the prisoners that were therein.

Images demol-  
ished.

The Judge, with many Gentlemen, came that day to Inrol their Names that would go to Mass; but seeing the resolution of the People, they fled into the Castle, where they were besieged for ten days: Then did the Captain of *Tour* go with a Company of Soldiers, thinking to raise the siege, but by those which kept the Passages, some of them were slain, the rest were driven back again. Then came they back with three Bands, which caused a furious fight, wherein many of the Soldiers were slain and hurt, and not one of the Besiegers was hurt.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

The *waldenses* attempted often to have taken the Fortrefs; but without Ordnance it was impossible: Also the Lord of *Trinity* was come back with his Army, and the next day would have raised the siege. But it pleased God, that very night, that the Soldiers in the Castle desired leave to depart, with Bag and Baggage, which was easily granted to them; and the Soldiers which before had so cruelly persecuted the Ministers, were now fain to request them to protect their lives, and to conduct them to a place of safety: Which the Ministers did willingly, and

and the Soldiers were very thankful for it. That night the Fort was razed to the Ground.

Popish subtil-  
ty.

The next day the Lord of *Trinity* cunningly sent to them of *Angrogne*, that if they would not aid the other, they should be gently dealt with; but they knowing his fraud, agreed with the rest to defend their Religion with their lives, and that no one should make an Agreement without the consent of the rest. Then did the Lord of *Trinity* assay with his Army to enter into the Borders of *Angrogne* by certain freights, but the people having raised up some Breest-works, valiantly defended themselves, and offended their Enemies. *Trinities* Soldiers being weary, fresh ones were brought in their stead; so that the fight indured until night, wherein many of the Enemies were slain, more hurt, and but two of the *Waldenses*: And so the Battle ceased for the present.

A Special Pro-  
vidence.

The next day the Army marched towards *Angrogne* five several ways, and there were none to resist, but only a few that kept the Watch, who valiantly fought for a space; but seeing themselves in danger to be inclosed, they retreated to an high place, where the combat was renewed with greater fierceness then before. The Lord of *Trinity* seeing the loss of many of his Men, founded a Retreat, and went to *Angrogne*, but the people were fled into the Meadow of *Tour*; therefore he burned and spoiled all before him. He also oft set fire upon the two Churches, where the Word used to be Preached; but could not burn them; and so he did to the Ministers House, and yet it remained whole.

Amongst them of *Angrogne*, there were but two that were Enemies to the Word of God, and they were both slain that day.

Gods Provi-  
dence.

Then did the Lord of *Trinity* send some to burn *Rosa*, but the Soldiers were driven back four days together, by them that kept the Passages; whereupon he sent his whole Army, yet they valiantly withstood them from morning till night: At last a Party gat behind them over a Mountain, so that the poor people seeing themselves invironed, saved themselves by running through the midst of their Enemies, and others of them gat into the Rocks. The Enemies being entred *Rosa*, destroyed all with Fire and Sword: The People fled by secret ways toward *Luserne*, wandring all night upon the Mountains full of Snow, laden with their Stuff, carrying their Infants in their Arms, and leading others by the hand with great pain and travel. They of *Luserne* seeing them, ran to them, praising God for their deliverance; and they all were very chearful, notwithstanding their extremities.

Joy in Tribu-  
lation.

Shortly after, the Lord of *Trinity* went to *Luserne* by three ways; they which kept the Passages, resisted their Enemies valiantly, but when they saw themselves assaulted on every side, they fled into the Mountains. Then did the Soldiers sack and burn the Houses, slaying all they could find: When they which were fled to the Mountains, saw their Houses on fire, they praised God, and gave him thanks, That thus accounted them worthy to suffer for his Name. Then did the Soldiers pursue them to the Mountains, but after they had called upon God, a few of them beat back their Enemies; whereupon the Army retired.

They in the Meadow of *Tour*, perceiving a Company of Soldiers burning the rest of the Houses in *Angrogne*, they sent six Harquebushiers against them, who from the higher ground, discharging all their Guns together; the Soldiers ran all away, when none pursued them.

Shortly after, as the Watch was hearing a Sermon, they spied a Company of Soldiers marching up the Hill; whereupon they ran to incounter them, and easily discomfited them. But whilest they pursued the chase, some cried to them, that another Company was entred into the Meadow; whereupon they left the chase, or else not one of their Enemies had escaped.

Presently



Presently other Companies came otherways, which the Ministers and People seeing, were much discouraged, and therefore they fell to Prayer, and ardently called upon God, with sighs and tears until Night. And whereas seven Spies were sent before the Soldiers, there went out five of the *Waldenses* against them, and took some, and chased the rest: Then went out eight more against the whole Company, and pursued them with an undaunted courage from Rock to Rock, and from Hill to Hill, and then went out twelve more, who joyning with the other, made a great slaughter of their Enemies.

Prayer in danger.

Another Company from *Luferne*, having a Minister with them, as they used always to have, after they had made their Prayers to God, set upon another Company of Soldiers, whose hearts were so taken from them, that they presently fled: One of the *Waldenses*, a very young Man, carried a great staff in his hand, with which he laid so lustily at his Enemies, that he brake his staff, and slew many of them; he also brake four of their own Swords, in pursuing of them: Also, a Boy of eighteen years old, slew the Lord of *Monteil*, Master of the Camp, which much dismayed the Enemies: Another threw down *Charles Truchet*, and then leaped upon him, and slew him with his own Sword; upon which all the rest fled, and were pursued till Night hindred.

Special Providence.

The Minister seeing the great effusion of blood, and the Enemies flying, cried to the People that it was enough, and so exhorted them to praise God: They that heard him obeyed, and fell to Prayer. In this Battel they gat much armor, which was a great advantage to them afterwards. Thanks were returned unto God in every place, every one saying, *who sees not evidently that God fighteth for us.*

Thanksgiving.

Presently after, the Lord of *Trinity* returned to burn the Villages, but especially to pursue the poor People in the Mountains. And one Company with many Horsemen ascended the Mountain of *Comb* by an unsuspected way, where were no Warders; but they which were next, seeing them, called upon God for aid, and though they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice; many of the Enemies were slain, and not one of the *Waldenses*. *Trinity* seeing his men thus beaten back, sent out most of his Army to assist them, which were about One thousand five hundred Men: And there came about a Hundred to help the Warders: The combat was very cruel; at last the poor Men were fain to retreat with the loss of two of their Men; at this the Enemies exceedingly rejoiced, blowing their Trumpets and triumphing: But the People crying all together to the Lord, returned again, with greater violence, assaulting them with their slings; So that the Enemies being weary, rested themselves, and the while the *Waldenses* betook themselves to prayer, which more affrighted their Enemies than any thing else.

A special Providence.

Then did the Soldiers charge again furiously, but by the hands of a few they were driven back; yea little Children, fervently calling upon God, threw stones at their Enemies, as also did the Women: Such as were unfit for War kneeled on the ground with their Faces towards Heaven, crying, *Lord help us.* Then came one running that brought word, that the *Angrognians* were coming to help them, which the Enemies hearing, presently retreated.

The enemies every where beaten.

Another party of the Army of an Hundred and forty, went another way; but by seven men they were strongly resisted and driven back: A third party was met by the *Angrognians* and driven back.

The Lord of *Trinity* intending to be revenged upon them in the meadow of *Tour*, assembled all the Gentlemen of the Country, and an Army of about Seven thousand; and when the poor People saw them coming, glittering in their harness, and so many in number, they were at first astonished, but pouring out their Prayers unto God to succor them, and to have regard to the glory of his Name, &c. They marched to encounter with their Enemies, and seasonably by the way, they met with some aid that was coming

Prayer in danger.

to them from *Luferne*, so that uniting themselves, they soon discomfited their Enemies.

The Captain of the Enemies had in the morning promised to do great matters that day, but in the evening he was carried back, weak and wounded, and not like to live: Whereupon a Papiſt ſaid to him, *Monsieur, their Religion is better than ours.*

Another part of the Army ſet upon a houſe in a Paſs, wherein were but five men, yet they luſtily defended it, drave out their Enemies that had entred, and kept the place, till ſome of their Friends came to relieve them.

Another half of the Army, aſſaulted another Bulwork on the ſide of the Mountain; And they within ſuffered them to come very near, but then with Slings and Guns they ſlew many of them, others rouled down great Stones, which killed divers, ſo that when they had attempted all ways to take it, they were forced to retire: The Lord of *Trinity* weeping to ſee his men ſlain ſo faſt, and at laſt, having loſt very many of his men, he was forced to retreat; many of the Army crying out, *God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong.*

A ſpecial Providence.

In all that conflict there were but two of the *waldenses* ſlain, and two hurt; whereas they never ſhot at their Enemies, but they killed ſome, and ſometimes two at one ſhot: The Soldiers confeſſed that they were ſo aſtoniſhed that they could not fight: Others ſaid, that the Miniſters by their Prayers, conjured and bewitched them. It was a wonderful work of God, that Shepherds and Cowherds ſhould encounter with ſo mighty a power of ſtrong and brave Soldiers well furniſhed with ammunition, and themſelves having nothing but ſlings, ſtones, and a few harquebuſhes, and yet ſhould beat them, and in all thoſe fights, they loſt not above fourteen Men.

Scorners puniſhed.

Shortly after a Company of Soldiers went to *Angrogne* to deſtroy the Vines, &c. and mocking the *waldenses*, they ſaid, *that they were valiant Men behind their Bulworks, but if they came into the plain, how they would beat them:* Then came thirty of the *waldenses*, and ſet upon them in the plain, and fought with them a long time, hand to hand, ſlew many of them, and at laſt forced them to run away, and that with the loſs of one only Man of their own.

Subtily. Perfidiousneſs.

The Night after, ſome thought that it would have been an eaſie matter to take the Lord of *Trinity*, and to have ſpoiled his whole Army, but the *waldenses* would not do it, leaſt they ſhould offend God, and paſs the bounds of their vocation, intending only to defend themſelves.

The Spaniards repulſed.

Then did *Trinity* betake himſelf to his old ſhifts of entertaining a treaty for agreement; But in the *Interim*, he ſent a Company of *Spaniards* one way, and other Companys other ways, to ſurpriſe the meddow of *Tour*. The *Spaniards* were entred the meddow, before they were perceived: But when the People ſpied them, they betook themſelves to Prayer, then winded their horns, and ſo prepared for reſiſtance: The firſt that oppoſed themſelves were but twelve men, who yet ſtopped them in a Paſs, and others rolled down ſtones from the Mountains upon them, whereby many of the *Spaniards* were ſlain, the reſt were forced to retreat.

Shortly after the Miniſters and chief Rulers of the *waldenses*, requested the Lord of *Raconis* to deliver a Petition, which they had drawn up to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, wherein they declared the equity of their cauſe, proteſting all due obedience, &c. and at laſt, through Gods mercy, they came to a good agreement, and according to the promiſe of God, *all things turned to the beſt to thoſe that feared him, that were called according to his purpoſe.*

Peace obtained.

Bartholomew Copin.

After the death of the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, *Charles Emmanuel* their Son ſucceeded, who maintained them in peace according to the treaty formerly made: Yet the Inquiſitors were always watchful to apprehend one or other of them: and amongſt others, one *Bartholomew Copin* of *Luſerne*, being at *Aſt* in *Piedmont*, with his Merchandize, and at evening ſupping with ſome other Company,



Company, one began to speak much to the disgrace of the *Waldenses* for their Religion. *Copin* thought that he was bound to be silent when he heard such Blaphemies: Whereupon he began to argue in their defence. Are you then a *Waldensian*? said the other to him? He answered, *Yes*. And do you not believe that God is in the Host? *No*, said *Copin*. Fie upon you, said the other, what a false Religion is yours? *My Religion*, said *Copin*, *is as true, as it's true that God is God, &c.* The next morning *Copin* was called before the Bishop of *Ast*, who told him, that he must either recant the opinions he held over night, or be punished: *Copin* said, he had been provoked to that discourse, yet he said nothing but what he would maintain with his life. Adding that he had some goods, and a Wife and Children, yet he had lost the affections that he bare unto those things, neither were they dear to him, to the prejudice of his conscience. Yet he said, *That behaving himself honestly, he ought not to be molested, when he came about his merchandize, the Turks and Jews being permitted to come to Fairs without molestation.* Notwithstanding which the Bishop presently sent him to Prison. The next day the Bishops Secretary went to him, professing great love, and telling him, that except he acknowledged his fault, he was in great danger of his life: *Copin* answered, *That his life was in the hands of God, and he desired not to preserve it to the prejudice of his glory; and having but a few paces to walk in his journey to Heaven, his hearty Prayer to God was, to give him grace not to turn back.*

Some few days after he was examined by an Inquisitor in the presence of the Bishop, who exceedingly tormented him with sweet and gentle perswasions, by fair words seeking to draw him to an abjuration: But *Copin* always convinced him by the word of God; alleadging that if he should be ashamed of, or deny *Christ* before men, *Christ* would be ashamed of, and deny him before his heavenly Father. Then said the Monk, *Go thy ways thou cursed Heretick to all the devils in Hell, and when thou shalt be their tormented by them, thou wilt remember this good and holy counsel that we have given thee, &c.*

After many violent encounters, they caused his Wife and Son to come to him, promising if he would confess his fault, he should have liberty to depart with them; They suffered them also to sup together, which time he spent in exhorting them to patience, telling them that God would be more than a Husband and Father to them: That for his own part he was not bound to love Wife or Child more than *Christ*; and that they should esteem it their happiness, that God was pleased to do him the honour to be a witness to his truth, with the loss of his life, &c. He enjoined his Wife to bring up his Children in the fear of God: His Son he commanded to obey his Mother; He desired them to pray for him, that God would strengthen him against all temptations, and so taking leave of his Wife, and blessing his Son, he dismissed them, his Wife and Son shedding fountains of tears, and crying out in so lamentable a manner as would have moved the hardest heart to compassion.

The Bishop knew not well what to do with him: If he let him go, he feared a scandal, and that many would be encouraged by his impunity: If he punished him, he offended against the agreement betwixt the Duke and the *Waldenses*. And thereupon he sent his Indictment to the Pope, to know his pleasure. Shortly after *Copin* was found dead in Prison, it appearing manifestly that he was strangled: and after his death, he was condemned to be burnt, which was accordingly executed.

## C H A P. XXII.

*The Persecution of the Waldenses in Calabria.*

Gods Providence.

**A***nno Christi* 1370. The *Waldenses* of *Pragela* and *Dauphine* grew so numerous, that they sent their younger People to seek some other Countrey to inhabit. In their travel, they found in *Calabria*, some wast and untilld lands: yet seeming very fertil, fit for Corn, Wine, Oyl and Chestnuts, and that the hills were fit for Cattel, and to furnish them with fuel and timber; They came therefore to the Lords of those places to treat with them touching there abode there.

The Lords received them lovingly, agreed to orders much for the advantage of these new Inhabitants; agreed about rents, tenths, tolls, penalties, &c. and so assigned to them certain parts of the Country. Then did they return to their Parents, shewing how it fared with them, and so received what they pleased to bestow upon them, and many of them marrying, they returned into *Calabria*, where they built some Towns and Cities, as *St. Xist*, *la Garde*, &c.

Their holy Lives.

The Lords of those Countrys thought themselves happy in that they had met with such good Subjects as peopled their wast Lands, and made them to abound with all manner of fruits; but principally because they were honest Men, and of good conscience, yielding all those dutys and honors which they could expect from good Subjects. Only the Priests complained of them, that they lived not after their Religion, made not their Children Priests and Nuns; loved not Tapers, Masses, &c. That they adorned not their Churches with Images, went not on Pilgrimage, &c.

Their godly conversation.

Hereupon the Lords feared, that if the Pope should take notice, that so near his Seat, there were People that contemned his Laws, they might chance to lose their Subjects: They therefore perswaded the Priests to be silent, since in other things they shewed themselves honest men, enriched the Country, yea and the Priests themselves, by their Tithes. These Lords also stopped the mouths of their Neighbors, who exceedingly murmured, because by no means they could draw them into alliance with them, and because all that they had, prospered exceedingly: They were wise and temperate, not given to drinking, dancing, swearing, &c. and living in a Country, where the Inhabitants were given to all manner of wickedness, they were as precious stones in a common sink.

The Pope Persecutes them.

Thus they were preserved in peace by their Lords, till *Anno* 1560. At which time these *Waldenses* resolving to make a publick profession of their Religion, sent for two Ministers from *Geneva*, who did much establish the exercise of Religion amongst them.

Pope *Pius* the Fourth hearing of this, presently concluded their utter ruin and extirpation, giving the same in charge to Cardinal *Alexandrino*, a violent Man, who chose two Monks Inquisitors of his own humor, and sent them, first to begin with the Inhabitants of *St. Xist*; There they assembled the People, gave them good words, promising that they should receive no violence, if they would accept of such Teachers as the Bishops should appoint, which if they refused, they would lose their lives, goods and honors, and would be condemned for *Hereticks*: And further to prove them, they appointed a Mass to be sung: But the People with their Wives and Children, presently quit their Houses, and fled into the Woods.

Popish lies.

From thence the Monks went to *la Garde*, where they caused the Town Gates to be locked, and the People to be assembled, telling them that they of *St. Xist* had adjoined their Religion, and went to Mass, &c. promising that if they would do the like, no Man should injure them. These poor People, believing what



what was told them, were content to do what they would have them; But when they heard that their Friends of St. *Xist* refused to go to Maf, and were fled into the Woods, they were exceedingly grieved at their own revolt, and resolved with their Wives and Children to go to their Brethren.

Hamane said:  
7.

In the mean time the Monks lent two Companies of Soldiers after them of St. *Xist*, who ran after them as after wild Beasts, crying, *Kill, Kill*, and so slew divers: But such as could get to the top of the Mountain, called to the Soldiers, beseeched them to have pity on them, their Wives and Children, telling them that they had been inoffensive in their conversations, &c. yet if they would not suffer them to continue in their habitations, that at least they would license them to depart, either by Sea or Land, that they might retire themselves whether the Lord should be pleased to conduct them, beseeching them also, for Gods sake, not to force them to defend themselves.

Popish cruelty:  
7.

But this more enraged the Soldiers, who presently violently assaulted them: Then did they so defend themselves, that by Gods assistance, they slew the greatest part of the Soldiers, and put the rest to flight. Hereupon the Inquisitors wrote to the Viceroy of *Naples*, speedily to send some Companys of Soldiers to apprehend the *Hereticks* of St. *Xist* and *la Garde*, whereby he should do a work very pleasing to the Pope, and meritorious for himself.

A special Providence.

Then did the Viceroy come himself with his Troops, in the mean time the *waldensian* Women came home to seek for food for their Husbands and Children that were in the Woods.

The Viceroy proclaimed through all *Naples*, that all such banished Persons as would come to fight against the *Hereticks* of St. *Xist*, should be pardoned all their offences: Whereupon great numbers resorted to him, and were conducted to the Woods, where they chased these poor People, slaying some, wounding others, the rest fled into Caves, where most of them died of famine.

Barbarous cruelty:

Then were they of *la Garde* cited before the Inquisitor, and many fair Promises were made unto them if they would appear; but contrary thereunto, thirty of them were apprehended, and put to the rack.

One *Charlin* was racked with such violence, that his Bowels brake out of his Belly, and all to extort from him a confession, that in the Night, the Candles being put out, they committed Whoredom, and abominable incest, yet would he never confess any such wickedness.

Another, with extream pain upon the rack, promised to go to Maf, the Inquisitor seeing that he had shewed such weakness, urged him to confess the forementioned wickedness, which, because he refused, he left him eight hours together upon the rack, yet could he not get from his mouth so foul a slander.

Prodigious wickedness:

Another was stripped stark naked, whipt with rods of Iron, drawn through the Streets, and burnt with Fire-brands: One of his Sons was killed with Knives: Another thrown down from an high Tower, because he would not kiss a *Crucifix*: Another was condemned to be burnt alive, and as he went to the Fire, he threw to the ground a *Crucifix*, which the Executioner had fastened to his hands, whereupon they covered him all over with pitch, and so burnt him.

Zeal:

The Inquisitor *Panta* cut the throats of eighty, as Butchers do their Sheep; Then causing them to be divided into four quarters, he set up stakes for the space of thirty miles, and appointed a quarter to be fastned to every stake. Four of the principal men of *la Garde* he caused to be hanged. Another young man, because he would not confess himself to a Priest, was thrown from an high Tower.

Horrible cruelty.

The Vice-roy passing by him before he was dead, and hearing him implore Gods mercy, kickt him on the head, saying, *Is this Dog yet living? Take him and cast him to the Hogs.* Sixty Women were racked so violently, that the cords pieced into their arms and legs; and being then cast into Prison, they died there.

nine of the handsomest, being delivered to the Fathers of the Inquisition, were never heard of after.

Many others were delivered to the secular power to be burnt, and if any interceded for them, he was presently put on the rack as a favorer of *Hereticks*.

Their total  
extirpation.

Pope *Pius* the Fourth sent the Marquels of *Butiane*, promising that if he would wholly clear *Calabria* of these *Waldenses*, he would make his Son a Cardinal: But he was put to no great pains to do it, for the Inquisitors and the Vice-roy of *Naples* had by sundry deaths killed all the Men, Women and Children that they could light of.

One of their Ministers was famished in Prison: Another was carryed to *Rome*, where he was condemned to be burnt; The Pope and his Cardinals would needs see that pleasing spectacle: But the Minister spake so many things out of Gods Word, against the Pope, that the Pope gnashed his teeth for anger, wishing that he had been some where else. And thus were these godly People wholly rooted out of *Calabria*.

### C H A P. XXIII.

#### *The Persecutions of the Waldenses in Provence.*

These came from *Piedmont*, when their Vallies were over-peopled. The Country of *Provence*, at their first arrival, was a desert, but within few years, by Gods blessing upon their labors, it abounded with Corn, Wine, Oyl, Chestnuts, and other fruits.

Devilish slan-  
ders.

Their habitations being near to *Avignon* (many times the Popes Seat) they were exposed to sundry Persecutions, as *Anno* 1380. and at other times: But the greatest of all began about the year 1360. in the time of King *Lewis* the Twelfth; who being informed that in *Provence* was a certain kind of People that lived not according to the Laws of the Church of *Rome*, but were an accursed People, committing all kinds of wickedness and villanies; He gave Commission to his Parliament in *Provence* to take cognizance of it, and to punish them according to their demerits.

Note.

The Court prosecuting this order with rigor; and the King hearing that divers innocent Persons were put to death, he sent his Master of Requests, and Confessor into *Provence*, to find out what kind of Persons these were, who at their return, certified him, that all the former suggestions were untrue, that they were neither Sorcerers, nor Whoremongers, but lived honestly, did hurt to none; caused their Children to be Baptized, taught them their Belief, and the Ten Commandments, and that they carefully kept the Lords day, and had the Word of God purely expounded to them: Whereupon the King swore an Oath, That they were *honester than himself, and his Catholick Subjects*. Upon this information he sent and stayed the Persecution.

Peter Masson  
Martyred.

Some time after the *Waldenses* did send two of their Ministers [*George Morrell* and *Peter Masson*] to *Oecolampadius*, *Copito*, *Bucer* and *Haller*, to confer with them about matters of Religion, and to have there advice in many things.

In their return, *Masson* was apprehended at *Dijon*; where he was condemned and put to death for a *Lutheran*. *Morrell* escaped with his Letters and Papers, and came safe to *Provence*, where he much comforted and confirmed the Churches. Yet all this while did the Parliament of *Aix* apprehend one or other of them, condemning some to the Fire, others to the Gibbet; They which escaped best, returned with marks in their Foreheads.

A cruel De-  
gree.

*Anno Christi* 1540. The Inhabitants of *Merindol* were summoned, and some of the chief appearing for the rest, they were all condemned to be burned alive, their Children and Families to be out-lawed, and that the place of their habitation



habitation should be laid waste, the Woods cut down two hundred paces round about, and so left desolate.

The King being informed of the rigor of this Edict, and of the innocency of the People, countermanded the execution of it: But his Letters were suppressed, and the Cardinal of *Tournon* obtained for a great sum of money, the revocation of them.

Anno 1545. The President of *Opede* proclaimed War against them both at *Aix* and *Marseilles*: Divers Companies of Soldiers were listed, and five bands of the old Soldiers of *Piedmont* were joyned with them, and presently they began to set fire on the Villages of *Cabrieres*, *Pepin*, &c. The poor People without any resistance were slain, Women and their Daughters ravished, some great with Child murdered: The Breasts of many Women were cut off, after whose death their poor Infants died of famine.

*Opede* also proclaimed, that on pain of death no man should give any relief or sustenance to them. All their habitations were pillaged, sacked and burnt, and none of their persons spared, but such as were reserved for the Gallies.

*Opede* coming to *Merindol*, found none there but one simple Lad, who had yielded himself Prisoner to a Soldier, and promised two Crowns for his ransom; But *Opede* paid the money to the Soldier, and caused the Lad to be shot to death: Then he utterly razed the Town, and laid it level with the ground.

Then did he march against *Cabrieres*, and with the Cannon battered the Walls: There was within only about sixty poor sick Peasants, who sent him word that he needed not to spend powder to batter the Walls, for they were ready to open the Gates, and quit the Country, if they might but have leave with their Wives and Children to go to *Geneva*, or *Germany*, and to leave all their goods behind them.

*Opede* entering the Town, caused all the Men to be brought into a Field, and to be cut in pieces, the Soldiers striving who should shew the best Manhood in cutting off Heads, Arms and Legs: The Women he caused to be locked in a Barn with much straw, and so put fire to it, where many Women great with Child were burnt: One Soldier moved with pity, opened a hole in the Wall, that some of them might come out; But *Opede* made them to be beaten back again into the fire with Pikes and Halberts. Some of them that came forth he slew with his own hands, ripping open their Bellies, so that their Children came forth, whom he trod under his Feet: Many were fled into Cellars and Caves, whom he caused to be dragged out, had into the Field, stripped stark naked, and then slain. Others were bound by two and two together, and slain by the Captains, who rejoiced in their bloody Butchery.

Then did this Tyrant (worse than *Herod*) command one of his Captains to go into Church, into which many Women, Children and Infants were fled; and to kill them all, which the Captain at first refused, saying, *That it was a cruelty unbeseeming Men of war*: Whereat *Miniers* being displeased, charged him upon pain of rebellion against the King to do it. The Captain feared what might be the issue, entred with his Soldiers and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old. Other Soldiers that ransacked the Houses, found many poor Persons who had hid themselves in secret places, whom they slew upon, crying, *Kill, Kill*, the Soldiers without the Town killed all they could meet with, so that above a Thousand Men, Women and Children were slain in this place.

Many Persons which were escaped in the Mountains, sent by some that had most interest in *Miniers*, to desire him to give them leave to go whither the Lord should please to lead them, with their Wives and Children; though they had nothing but the shirts on their backs: to whom he answered, *That he knew what he had to do, he would send them to dwell in Hell amongst the Devils.*

Then

King French the First.

Called this.

Barbarous cruelty.

Prodigious cruelty.

A bloody Speech.

Then did he send part of his Army unto *Costa*, which they overcame, and committed there great slaughters: Many of the Inhabitants fled into an Orchard, where the Soldiers ravished many Women and Maidens, and having kept them there a day and a night, they used them so Beastly, that the Women with Child, and younger Maidens died presently after.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

Many of these *Merindolians* hid themselves in Rocks and dark Caves, where some were famished, others were choaked with fire and smoak set to their Caves mouths. Many more were the outrages and cruelties which this wicked *Opede* committed: But the Lord found him out at last, striking him with a strange kind of bleeding at the lower parts, neither was he able to void any Urine, so that by degrees his Guts rotted within him: No remedy could be found for this terrible disease, Worms bred in his Bowels, which continually gnawed him. Then did he send to *Arles* for a famous Chyrurgion, who cured him of his difficulty to make Water, after which, desiring all to depart the Room, the Chyrurgion in private exhorted him to repent of his former cruelty and bloodshed, telling him that this his strange bleeding was Gods just hand upon him for shedding so much innocent blood: But these words pierced the impure conscience of this wicked Wretch, and more troubled him than the torments of his disease, so that he cryed out to lay hands on the Chyrurgeon as an *Heretick*: Whereupon he conveyed himself away, and returned to *Arles*.

*Miniers* his horrible death.

Yet not long after he was sent for again, and great promises were made for his security: But when he came back, he found *Miniers* past cure, raging and casting out most horrible and blasphemous words, feeling a fire within him, which burnt him from the Navel upwards, which was accompanied with extream stink of his lower parts, and so he ended his wretched life.

In the beginning of this Persecution, there was one *John de Roma*, a Monk, who gat a Commission to examine those whom he suspected to be *Hereticks*; whereupon he afflicted the faithful with all kinds of cruelty: Amongst other horrible torments that he used, this was one; He filled Boots with boiling grease, and put them upon their Legs, tying them backwards over a Form, and their Legs hanging down over a soft Fire: Thus he tormented very many, and in the end most cruelly put them to death.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

*Francis* the French King being informed of the hellish cruelty of this wicked Monk, sent to his Parliament at *Provence* that they should apprehend and condemn him: But he being informed of it, fled to *Avignion*, where he hoped to enjoy all that wealth which so mercilessly and unjustly he had extorted from the poor Christians: But shortly after, he was robbed of all that he had, by his own Servants; and then he fell sick of a most horrible and strange disease unknown to the Physicians: He was intolerably tormented with pains all over his Body, so that no means could give him ease for one minute of an hour; neither was there any Man that could tarry near him, no not of his nearest Friends; so great was the stink that came from him: Hereupon he was removed to an Hospital; but the stink and infection so encreased, that no Man durst come near him; no, nor he himself was able to abide the horrible stink of his own Body, full of ulcers and sores, and swarming with Vermine, and so rotten, that the flesh fell from the Bones by piece-meal. In these torments he often cryed out in a great rage. *O who will deliver me? who will kill and rid me out of these intolerable pains, which I know I suffer for the oppressions which I did to the poor Men?* Oft-times he himself endeavored to destroy himself; but he had not the power. In this horrible anguish, and fearful despair he miserably ended his accursed life.

When he was dead no Man would come near to bury him; till at last a young Novice caught hold of his stinking Carcase with an Iron hook, and so dragged him into a hole that was made for him.

Popish uncleanness.

In the time of this Persecution the Bishop of *Aix*, with some other Bishops and their courtizans, walking along the streets of *Avignion*, saw a Man selling bawdy Images and Pictures, with filthy rimes and ballades annexed to them:

All



All these goodly Pictures the Bishops bought up: When they had gone a little further, there was a Bookseller that had set to sale certain Bibles in French, which the Prelates were greatly moved at, saying to him, *Darest thou be so bold as to sell such merchaundise in this Town?* The Bookseller replied, *Is not the holy Bible as good as these goodly Pictures that you have bought for these Gentlewomen?* Then said the Bishop of Aix, *I renounce my part in Paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran, take him away to prison.* Then did his attendants cry out, *A Lutheran, a Lutheran, To the fire with him, to the fire with him.* And one gave him a blow with his Fist, another pulled him by the Hair, another by the Beard; so that the poor Man was all imbrued in Blood, before he came to prison. The next day he was brought before the Judge, where, by the instigation of the Bishops, he was condemned to be burned the same day; and so was carried to the fire with two Bibles about his Neck, one before, and another behind, where he made a most Christian end.

Profaneness

A godly Bookseller burned

The Waldenses were dispersed also into several other Countreys, as, *Bohemia, Austria, Germany, Flanders, England, Poland, Italy, Spain, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Grecia, Philadelphia, Livonia, Sarmatia, Bulgaria, &c.* In all which places, at one time or other, they suffered Persecutions: Concerning which, there is not much left upon Record, and something will be spoken again of it in other places of this Book; and therefore this may suffice for the present.

## CHAP. XXIV.

### The Persecution of the Albigenses.

These were the same with the *Waldenses*, differing only in name from their Habitation in the Countrey of *Albi*. Divers of *Waldos* Disciples going into this Countrey, and amongst them one *Arnold* (from whom they were called *Arnoldists*) labored with so good success, that in a short time there was scarce any found that would go to Mass.

Pope *Alexander* the Third was much moved to anger, when he saw many great Provinces to shake off his Antichristian yoke; and therefore he condemned them for Hereticks in the Council of *Lateran*: Yet did they so multiply, that *Anno 1200*, they possessed many and great Cities; yea, they had many great Lords that took part with them, as *Earl Remund of Tholouse*, *Remund Earl of Foix*, the Vicount of *Beziers*, &c. Pope *Innocent* the Third, pretended a great desire to reclaim them by Preaching and Conference; and thereupon there was a famous Disputation at *Montreal*, wherein the Popish Doctors were shamefully baffled by *Arnold*. But the Popes policy was thus to robk them asleep, whilst he raised Armies against them to destroy them: The pretended occasion whereof was this, There was one Fryer *Peter* that was slain in the Dominions of the Earl of *Tholouse*; whereupon the Pope sent Preachers abroad, through all Europe to assemble Men together, to take vengeance on the Hereticks, for the innocent Blood of Fryer *Peter*, slain amongst them, promising Paradise to all that would come to this War, and bear Arms for forty days. This he called *The holy war*, and gave the same Pardons and Indulgences to those that came to this War, as to those which went into the *Holy Land* against the *Saracens*.

Popish policy

Then did he thunder against *Earl Remund*, charging all Archbishops and Bishops through their Dioceses, to pronunee him Accursed and Excommunicated, and that with the sound of a Bell, and extinction of Candles every Sabbath and Festival day, for murdering of a good Servant of God. He also absolved all his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance to him, commanding every good Catholick to pursue his person, and to take and possess his Land, &c. He also wrote to all Christian Princes to stir them up to get this Pardon, rather by

Popes rage against Earl Remund

fighting against these *Albigenses*, then by going against the *Turks*. Earl Remund hearing of all these preparations against him, sent to the Pope, humbly beseeching him not to condemn him before he was heard, assuring him, That he was no way guilty of the death of Fryer *Peter*, but that he was slain by a Gentleman, who immediately fled out of his Countrey; otherwise he would have severely punished him for it. But all was in vain, for presently came Armies of crossed Soldiers to pour down their vengeance on him and his Lands.

Amongst these were many Noblemen, and Ecclesiastical Persons, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, &c. To all which, the Pope promised Paradise, but gave them not a penny.

He goes to the  
Popes Legate.

The Earl of *Tholouse* perceived that he must either prepare for defence, or submit; the latter he thought the safer, and therefore he went presently to the Popes Legate at *Valence*, to whom he began to say, That he thought it strange, that so many armed Men should be brought against him, who used no other arms for his defence, but his own Innocency. And that concerning the death of the Fryer, they should first have inquired the truth of the fact, before they thus moved Heaven and Earth against him; yea, if he had been guilty, yet there was an ordinary course of Justice to be used against him, and not to wreak their anger on his innocent Subjects. And therefore Sir (said he) *since I come voluntarily to you, armed only with the testimony of a good conscience; what further use is there of these Armed Pilgrims? Pray you therefore countermand these Soldiers before they go to make any further spoil in my Territories: For my own person may serve for a sufficient pledge, &c.*

The Legate answered, *That he had done well in coming to him; yet could he not send back the Soldiers, except he would put seven of his best Castles into his hands, which should serve for a hostage.* Now did the Earl, when it was too late, see his own folly in putting himself into the Legates hands, and thereby making himself a prisoner: But there was no remedy, now he must take Laws from him that had him in his power; and therefore he told him, *That both his person and possessions were at his disposal, beseeching him, that his Subjects might receive no more damage by the Soldiers.*

The Legate presently sent to put Garrisons in those seven Castles, commanding all the Consuls of every City, presently to appear before him; and when they were come, he told them, *That Earl Remund had delivered up his Castles to the Pope; and therefore they were to take notice of it; that so they might acknowledge themselves lawful Subjects to his Holiness, in case the Earl should falsifie his Oath to the Pope.*

The Earl  
whipped  
naked.

The Consuls were much astonished, thus to see their Lord devided of all his possessions: But that which most afflicted them, was, to see him led to *S. Gilles* to be reconciled to the Church, where the Legate commanded the Earl to strip himself stark naked, all but his Linnen Drawers: Then did he put a Cord about his Neck, whereby he led him nine times about the Grave of Fryer *Peter*, scourging him with Rods all this while. The Earl demanded satisfaction for so sharp a penance, seeing he was not guilty of the fact. The Legate answered, *That he must submit, if he would be reconciled to the Pope; yea, he must be thus scourged before the Earls, Barons, Marquesses, Prelates, and all the People.* He made him also to swear to be obedient all his life to the Pope and Church of *Rome*; and to make irreconcilable War against the *Albigenses*, &c.

Then did the Legate make him General of the Crossed Soldiers for the siege of *Beziers*. The Earl knew not what to do; for to conduct an Army to fight against the *Albigenses*, was to sin against his Conscience; and if he should flee away, it would furnish them with new matter of persecution, against him and his Subjects.

In this extremity he stayed in the Army a few days, and then went towards *Rome*, to reconcile himself to the Pope.

Then



Then did the Army come before the City of *Beziers*, and provided all manner of Engines for Batt'ry, reared up Ladders for a general *Escalado*. This the Earl of *Beziers* beholding, and judging it impossible to defend the City, he went out, and cast himself down at the Legates feet, beseeching him not to punish the innocent with the nocent, which must needs be, if the Town were taken by storm. He told him, That there were in the City great numbers of good Catholicks, which would be subject to the same ruine with the *Albigenses*. He desired him also to commiserate him now in his minority that was a most obedient Servant to the Pope, and had been brought up in the *Romish* Church, in which he would live and die. The Legate told him, That all his excuses prevailed nothing, and that he must do as he may. The Earl returned into the City, assembled the People, and told them, That he could obtain no mercy from the Legate, except all the *Albigenses* would come and abjure their Religion, and promise to live according to the Laws of the Church of *Rome*. The Popish party requested the *Albigenses* to yield to this, but the *Albigenses* answered, That they would not forsake their Religion for the base price of their frail life; that *God* was able, if he pleased, to defend them; but if he would be glorified by the Confession of their Faith, it should be a great honor to them to die for his sake: That they had rather displease the Pope, who could but kill their Bodies, then *God*, who could cast both Body and Soul into Hell, &c.

*Beziers besieged.*

*Faith and Courage.*

Then did the Popish party send their Bishop to the Legate, beseeching him not to include them in the chastisement of the *Albigenses*, and that the best way to win the others, was by gentle means, not by rigor: The Legate grew into great choler at this, swearing, *That if all the City did not acknowledge their fault, they should all taste of one Cup, without distinction of Religion, Sex, or Age*. And accordingly he summoned the City presently to yield to his discretion, which they refusing, He caused that his Engines should play, and that a general Assault should be given.

It was impossible for them within the City to resist so great violence, being assaulted by above an hundred thousand Pilgrims: So that the Enemies entred, and slew a great multitude, and set the City on fire, and burnt it to Ashes. When the City was first taken, the Priests and Monks came forth of the great Church, with Banners and Crosses, singing, *Te Deum Laudamus*; but the Soldiers, who were commanded by the Legate to kill all, ran upon them, made their Heads and Arms to flie about the Streets; so that they were all cut in pieces.

*Beziers stormed. Barbarous cruelty.*

In this City of *Beziers* they slew Sixty thousand Persons, the Popes Legate saying to the Captains and Soldiers, *Cadite eos omnes, novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus. Kill them all [Catholicks and Hereticks] for the Lord knoweth who are his.*

Then were these Pilgrims presently conducted to *Carcasson* Before the forty days of service, which they had vowed to the Church of *Rome*, were expired.

The Earl of *Beziers* when he saw that he could obtain no favor of the Legate, before the City was taken, left his charge to the Bishop, and went to *Carcasson* endeavoring to prepare and furnish it for a long siege: But the Legates Army followed him presently, unto which there came a new supply of Crossed-Soldiers out of sundry Countreys; so that his Army now consisted of Three hundred thousand fighting Men.

Near to the City of *Carcasson*, was a Town of the same name: The City was seated on an Hill, and fenced with a double Wall; yet the Pilgrims thought to take it at the first sight, and therefore ran with great violence upon the first Rampier, filling the Ditch with Faggots; but they were beaten back with such courage, that the Ground was covered with their dead Bodies. The young Earl of *Beziers* won much honor in this first encounter, encouraging his Men, and telling them, *That it was better to die fighting, then to fall into the hands of such cruel and merciless Enemies, &c.* The *Albigenses* much encouraged here,

*Carcasson besieged.*

by, swore to him, *That they would spend their lives for the preservation of the City.*

Popish cruelty.

The next Morning the Legate commanded a general Assault to be made upon the Town of Carcasson, which was two miles from the City; and the People valiantly defended themselves, but being oppressed with multitudes, the Soldiers entred the Town, putting all to the sword and fire, as they had done at Beziers.

A brave Speech.

Then came the King of Arragon to the Camp, and told the Legate, *That he understood that his Kinsman, the Earl of Beziers, was in the City; and that with his leave, he would go to him: Not doubting, but that he should prevail with him to do his duty to the Pope and Church.* The Legate gave him leave, and the King approaching to the Rampier, called for the Earl, who came to him. To whom the King said, *That he desired to know of him what moved him to shut up himself in that City, against so great an Army of Pilgrims?* The Earl answered, *That it was to defend his life, goods, and subjects: That he knew well, that the Pope under the pretence of Religion, resolved to destroy his Uncle Remund and himself: That he saw the cruelty which they had used at Beziers, even against the Priests themselves.* Adding also what they had done to the Town of Carcasson, and that they must look for no mercy from the Legate or his Army; and that therefore he rather chose to die, defending himself with his Subjects, then to fall into the hands of so inexorable an Enemy as the Legate was. *That though he had in his City some that were of another Religion, yet they were such as had wronged none, and were come to his succor in his greatest extremity; and for their good service he was resolved not to abandon them, and that his trust was in God, the Defender of the oppressed: That he would assist them, against that world of ill advised Men, who forsook their own houses, to burn, sack, and ransack, and kill in their houses other Men, without Reason, Judgment, or Mercy.*

Popish cruelty, and uncleanness.

The King returning to the Legate, told him, *That his Cousin was much discontented with his former dealings against his Subjects of Beziers and Carcasson; that he believed, seeing they spared not the Romish Priests, their war was not for Religion, but a kind of Thievery; that he would not yield himself to the discretion of such mercileß men, &c.*

The Legate, after some debate, told the King, *That for his sake he would receive the Earl of Beziers to Mercy; and that with him, Twelve more might come out with Bag and Baggage: But for the rest, he would have them wholly at his discretion; and, that they should all come forth stark naked, Men, women, Maids, and Children, without Shirts, Smocks, or other covering; and that then they might hope well of his mercy, he being the Popes Legate, &c.*

The King much distasteth this Proposition, yet reported it to the Earl of Beziers, who returned answer, *That he would not come forth upon such unreasonable and unjust Propositions, but would defend himself and his subjects, as God should enable him.*

Carcasson stormed.

The Pilgrims repulsed with great loss.

Then did the Legate cause all his Engines to play, commanding, *That they should take the City by Storm;* but he was little pleased, when he saw the loss of a great number of his Pilgrims: For they in the City threw down Stones, Fire, Pitch, Brimstone, and boiling Water, wherewith they so galled the Assaultants, That the Earth was covered, and the Ditches filled with their Dead Bodies, which caused a wondrous noysome stink both in the City and Camp.

This overthrow caused divers of the Crossed Soldiers, having accomplished their forty days service, and thereby gained Paradise, to refuse to conquer more after so fair a purchase; and therefore they returned home.

The Legate being much troubled to see his Army so decreased, thought of this stratagem, He sent for a Gentleman, telling him, that he might do a piece of service, whereby he might not only merit Heaven, but gain a great reward here. Which was, by going to the Earl of Beziers, endeavoring to put him into great fears, and then to persuade him to have recourse to the Legates mercy,



mercy ; and withal, that he should persuade him with great Oaths and Exhortations (whereof he could abolve him at his pleasure) to come with him to the Legate, with assurance, That he should be dismissed safe and sound.

Papists Persecute and Perfidious.

This Gentleman played his part so well, that he brought the young Earl with him. The Legate presently told him, *That he was now his Prisoner till Carcasson was taken ; and till his Subjects had better learned their duty.* The Earl astonished hereat, cryed out, *That he was betrayed, and that Faith was violated with him, &c.* But this nothing prevailed ; for he was presently committed to the Guard, and Custody of the Duke of Burgonne.

The Earl made a Prisoner.

The Inhabitants of Carcasson understanding this, brake forth into tears, and were so astonished, that they now thought of nothing, but how, by flight, to escape the danger ; but that seemed impossible, being invironed with such an Army. At last one told them, *That he heard some old Men say, that there was a certain Vault under Ground, great and large, which went to the Castle of Cameret, three leagues off.* Then were all the Citizens imployed to search for this Vault ; and having at last found it, they began their flight in the Evening, with their Wives and Children, carrying with them only some victuals for a few days. This departure was accompanied with much sorrow ; thus to leave all their worldly enjoyments. The next morning they came to the Castle, and from thence dispersed themselves, some to Arragon, others to Catalonia, and others to Tholouse, whether it pleased God to conduct them.

A special Providence.

In the Morning the Pilgrims were strangely astonished, hearing no noise, nor seeing any Man stirring in the City, yet they approached the Walls with much fear, lest it should be but a stratagem to indanger them ; but finding no opposition, they mounted the Walls, crying out, *That the Albigenses were fled :* And thus was the City with all the spoils taken, and the Earl of Beziers committed to Prison in one of the strongest Towers of Carcasson.

Carcasson taken.

Then did the Legate call all the Prelates, and great Lords of his Army together, telling them, *That though it was requisite that there should be always a Legate in the Army, yet it was likewise necessary that there should be a Secular General, wise and valiant, to command in all their Affairs, &c.* This charge was first proffered to the Duke of Burgonne, then to the Earl of Ennevers, and to the Earl of St. Paul ; but they all refused it. Lastly, it was proffered to Earl Simon of Montfort, who after some excuses, accepted of it.

Simon of Montfort made General.

The Earl being made General, settled himself at Carcasson with Four thousand Pilgrims, all the remainders of that huge Army.

After this Earl Remund of Tholouse, went to the French King for his Letters of Commendation to the Pope, to be by him fully cleared from the death of Fryer Peter ; and the Pope thereupon received him courteously, gave him full Remission and Absolution, and thereby declared him sufficiently justified.

Shortly after, the Earl of Beziers died in Prison, and Earl Simon was put into Possession of his Lands ; whereupon, all that bordered upon him, began to fear him ; for, that he gave it out, that the Spring following he would have a great Army of Pilgrims, wherewith he would chastise those that had not acknowledged his authority, given him by the Church. Upon this occasion, Carcasson sent unto him the Keys of their City ; the Castle of Pons yielded to him, and so did all round about Carcasson. But the King of Arragon secretly incouraged the Gentlemen of the Vicountie of Beziers, telling them, *That his Pilgrims would be uncertain ; and would not stay long with him ; and that if, in the mean time, they would but keep themselves in their Garrisons, when he was weary by the departure of his Pilgrims, they might then set upon him, and reduce him to Reason.*

Earl of Beziers died.

The King of Arragon incouraged the Albigenses.

These Messages gave such incouragement to the Gentry, that the Earl Simon being gone to Montpellier, they took Arms to shake off his yoke, besieging some

## The Persecution of the Albigenses.

of his Soldiers in a Tower near to *Carcasson*; the Earl hearing of it, presently returned to succor them, but the Tower was taken before he came: Which affront brought him into some contempt. Then Captain *Boucard*, belonging to Earl *Simon*, attempted to surprize the strong Castle of *Cabaret*, making his approach thereto as secretly as he could. Captain *Roger* commanding therein for Earl *Remund*, was come forth with Eighty Horse to Forrage. *Boucard* on the sudden charged him: But *Roger* doubled the charge in so furious a manner, that he overcame *Boucard's* party, and brought him prisoner into that Castle that he came to surprize.

Earl *Simon's*  
pride abated.

*Gerard* of *Pepios* took part with the *Albigenses*, so that the War grew hot: And all the Men that Earl *Simon* took, he caused a great fire to be made, and cast them into it; neither did his Men escape scot-free, when they fell into their Enemies hands.

Prodigious  
cruelty.

The City of *Carcasson* was hereupon stricken with great fear, having little hope to defend themselves, but by flight, being invironed on all sides by their Enemies. About this time Earl *Simon* wrote to all the Prelates through *Europe*, that if in the Spring following, they did not send him good store of Pilgrims, he could hold out no longer against his Enemies, having since the last departure of his Pilgrims, lost above Forty Towns and Castles: And whilst that he waited for these new Succors, he surprized the Castle of *Beron*, where he pulled out the eyes of above a hundred *Albigenses*, and cut off their Noses, leaving only one with one eye to guide the rest to *Cabaret*.

*Menerbe* taken.

Anno 1210. Earl *Simon* being shut up in *Carcasson* for want of Soldiers, heard that his Wife was coming from *France* with many Pilgrims; whereupon he went out to meet her. These Pilgrims he imployed against the Castle of *Menerbe*, which at last was yielded up to him for want of Water. This Castle was defended by *Remund*, Lord of *Termes*, and was situated in *Narbonne*: One Argument which Earl *Simon* used to stir up his Crossed Soldiers to fight manfully against it, was, *For that (saith he) there hath been no Mass sung in it, since the year One thousand one hundred and eighty, which is now thirty years.* Upon the surrender of the Castle, they labored to draw this Noble Lord to recant his Religion, and turn Papist; but finding him immovable, they shut him up in a straight prison, where shortly after he died: They also took his Wife, Sister, and Daughter, who was a Maid, and other Noble Women, with whom they labored to withdraw them from the truth, both by flattery and frowns, by fair speeches, and cruel threats; but when they saw that nothing would prevail, they made an huge fire, casting them into the same, and burning them. *Godfridy Annales.* Also after his taking of the said Castle, he caused a Fryer to Preach to the People, and to exhort them to acknowledge the Pope and Church of *Rome*: But they not staying till he had done, cryed out, *we will not forsake our Faith, you labor but in vain, for neither life nor death shall make us abandon our Belief.* Then did the Earl and Legate cause a great fire to be made, and cast into it a hundred and fourscore Men and Women, who went in with joy, giving God thanks, for that he was pleased so to honor them, as to die for his Names sake. They also told Earl *Simon*, *That he would one day pay dear for his cruelties.* All that saw their valor, and constancy were much amazed at it.

Courage and  
Constancy.

The Castle of  
*Termes* taken.

Six thousand  
Pilgrims slain.

Horrible cru-  
elty.

After this, the Earl besieged the Castle of *Termes*, which also at last was taken for want of Water; yet they within the Castle, when they perceived that they could hold out no longer, one night quit the place, and passed away undiscovered. The Castle of *la Vaur*, was also besieged, in which there were many godly People. Thither came many Pilgrims to the Legate, from all Countreys; and amongst others, Six thousand *Germans*, of whose coming the Earl of *Foix* hearing, he laid an ambush for them, overthrew and slew them all, not one escaping but an Earl that carried the news to Earl *Simon*. After six Moneths siege, the Castle of *Vaur* was taken by assault, where all the Soldiers were put to the Sword, save Eighty Gentlemen, whom Earl *Simon* caused to be



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be hanged, and the Lord *Aimeri*, on a Gibbet higher than all the rest: The Lady his Sister, called *Giranda*, was cast into a Ditch, and there covered with Stones.

And for the rest of the People, a very great fire was made, and they were put to their choice, Whether they would forsake their opinions, or perish by the flames: There were scarce any of them found that would do the first, but exhorting one another, they went into the kindled fire of their own accord, saith *Alfredore*, but more probably they were forced into the same, where joyfully they resigned up their Spirits unto God. Some say, that they were about Four hundred persons that thus perished by fire.

After the return of the Earl *Remund* from the Pope, the Legate still sought to intrap him, but the Earl would not come again within his reach. Then did the Legate send the Bishop of *Tholouse* to him, who pretended a great deal of love and friendship to the Earl, and by his subtilty, at last, prevailed with him, to proffer his strong Castle of *Narbonnes* to them to lodge in as they passed that way. But as soon as the Legate and his company were entred, they seized upon it, and put into it a Garrison; which was a continual vexation to all his Subjects.

The Legate resolves upon the utter extirpation of Earl *Remund*, and all his house, as the head of the *Albigenses*, but presently after this Legate dying, Earl *Simon* was frustrated of this hope.

About this time, the *English* who now possessed *Guienne*, which bordereth upon the Earldom of *Tholouse*, began to help the *Albigenses*, being stirred up thereto by *Reynard Lollard*, a godly, and learned Man; who by his powerful Preaching converted many to the Truth, and defended the Faith of the *Albigenses*: For which, they were so eagerly pursued, and constantly suffered Martyrdom. And this they did the rather, not only for their Neighbor-hoods sake, or for that *Simon* Earl of *Leicester* was a Rebel, and Traytor to their King, but because this *Remund* Earl of *Tholouse*, whom they so cruelly whipped, and otherwise abused, and had now also Excommunicated, was Brother in Law to King *John*: For his former Wife was *Joane*, sometimes Queen of *Sicily*, which *Joane* was King *Johns* Sister, and bare to the Earl of *Tholouse*, *Remund*, who succeeded his Father, both in the Earldom, and in his trouble. *John le Mayer* much commendeth this *Lollard*, saying, That he foretold many things by Divine Revelation, which (saith he) came to pass in my time; and therefore he putteth him into the rank of holy Prophets. And for his learning, it is evident by his Comment upon the Revelation, where he setteth forth many things that are spoken of the Roman Antichrist. This worthy Man was afterwards apprehended in *Germany*; and being delivered to the Secular Power, was burnt at *Collen*.

Anno 1211. A new Legate called *Theodosius* was appointed to succeed, who Excommunicated Earl *Remund*, and the Bishop of *Tholouse*, thereupon sent the Earl word that he must depart out of the City; for that he could not say Mass whilest an Excommunicated Person was in the City. The Earl returned this Answer, being nettled at his insolency, That he (the Bishop) should presently depart out of his Territories, and that upon pain of his Life. Accordingly the Bishop departed, and took with him the Canons of the Cathedral Church, with the Cross, Banner, and Host, and all of them bare-footed in Procession. Coming thus to the Legates Army, they were received as persecuted Martyrs, with the tears of the Pilgrims, and general applause of all.

Hereupon the Legate thought that he had sufficient cause to persecute Earl *Remund*, as a relapsed and impenitent Man: But first he sought by craft to get him into his power, and with his fair flattering Letters, he at last drew him once again to *Arles*: The Earl had requested the King of *Arragon* to meet him there. When they were both come, the Legate commanded them upon the pain

Popish subtilty.

The Legate dies.

The English help the Albigenses.

Popish Pride.

Popish Hypocritie.

of

Articles a-  
gainst Earl  
Remund.

of his high Indignation, that they should not depart, but with his leave. Whilest they were there, the Earl was privately shewed by a Friend, the Articles of the Legate, to which he would inforce him to subscribe; which were these.

- I. **T**hat the Earl of Tholouse should presently dismiss, and cashier all his Men at Arms, not restraining one.
- II. That he shall be obedient, and subject to the Church; and repair all the costs and damages which the Church hath been at.
- III. That in his Lands, no Man should eat of more then two sorts of Flesh.
- IV. That he shall expel out of his Territories, all the Hereticks and their Allies.
- V. That he shall deliver into the hands of the Legate, and of Earl Simon, all those persons that shall be named unto him.
- VI. That no Man in his Lands, whether noble or ignoble, shall wear any costly Apparel, but black course Cloaks.
- VII. That all his Castles of Defence shall be razed to the Ground.
- VIII. That no Gentlemen of his shall live in any City or Castle, but in Countrey Houses, or Villages only.
- IX. That he shall not levy in his Land any Taxes or Tolls, but such as in old time were accustomed.
- X. That every Master of a Family, shall pay yearly four Tholousian pence to the Legate.
- XI. That when Earl Simon shall pass through his Countreys, he shall bear their charges.
- XII. That after his performances of these things, he shall go into the Holy Land to fight against the Turk, and never return again into his own Countrey, but by the leave of the Pope, or his Legate.

Earl Remund  
in danger.

Remund having read over these Articles, shewed them to the King, who advised him presently to mount on Horsback, least seizing upon him, they might the better become Masters of all his Estate, which accordingly he did. The Legate was much troubled that he had thus lost his prey, and despairing to do any more by subtilty, he resolved to set upon him by force; and thereupon he besieged the Castle of *Montferrand*, where *Baldwin*, the Brother of the Earl of *Tholouse* was Governor. *Baldwin*, at least, pretending inability to defend the place, yielded it up, and abjuring his opinions turned Papist.

His Brother  
betrays him.

The Earl of *Tholouse* seeing himself thus betrayed by his Brother, lamented exceedingly; but a greater mischief soon after befel him: For the Legate, and Earl *Simon* won from him by their subtilty, the King of *Arragon*, his only prop under God: And that by this means, they agreed, That the King of *Arragon*'s Daughter should be married to Earl *Simons* eldest Son, in consideration whereof, the King of *Arragon* invested *Simon* in the Earldom of *Beziers*; and now they intend jointly to besiege *Tholouse*. For which end, the Bishop of *Tholouse* was sent to levy Soldiers in *France*, and at his return hasted to *Tholouse*: Which Earl *Remund* hearing of, sallied out of the City with Five hundred Horse, and some Foot, marching to the Bridge which goeth over the River of *Garonne*, not far from *Tholouse*, hoping either to gain it, or to break it down: But being overpowered by multitude, he was forced to make a retreat, and the Enemy pursued him to the very Gates of *Tholouse*. But Earl *Remund* seeing their insolency, sallied out again with a greater strength, and charged them so gallantly, that he beat them back to the Bridge, which being but narrow, he slew almost all of them there; and took prisoner, amongst them, *Aimery*, the Son of Earl *Simon*. Earl *Simon* hearing of this loss, hasted with all his Army to the City, and gave a furious Assault to it; but the Ditches were soon filled with the dead Bodies of the Enemy, beaten from their Scaling Ladders; and the Earl himself

*Tholouse* be-  
sieged.

The Pilgrims  
beaten.



himself was beaten from his Horse. In the midst of this assault, came the Earl of *Campeigne* soon enough to be well beaten for his welcome. Earl *Simon* finding such stout resistance from the Citizens, caused his Pilgrims to spoil the Orchards, Gardens, and Vineyards about the City, which being perceived, the President of *Argeles* issued out of the City suddenly, and slew a number of the Pilgrims, and on another part, the Earl of *Foix* slew as many as he could meet with.

The Siege ended.

The Earl of *Bar* seeing the disorder of the Popish Army, cryed out, a *Bar*, a *Bar*, but the Citizens of *Tholouse* charged him so bravely, that being discomfited, he was fain to fly amongst the rest. After this Victory, Earl *Remund* returning to *Tholouse*, caused publick, and solemn thanks to be returned unto God, for the same.

Earl *Simon* after this, led his Army into the Country of the Earl of *Foix*, who was now sick, where he took some Towns: Also the Legat with another part of the Army went to *Roquemaure*, and in his way, took the Tower of *Cassas*; and caused above an Hundred Men that were found therein most cruelly to be burned alive, and levelled the Tower to the Earth.

Popish perfidy, cruelty, and

Earl *Remund* being much afflicted for the loss, and alienation of his ancient Friend the King of *Aragon*, studied how he might regain him, and for that end propounded a match between his only Son, and Heir, and the King of *Aragon*'s Daughter, which motion the King readily imbraced, and so their amity was again revived.

Not long after the King of *Aragon* sent a Letter of defiance to Earl *Simon*, who sent the same all over Christendom to stir up Pilgrims to assist him for the destruction of the King, who (as he said) was now become the Captain of the *Albigenses*: And in the mean time the Popes Legate, raising an Army in *France*, went speedily into the Earldom of *Foix*, and took some Towns, putting all to the Sword without distinction of sex or age, and taking also *St. Antonies*, he caused Thirty of the principal Men to be hanged in cold Blood, after he had granted them their lives.

Anno Christi 1213. Peter King of *Aragon* with a great Army of *Aragonians*, and *Tholousians* besieged *Muret*, a strong Town situated upon the River *Garonne* near unto *Tholouse*: There was in his Army the Earls of *Tholouse*, *Comminges*, and of *Foix*; But the night following, the Popish Bishops sent two Friars to him, desiring him to take pity on the Church, and not to undertake the defence of the *Hereticks*, but they labored in vain, for the King would not desert them, whereupon they prepared the next day to give him Battle, and whilst *Simon Monfort* was encouraging his Soldiers, the Bishop of *Tholouse* carried a Crucifix in his hand, whereupon the Captains alighting, adored it with an humble kiss. Then the Bishop of *Comminges*, getting upon an high place, took the Crois in his hand, and blessed the Army with it, promising forgiveness of all sins to all that died in that quarrel: Hereupon *Simon* divided his Army into three Battalies in the Name of the *Trinity*, and so joyning Battle, they fought very gallantly on both sides, till at length the King of *Aragon* was slain, and so God (who doth not always prosper the best cause) gave the Victory to the Popelings, and there were slain in the fight and pursute, about Two millions of the *Albigenses*, as their Enemies reported. The *Albigenses* attributed this loss to Gods Judgment upon the humane confidence of the King, who trusted too much in his great numbers, and was Feasting whilst his Enemies were plotting.

After this Victory the Popes Agents sent abroad their Letters into divers Countries for a new supply of Pilgrims utterly to root out the *Hereticks*.

With this Victory Earl *Simon* was so puffed up, that he summoned the Earls of *Tholouse*, *Foix* and *Comminges*, and the Prince of *Bearn*, to deliver to him the Keys of those Cities and Castles which they possessed: They returned no answer, but each of them betook himself to his own Territories, to provide the best they could for their affairs.

Earl *Remund* retired to *Montallon*, wrote to them at *Tholouse*, that understanding that the Bishop of *Arras* was coming with a great Army of Pilgrims against them, and that he was altogether disabled to defend their City, he did therefore advise them that they should make the best terms they could for themselves with Earl *Simon*, yet desired them to reserve their Hearts for him, till God should give him means to free them from those miseries. In the interim, the Earls of *Foix*, *Comminges*, and the Prince of *Bearn* did what they could to infest the Enemies Armies.

Popish Persecutions.

Upon the former advice the Citizens of *Tholouse* sent some Deputies to Earl *Simon*, to proffer him the Keys of their City, whom he received honorably, and presently wrote to *Lewis* Son of King *Philip*, that the City of *Tholouse* was offered to him, but his desire was that he should come and have the honor of taking it: The Prince went thither immediately, and had *Tholouse* delivered to him: Yet the Legate resolved that the pillage of it should be given to his Pilgrims, and the City dismantled, which was presently executed, though contrary to the promise made to the Citizens, that no wrong should be done to the City.

Subtily.

Then came there a new Legate of the Popes called *Bonaventure* with those that had taken on them the Cross. viz. The Earl of *St. Paul*, the Earl of *Savoy*, the Earl of *Alençon*, the Vicount of *Melun*, *Matthew de Montmorency*, and other great Lords. The Legate seeing so many Pilgrims, feared lest Prince *Lewis* should take upon him to dispose of divers places held by the *Albigenses*, to the prejudice of the Church: Whereupon he presently sent to all those places Absolution and Protection, so that when the Prince came against them, they shewed that they were under the protection of the Church: Yea the Legate told the Prince, that since he had taken upon him the Cross, he was to be subject to his commands; because he represented the person of the Pope, whose pardons (saith he) you come to obtain by obeying the Church, and not by commanding as the Son of a King. The Prince dissembled his displeasure at this audaciousness; and the poor *Albigenses* were so oppressed by new Armies of Pilgrims, that they sunk under the burthen of it.

The Prince, when his forty days service were expired, retired himself, being much discontented to see so much tyranny exercised against the *Albigenses*.

Then did Earl *Simon* besiege the Castle of *Foix*, but having lain ten days before it, he found to his cost that the place was not to be won by him: For where as Earl *Simons* Brother quartered at *Varilles*, the Earl of *Foix* dislodged him, and slew him with his lance, putting to flight all his Men. News hereof being brought to Earl *Simon*, he swore that he would drive the Earl of *Foix* behind the *Pyreanean* Mountains: But presently he had intelligence that a great Army of the *Arrogonois*, and *Catalunians* were come into the Earldom of *Beziers*, threatening to be revenged on him for the death of their good King, whereupon he levied his siege in haste, and marched thitherwards: But the Earl of *Foix*, who knew the passages better than he, lay in ambush for him in a place fit for his turn, and suddenly setting upon his Pilgrims, slew a great number of them, only Earl *Simon* with a few others escaped, and went to *Carcaçson*; but before he camethither, the *Arrogonois* were gon, else might they easily have discomfited him; yet shortly after they returned again, and Earl *Simon* was soundly beaten by them, so that he was forced to shut himself up in *Carcaçson*, till he had a new supply of Pilgrims.

Earl Simon beaten.

Shortly after came *Remund* the Son of Earl *Remund* out of *England*, where he had been bred under his Uncle King *John*, with an Army, and quickly made himself Master of the City of *Beaucaire*, and almost famished them that held the Castle, so that they yielded it up to depart with their baggage. There Earl *Simon* lost a hundred Gentlemen that he had laid in ambush near unto the City, whom young *Remund* in a sally cut in pieces.

Young Remund's success.



## The persecution of the Albigenses.

**1210.** The Legate called a Council at *Montpelier*, for renouncing of the Army of the Church, and to confirm the authority of *Earl Simon*, where they declared him to be Prince of all the Countries conquered from the *Albigenses*, which Title was confirmed to him by the Pope also. Who stiled him, *The active and victorious Soldier of Jesus Christ, and the invincible defender of the Catholick Faith.* But whilest *Earl Simon* was in the Council receiving this his new honor, a great rumor was heard in the City, and a Messenger brought word that the people, hearing that *Earl Simon* was there, betook themselves to their Arms, purposing to kill him, whereupon he stole away by the Walls of the City on foot, without any company, and so escaped, so that in one hour he saw himself honored as a God, and flying disguised, hiding himself like a base scoundrel, for fear of the rascal multitude.

*Earl Simon honored.*

*And Albigenses fled.*

*A Council against the Albigenses.*

*Popish cruelty.*

**Anno Christi 1215.** There was a Council held by the Pope at *Lateran*, where they gave the Inquisitors such power against the Gopellers, that poor people were every where horribly tortured that were but suspected for *Heresie*, and (as *Tritemius* saith) *Frier Conradus* of *Adampurg*, the Popes Inquisitor, if he but suspected any as guilty of *Heresie*, used to try them by the judgment of red hot Irons, and such as were burned by the Irons he delivered as *Hereticks*, to the secular power, to be burned in the flames, whereupon most of those that were accused, were by him condemned to be burnt, few escaping the hot Irons: In so much as Noble, Ignoble, Clerks, Monks, Nuns, Burghesses, Citizens, and Country-men were under the name of *Heresie* (by too head-long a sentence of the Inquisitor on the same day whereon they were accused) cast into the cruel flames, no refuge of appeal or defence doing them any good. By the same *Lateran* Council, *Earl Simon* had the forementioned lands of the *Albigenses* confirmed to him, and thereupon he hastened to the King of *France* to receive investiture, and as he went (saith the Monk of *Serway*) in every City and Town the Popish Clergy, and people met him, crying, *Blessed is he that cometh to us in the name of the Lord*, and every Man thought himself happy that could but touch the hem of his garment.

*People met him, crying, Blessed is he that cometh to us in the name of the Lord.*

When he had received his Investiture from the King of *France*, being attended with an hundred Bishops that had preached the Cross in their Dioceses, and with an exceeding great Army of Pilgrims he hastened to make himself Lord of all those Countries, which the Pope had given him. So that all men trembled at his approach, and with this great Army of Pilgrims he took in divers places, using great cruelty, putting Men, Women and Children to the Sword. Then was he marching to *Tholouse*, purposing to pillage and raze it to the ground: But by the way, his Wife sent him word that he must speedily come to her relief, being besieged in the Castle of *Narbonnes*, by the Earl of *Tholouse*. But by this time many of his Pilgrims were returned into *France*.

*A new Army of Pilgrims.*

*Cruelty.*

Yet *Earl Simon* hastened to the relief of his Wife, and being come before *Tholouse*, the people by their frequent sallies made that place too hot for his abode. The Legate perceiving that he was much astonished at it, said to him, *Fear nothing, we shall quickly recover the City, and then we will destroy all the inhabitants, and if any of our Pilgrims are slain in the fight, they shall be Martyrs, immediately pass to Paradise.* Hereupon one of *Earl Simon's* great Captains said, *Monsieur Cardinal, you talk with great assurance, but if the Earl believe you, it will be little for his profit, for you, and other Prelates have been the causes of all this evil, and will be of more, if he believe you.* Then was it resolved that the City should be besieged on the side of *Gaston*, but the Citizens made such a blunt salley, that they put their Enemies to flight, and presently the Earl of *Fair* coming with some supplies, fell upon *Earl Simon*, chased him to the River *Garonne*, where many of his Pilgrims were drowned, and the Earl with his Horse fell into the River, and hardly escaped.

*A Popish lie.*

*Earl Simon beaten.*

The Earl *Remond* caused publick Thanksgiving to God for this happy Victory.

*Thanksgiving.*

Earl *Simon* being in great perplexity, a Bishop bid him be of good comfort, for that the Cardinal had sent Messengers throughout the world to raise him succors, and so he was enforced to wait, with much impatience, the coming of these new supplies.

Many Pilgrims  
slain.

*Anno 1218.* There came to him a Hundred thousand Pilgrims, and he was resolved that they should earn their pardons, knowing that at the end of forty days they would vanish: Whereupon the next morning they were ordered to give a general assault to *Tholouse*: But Earl *Remund* perceiving in the night that they were very secure, because of their great multitude, he sallied out upon them; and that with so good success, that ere morning all the Field was covered with their dead bodies, and the Earl with his Men being weary with killing, returned into the City to give thanks unto God for his assistance.

Then did Earl *Simon* enter into the Castle of *Narbonnes* to see if he could discern any way to enter into the City, but finding none, it much troubled him, whereupon two Lords gave him Counsel to come to some honorable agreement: yet the Cardinal *Bertrand* told him that there was no need for him so to do, To whom one of them answered, *Monsieur Cardinal, pray you where find you that you should take from Earl Remund, and his Son that which belongs unto them: if I had known as much as I know now, I had never taken upon me this business.*

Earl Simon  
slain by a Wo-  
man.

After nine months siege the Citizens of *Tholouse* made another sally, killing as many of the crossed Soldiers as they encountered with; and Earl *Simon* coming in to the relief of his Men, had his Horse shot in the head with an Arrow, which caused him to run away with him, which one of the *Albigenses* seeing, with his Cross-bow he shot him thorow the thigh; *Simon* perceiving that he lost much blood, was laboring to get out of the press, but just at that present, a Woman discharging an Engine from the Walls of *Tholouse*, a stone parted his head from his shoulders, and thus by Gods just judgment, he that had been the deflowerer and murtherer of many Women, was himself slain by a Woman.

Prince Lewis  
his cruelty.

Upon his death, the Legate and all the Bishops fled, never staying till they came to *Carcasson*, the Pilgrims disbanded and returned to their homes, and Earl *Remund* caused a publick Thanksgiving to be returned to Almighty God for this so signal a deliverance.

Afterwards, at the instigation of the Pope, Prince *Lewis* of *France* went, and besieged *Tholouse*; But finding the business too hot for him, he returned without doing any thing of note: yet in this journey he took the Town of *Arromand*, wherein he cruelly put to the Sword Men, Women, and Children to the number of Five thousand.

Upon his return the Legate *Bertrand* being weary of these Wars, wrote to Pope *Honorius* the Third, desiring to be recalled because of his age: yet withall, he signified a necessity of continuing these Wars. Otherwise (saith he) not only the lands of the *Albigenses* will be lost, but the Church of *Rome* it self will be ruined, the Doctrine of the *Albigenses* shaking the authority of the Popes themselves: And (saith he) this War hath cost us very dear, for within less than fifteen years there hath died above Three hundred thousand Crossed Soldiers: and therefore all will be lost, except these *Hereticks* be utterly destroyed.

Earl Guido  
slain.

This occasioned the Pope to send a new Legate [*Conradus* Bishop of *Rome*] Also he granted to all Crossed Soldiers that fought against the *Albigenses* the same indulgences as to those that went to fight against the *Saracens* in the Holy Land: Moreover he took King *Philip* of *France* into his Protection, and made peace betwixt him, and young King *Henry* the Third of *England*: so that *Philip* wholly bent himself to root out the Gospellers.

*Anno Christi 1220.* Earl *Guido* of *Monfort*, Son and Heir to Earl *Simon* went against the *Albigenses*, but was soon after slain by the Earl of *Saint Giles* as he besieged



besieged a Castle in *Tholouse*: Then did his Brother *Merick* besiege the same Castle, and swore that he would never depart from it till he had taken it: But after a while, his hoped-for aides failed him, he was fain to leave the siege and depart. After whole departure the *Albigenses* recovered many places.

*Anno Christi 1221.* The young Emperor *Frederick*, by the instigation of the Pope, published a cruel, and bloody Edict against the Gospellers within his Dominions, wherein he damned them with perpetual ignominy, and declared them publick Enemies: Commanding their goods to be confiscated, without redemption, and their Sons to be disinherited. As also that all of them that were apprehended by the Inquisitors or others, should be kept in Prison, till they were killed with an abominable death: The like punishment he commanded to be inflicted on all such as should aid, or assist them. Also he took away all benefit of appeal from such as were receivers, or favorers of them. And further, he commanded that their Houses, and the Houses of such as should receive, defend, or favor them, either where they have taught, or where they have laid on hands, should be plucked down, and never more repaired.

The Emperor's  
cruel Edict  
against them.

The Gospellers  
less disposed.

Also the same year some of these *Albigenses* going into *Bosnia* and *Dalmatia* drew many of the People to imbrace their Faith, whereupon the Bishop of *Collen* was sent thither by Pope *Honorius* as his Legate, and required to force them to return to the *Catholic Faith* (as they called it) either by perswasion, or by the arms of the Crossed Soldiers, but when neither prevailed, he being a weary of the work, left it to the *Frier predicants* to see if by arguments they could convince and convert them, *Columninus* the King assisting them: and (saith mine Author) when they had got footing, they burnt with fires those that were obstinate in their *Hereses*, and purged the Churches which were defiled by them: *Leander de veris illust. ordinis predicatorum*.

Persecuted.

*Anno Christi 1223.* *Bartholomew*, the Bishop of the *Albigenses* of *Tholouse*, ordained a Bishop for *Bulgary*, *Croatia*, and *Dalmatia*, where their Faith spread so fast, that Bishops themselves were drawn to be of their opinion, whereupon *Conradus* Bishop of *Portus*, the Popes Legate wrote to the Arch-Bishop of *Rouen*, and his Suffragan Bishops, to meet, with other Bishops at a Council to be held at *Sens* against the said *Bartholomew*: who (saith the Legate) in his Letters, styles himself *Servant of the Servants of God*: and runs about, Creating Bishops, and endeavoring perfidiously to gather Churches. *Mathew Paris*.

The Gospellers  
less disposed.

*Anno Christi 1226.* (Saith the same Author,) The Cross was preached all over *France* by *Romanus* the Popes Legate, against the *Albigenses*, wherein he commanded all that were able to bear arms to sign themselves with the sign of the Cross against the Earl of *Tholouse*, and his people: And at his preaching, a great multitude of Prelates, and Lay-men took upon them the sign of the Cross, yet more for fear of the King of *France*, and for favor of the Legate, than induced by the justness of the cause. But the King of *France* being signed with the Cross, would not take upon him the expedition, unless the Pope would forbid the King of *England* under pain of excommunication to move War against him for any land that he possessed at that present, either justly or unjustly: which accordingly the Pope did, and our King *Henry* the Third upon receipt of the Popes Letters assembled his Nobles to consult with them what he should do upon this inhibition, at which time there was present one Mr. *William Peregrin*, skilful in *Astronomy*, who constantly affirmed before the King, That if the King of *France* took upon him this expedition, he should either never return alive, or else should meet with as great confusion as might be, both of his Person, Estate, and Followers.

The King of  
France signed  
them.

The King of *France* having thus settled his affairs at home, he, together with the Legate, appointed a Peremptory day for the Crossed Soldiers to come to a rendezvous with their Horses, and Arms at *Mont*, from which at the time appointed

he began his expedition with an huge Army which was accounted *Invincible*, whom the Legate followed with Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. In the Army there were reckoned to be Fifty thousand Knights, and Men at Arms on Horse-back, besides an innumerable Company of Footmen; and then did the Legate publicly excommunicate the Earl of *Tholouse*, putting all his favorers, and lands under *Interdict*.

The King thus marching with his glittering *Arms*, and terrible Arms on *Whitsun-Eve* came to *Avignon*, the first City in *Tholouse*, purposing to destroy the whole land of the Earl, from one end to the other, and utterly to root out the Inhabitants thereof: yet very cunningly the King and the Legate sent to the Citizens, only desiring passage through the City, that they might follow their journey the nearest way; The Citizens consulting together, returned answer, That they suspected fraud, neither would they admit them into the City, whereupon the King in a great rage, swore that he would not depart thence till he had taken the City.

*Avignon besieged.*

*A Famine in the Kings Army.*

*A dreadful Judgment.*

The Citizens valiantly defended themselves so that the siege lasted long, and the Earl of *Tholouse* being a skilful Warrior, before the coming of the *French Army*, had withdrawn all kind of Victuals together with the Women, Children, and Cattel into places of safety: Hereupon the Kings Army fell into great wants, so that multitudes perished by Famine: Their Horses and Beasts also were starved; for the Earl had caused all the meddows to be plowed up in the whole Country, so that they had no fodder but what was brought out of *France*: And their wants daily increasing, many Legions went out of the Kings Camp to seek for food, and fodder; But the Earl of *Tholouse* with a flying Army, many times lay in ambush for them, and cut off multitudes of them. They also that lay in the siege before the City were miserably wasted by Darts, and Stones shot in Ingins from the Walls by the Citizens, valiantly defended themselves, and a general Famine overspread all, but it raged most amongst the poorer sort, who had neither food nor money: Also out of the dead Carcasses of Men and Beasts, there bred certain great and black flies, which coming into their Tents by swarms with an horrible humming, infected their meat, and drink; and when they were not able to drive them from their Cups, and Dishes, many of the Pilgrims perished suddenly by their means. But the King and Legate were especially troubled, and confounded to think what reproach it would be to them, and to the Church of *Rome*, that so gallant, and numerous an Army should undertake such an expedition, and be able to effect nothing. Then the chief Princes, and Captains being weary of the long siege amongst so many deaths, sollicite that a general storm might be given to the City, hoping by their multitudes to oppress the Citizens, which being resolved upon, such a great multitude of Armed Men thronged upon the Bridge that goes over the River of *Rhodanus*, that the Bridge breaking under them, Three thousand of them were drowned in that swift River,

*Many of them drowned.*

*The French beaten.*

*The King removes further from the City.*

*A Plague in the French Camp.*

Presently after as the *French* were one day at dinner, the Citizens discovering there carelessness, suddenly sallied forth, and violently setting upon them, suddenly slew Twenty thousand of them without any loss to themselves, and so retired: And the King of *France* commanded the dead bodies to be thrown into the River affording them no other burial: Then did he also remove his siege to a farther distance, and to prevent the like attempts, caused a great ditch to be cast up between the City and his Camp: and the Legate with his Prelates not knowing how otherwise to revenge themselves, *Anathematized* the Earl of *Tholouse*, and all the Subjects: But, whom they cursed, the Lord blessed: For shortly after he sent a very great Plague in the *French Camp*, so that King *Lewis*, to escape the same, retired himself into the Neighboring Abbey of *Monpensier*, where he resolved to remain till the City should be taken unto whom came *Henry*, Earl of *Compaigne*, desiring to be dismissed, having now served his forty days: but the



the King denied his request. To whom the Earl said, *That having performed what was enjoined, he neither might nor would be staid any longer*: The King being very angry hereat, swore that if he departed, he would waite his whole land with fire, and sword; yet the Earl, according to his former resolution, went his ways; and shortly after the Lord struck the King with sickness whereof he died: The Legate, and great Captains concealed his death for a month together, and in the interim sent Messengers laboring to draw the Citizens to a composition, and Commissioners being sent to the Camp, the Legate perswaded them to resign up their City to him upon promise, that they should enjoy their lives, estates, and liberties in a better manner than they had formerly: But they answered, that they would not live under the power of the *French-men*, whose Pride, and insolency they had often tried.

The King of France died.

After a long Parlee, the Legate desired that himself and the Prelates might be admitted into the City, swearing with a great Oath that he had continued the siege so long only that he might seek the salvation of their souls: The Citizens giving credit to his promise, not suspecting his treachery, after mutual Oaths given on either side, admitted him with the Prelates, and their Followers into the City: But contrary to their Oaths the *French-men* followed, violently rushing into the City when the Gates were open, and seizing upon the Citizens they bound them, plundered their Houses, and slew many; and having thus by treachery made themselves Masters of the City, they brake down the Walls, and the strong Towers of that noble City.

Avignon was taken by treachery.

During this siege their perished more than Two and twenty thousand of the Pilgrims, by Famine, sword, Pestilence, and other ways; and so the rest returned to their own homes.

Anno Christi 1228. The Pope [now Gregory] being implacably bent to root out the *Albigenses*, stirred up the young King of France against them, who sent a great Army into *Provence* utterly to destroy them, which Army, hearing that the Earl of *Tholouse* was in the Castle called *Saracen*, they purposed to besiege him as being there shut up: But the Earl having notice of their intent, with strong troops he lay in ambush in a Wood through which they were to pass; and when they were come to the place, he gallantly assaulted them, and after a bloody fight, slew many, took Two hundred Knights, and about Two thousand Men at Arms: The Knights he imprisoned; but of the other he caused some of their Eyes to be pulled out, and to have their Noses cut off, and so dismissed them. That summer the King of France sent three Armies against them, all which were either put to flight, or taken and imprisoned by the said Earl. *Matthew Paris*

The young King of France persecuted them.

His Armies beaten.

Yet the same year, *Imbert* of *Beauvin* went against them with a great Army of Crossed Soldiers, amongst whom were three Arch-Bishops, every one with the Pilgrims of his Jurisdiction: And the Earl of *Tholouse* (being as it seems unprovided) was faine to shut up himself within the Walls of *Tholouse*, where he was strongly besieged by the Pilgrims, who also wasted, and spoiled his Country, and harvest, far and near on every side: And the siege continuing, the Citizens suffered great Famine, and when they were brought to this extremity, the Abbat of *Grandylue* went from the Popes Legate to offer peace to Earl *Remund*, and the *Tholousians*: Some of the Earls Captains dissuaded him from it, knowing the perfidiousness of the Papists, but the cries of the hungry starved multitude prevailed, so that a Truce was agreed upon for certain days, and Earl *Remund* upon the day appointed went to the place where the peace should be concluded. But when he came thither, the Abbat perswaded him that it was necessary that the agreement should be perfected in the presence of the Queen mother, who was Regent of France, and pawned his Faith to him, that if he would go to her, he should go, and return in safety. The Earl overcame by these promises, assented, and *Meaux* was the place chosen by the Queen for their meeting. But as soon as Earl *Remund* came thither, contrary to all Oaths, and engagements, he was made a Prisoner, and had

Tholouse besieged.

A great famine in the city.

Some of the Earls Captains dissuaded him from it.

Popish treachery.

## The Persecution of the Albigenses.

had a guard set upon him that he might not start aside; and instead of a treaty, he must submit to whatsoever should be enjoined,

Unreasonable  
terms put up-  
on the Earl of  
Tholouse.

It was a lamentable thing (saith the Historiographer of *Languedock*) to see so brave a Man, that for so long a time was able to resist the whole power of *France*, to come in his shirt, and linnen breeches bare-foot, and bare-legged to the Altar in the presence of the Cardinals, and their to accept of such hard, and unreasonable conditions as they were pleased to impose upon him: Amongst which these were some; *That he should abjure the Heresie which hitherto he had defended. That for the future he should be subject to the Church of Rome. That he should cast all the Hereticks out of his dominions. That he should give his only Daughter Joane in Marriage to one of the King of France his Brethren. That he should pay a yearly stipend to six Popish Professors of the liberal Arts, and to two Grammarians at Tholouse. That he should take upon him the Cross, and for five years wage war against the Saracens, and other Enemies of the Faith, and Church. And lastly, That he should level with the ground the walls of the City of Tholouse, and the walls of Thirty other Cities, and Castles at the appointment of the Legate, and fill up their ditches, and so remain a Prisoner in the Louver at Paris, till his Daughter Joane was delivered to the Kings Messengers at Carcasson.*

Pope Gregory  
rics Councils  
against them,

*Anno Christi 1229.* Divers Councils were held against the *Albigenses*: One at *Tholouse*, the Acts whereof were proclaimed in that City by *Romanus*, the Popes Legate: Another at *Narbonne*, where more, and more cruel decrees were made against them: A third at *Beziers* exceeding in rigor both the former; and amongst the rest an Oath of abjuration, whereby all Persons, Males at fourteen years old, Females at twelve years old, were to abjure all *Heresie* as they called it, and to swear that they would keep the Faith, and defend the *Catholick Church*, and persecute all the opposers of the same; and that all that took not this Oath within fifteen days, should be held suspected of *Heresie*, and proceeded against accordingly: Also another Article was in these words, *Item, we forbid the use of the Old and New Testament to the Lay-people*; Forbidding expressly that they have not the said Books turned into the vulgar tongue: Also the same year on *Maundy Thursday*, Pope Gregory proclaimed Ecclesiastical censures against them, and sent the prime Inquisitors of *Dominicks Order* into *France* to put the same in execution: He wrote also to *Lewis King of France* to cast all those *Hereticks* out of *France*, and to cause the Earl of *Tholouse* to do the like in his Dominions, and to place new Counsellors about him that might instruct him in the *Catholick Faith*, and Manners, and to cast all such from about him as might corrupt him.

And whereas the Kingdom of *Arragon* was infected with *Heresie*, Pope Gregory gave the Arch-Bishop thereof, and his Suffragans power to erect an Inquisition against them.

Persecution  
continued.

*Anno Christi 1232.* Died *Fulco* Arch-Bishop of *Tholouse*, who had labored twenty six years in extinguishing the Gospellers, whom *Remund of Fulgaerio* succeeded, and so manfully behaved himself, that in his first year he caused Nineteen of the *Albigenses* to be apprehended and put to cruel deaths within his Diocese.

A cruel Edit  
against them.

*Anno Christi 1233.* Queen *Blanch*, and the Popes Legate, so over-awed the Earl of *Tholouse*, that they caused him to make cruel Edicts against his own Subjects of the *Albigensian Religion*: *That they should be persecuted, searched out, and taken. That whosoever could apprehend any one of them, should have a Mark for each of them so taken. That all that were suspected to be of their Religion should be excluded from Office bearing, that all Houses should be pulled down, wherein any of them should be found. That all their goods and Inheritances should be confiscated. That the like should be done to all that should aid or abet them, or that should hinder, or not assist the Inquisitors in the execution of their Office. That whosoever should be suspected of their Heresie, should have an Oath given him to keep the Peace, and the Catholick Faith. That the Houses of such*



such as should be detected of Heresie after their death, should be pulled down: That whoſoever should refuse to wear the Croſs, should have his Goods ſeiſed on, &c.

The ſame year the Inquiſitors were informed, That in the Territories of *Brixia*, there had lately lived one *Guido de Lucha*, who was much honored for his austeri- ty, and integrity of life; but that he died out of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, having been infected with Heresie: Whereupon they ordered his Bones to be digged up and burned.

The Bones of one of them burnt.

The Earl of *Foix* and *Comminges*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, yet remained to be conquered; and the Popes Legate thought that the Earl of *Tholouſe* was the fitteſt perſon to deal with them, whereupon he cauſed him to write to them to perſwade them to imbrace the Catholick Faith, &c. But the Earl of *Foix* returned Answer; That he could not forſake his Faith in ſuch a time, wherein Men might think that he did it rather out of fear, then from any good grounds; and that it was fitter for them to convince him of the truth of their way, then to allure him by promiſes, or force him thereto by Arms: And, that if they brought that world of Pilgrims againſt him, which they threatened, he truſted in God that he ſhould make them know the juſtice of his Cauſe, and repent of the raſhneſs of their Vow. But the Earls Subjects, fearing that their Lord, being aged; and without Wife and Children, ſhould leave them to the mercy of the firſt Conqueror, intreated him to come to a Composition with the Legate; whereupon he began to treat, and at laſt yielded up divers Caſtles into the hands of the King of *France*, upon promiſe, That he would rule with Juſtice and Equity.

A brave Answer.

Anno Chriſti 1234. the Opinions of the *Albigenses* were much ſpred abroad in the Parts of *Spain*, and other adjacent Countreys; and they had Biſhops among them, who boldly preached againſt the *Romiſh* Errors, and eſpecially againſt Tranſubſtantiation: Whereupon a Croiſado was preached againſt them, and a very great Army of Pilgrims being aſſembled together, were by Pope *Gregory* ſent againſt them, who ſlew them all with their Biſhops, ſeiſed on their Cities, and plundered them; whereby (ſaith *Matthew Paris*) they returned rich and joyful into their own Countreys.

Albigenses in Spain.

Perſecuted and deſtroyed.

Alſo about the ſame time, another Army of theſe Pilgrims went againſt others of them on the Borders of *Germany*, who retiring in a Fenny place for their ſecurity, were their all ſlaitt.

Trancavel and others, deſcend them.

But the ſame year the Lord raiſed up *Trancavel*, the Natural Son of the Earl of *Beziers* deceaſed, who was encouraged and aſſiſted by a number of valiant Captains, as, *Oliver de Fumes*, *Bertrand*, *Hugon de Serrelong*, *Bertrand de Villeneuve*, and *Jordaine de Satiat*; who told him, That they would aſſiſt him to revenge the outrages done to his Father, who was deprived of his Land, betrayed, imprifoned, and poiſoned; whereupon he reſolved to recover by the Sword what was ſo unjuſtly taken from him; and before the Enemies had notice of his deſign, he took in divers ſtrong Caſtles: So that the Popes Legate, and Biſhop of *Tholouſe*, were much aſtoniſhed to ſee theſe Men ſtand up for the *Albigenses*, whom they ſuppoſed to have been utterly ſuppreſſed.

Then did the Popes Agents cauſe the Croſs to be Preached, and the Biſhop of *Narbonne* animated the People of his Dioceſs to go againſt them, and to make an end of the poor remainder of the *Albigenses*.

An Army being raiſed, the Popes Legate led it to *Tholouſe*, and when the Citizens appeared upon their Ramparts, he told them, That he was come thither for their preſervation: They thanked him, but withal told him, That if he did not inſtantly retire himſelf, they would give him the chaſe. And preſently came *Trancavel*, who ſo bravely, and valiantly ſet upon the Legates Troops, that he quickly overthrew them, and chaſed them to the very Gates of *Carcaſſon*, and the Legate had much ado to ſave himſelf; but that which moſt angered the Legate, was, That *Trancavel* found entertainment in ſome part of *Carcaſſon*: So that the Pilgrims durſt hardly peep out of the City Gates. And when he heard of any more Pilgrims coming to the Legate, he uſed to meet them, to lay

He prevails exceedingly.

## The Persecution of the Albigenses

Ambushes for them ; so that usually overthrowing them, their designs were marred.

This Man kept the Field till the year One thousand two hundred and forty two, and still prevailed against all the Crossed Soldiers that came against him ; whereupon, *Ameline*, the Popes Legate, wrote to the Pope, That if he caused not the Cross to be Preached in many parts of *Europe*, the Church was like to sustain much damage by this Enemy. For (saith he) *he is more cruel and subtle, then any before him.*

But a little before, the Bishop of *Tholouse* was informed of a certain Matron, who having her Children, Brethren, and Friends about her, was dying an Heretick ; whereupon he ran to her, and found it even so by the confession of the Woman her self : Who desired to die in the Faith of the *Albigenses*, and doubted not to be saved. Then did the Bishop condemn her, and delivered her to the Secular power, who presently carried her forth in the Bed, wherein she lay sick, and burned her.

A dying Woman burnt.

Earl Remund escapes.

*Anno Christi 1235.* Earl *Remund* getting from *Paris*, returned into his own Countrey, and forbad the Citizens of *Tholouse* to company with the Fryers Pre-dicant, and shortly after expelled them the City ; and the Monastery of *Narbonne*, belonging to the same Order of Fryers, was pulled down by the *Albigenses*. And in June following, Pope *Gregory* the Ninth made new Inquisitors against the *Albigenses* in *Arragon* and *France*.

He is forced to submit.

*Anno Christi 1236.* King *Lewis* of *France* wrote to the Pope, That Earl *Remund* had violated the Covenants which he had made with the Church, and had cast the Bishops Clergy and Fryers out of *Tholouse*, and brought Hereticks into their rooms ; whereupon he desired that he might be reduced into Order, &c. And indeed, by the Power of the Pope, and King, he was forced to recal the Popish Clergy, and to banish the *Albigenses*, and to take upon him the Sign of the Cross for the aid of the *Holy Land*, by way of Penance for his former Deeds.

Persecution in Italy.

The same year many imbracing the Faith of the *Albigenses* beyond the *Alps*, Inquisitors were sent against them, especially one Fryer *Robert*, who caused many of both Sexes to be apprehended ; and when they continued constant in the true Faith, and would not renounce the same, in the space of two or three Moneths, he caused fifty of them (saith *Matthew Paris*) either to be burnt or buried alive.

1240.

Earl Remund prospers.

*Anno Christi 1239.* the King of *France* having Garrisoned divers Castles within the Countrey of the *Albigenses*, who greatly oppressed them, they betook themselves to Arms, besieging those Garrisons ; whereupon they sent to the King of *France*, craving that present aid might be sent to them. Then did the King of *France* send the Lord *John* of *Bellemont*, with a great Army to aid them ; who, coming into that Countrey, besieged the strong Castle of *Montreal*, and at last took it, together with divers others belonging to the *Albigenses* ; whereby they were suppressed for that time. But the year after, the Earl of *Tholouse* took Arms again, and assaulted the Earl of *Provence*, who presently sent to the French King for aid ; and the French that were about *Avignon*, hastened to the relief of the Earl of *Provence* : Which the Earl of *Tholouse* hearing of, he lay in Ambush in their way ; and suddenly setting upon them, slew many, and dispersed the rest ; and the War so prospered in his hand, that in a short space he recovered to his former Dominion above twenty Castles from the French, and the Earl of *Provence* ; and sharply punished his Rebels.

Persecution in Milan.

Earl of Provence beaten.

About the same time the Citizens of *Milan*, being provoked thereunto by the Pope and Emperor, burnt many of the *Albigenses*, who were their fellow Citizens.

A great Per-cution,

*Anno Christi 1241.* The Earl of *Tholouse* continuing his Wars against the Earl of *Provence*, almost beat him out of his Countrey ; so that the Earl of *Provence* was feign to send to the Kings of *England* and *France* (who had married his second



second Daughters) to mediate for him; and they writing to the Earl of Tholouse, obtained Peace for their Father in Law.

*Anno Christi 1242.* The Bishops of Narbonne and Albi, and the Seneschal of Carcassonne, apprehended Two hundred of the Albigenses in a certain Castle of Tholouse, who had Bernard Martin of Cathavel, and Raymund Aulbuerui, for their Pastors and Ministers. All these upon Examination, adhering constantly to the true Faith without wavering, were cruelly burnt in the flames. Vignier, Hist. Eccles. And the year following there were Two hundred twenty four more of them burnt likewise.

Pope Urban persecutes them.

Shortly after, it pleased God, that great Contentions arose between the Pope and Emperor, whereby the Gospellers enjoyed some breathing time from their former miseries; yet *Anno Christi 1262.* Pope Urban hearing that, through that Peace, their Doctrine was spread exceedingly, he made a Decree in this Tenor.

**A**lbeit we be bound by our Office, always to endeavor the rooting out the deadly Poyson of Heretical pravity from all parts in the Christian world; yet now in a special manner this duty is incumbent upon us, when we perceive this Plague to be grown up in our Neighborhood, through the iniquity of the times, to the detriment of the Catholick Faith. That therefore the Office of the Inquisition may be the more effectually executed against the Hereticks in the Province of Lumbardy, and parts adjacent; We injoyne you, upon remission of your sins, That you do your uttermost endeavors for the extirpation of it; and that you see, That all Papal and Imperial Laws be executed against them: And for my own part, I will implore the aid of Christian Kings and Princes, that Heaven and Earth may be moved against them.

*Anno Christi 1270.* Petrus Cadarita and Gulielmus Calonicus, were sent as Inquisitors from the Pope, into the Kingdom of Arragon, severely to punish those that had imbraced the Faith of the Albigenses; and amongst others, they condemned Arnaldus Castlebonius; the Viscount, and his Daughter Ermesenda, Countess of Foix. They also decreed their memory to be detestable, commanding their Bones to be digged out of their Graves, and to be burned: They also called Roger, the Nephew of Ermesenda, into judgment for the same crime.

Another Persecution.

*Anno Christi 1281.* There was a great Persecution raised against the Gospellers in the County of Albi, by one William de Gourdon, Captain and President of Carcassonne, under Philip the French King; who by a Proclamation commanded all the Albigenses to be extirpated, and searched out of their Dens and lurking Holes; and all such as favored them to be utterly rooted out: As also, that the innumerable company of their Children, which would not be reduced to the Catholick Faith, and Unity of the Church of Rome, should not be admitted unto the City of Realmont, or the Territory thereof, nor to the place of any honor or office. That such likewise as favored or concealed any of them, should be banished for ever from the City of Realmont, and their Goods wholly confiscated, and their Children be excluded from all honors and dignities. Yet notwithstanding the severity of this Edict, God hid and preserved many of them even in Realmont it self, as Diamonds in Dunghils, though many of them fled into Arragon and Sicily, where they might enjoy more freedom of Conscience.

A cruel Edict.

*Anno Christi 1285.* Gareldus and Segarellus of Parma, and Dulcinus of Nordria, Preached and spread the Doctrine of the Albigenses in Parma, and in many Cities of Lumbardy: Whereupon Pope Honorius by a publick Edict condemned their Doctrine, and commanded them to be rooted out. Bzorius.

They increased and are persecuted.

*Anno Christi 1300.* Pope Boniface commanded Guido the Inquisitor, to dig up the Body of Hermanus (one of the Albigenses) and to condemn and burn it in Ferrara, twenty years after his death.

*Anno Christi 1315.* The Fryers Inquisitors raised a great persecution against the Gospellers in Passaw in Austria, and burned many of them; who continued

very constant in the Faith, and took their death very chearfully. Amongst the rest, one of them that was burnt at *Vienna*, confessed, That there were Eighty thousand of them in *Bohemia* and *Austria* at that time: Their cheifest Ministers were *Bartholomew Faustus*, *James Justus*, *Bononatus*, *William*, and *Gilbert*, of whom, *James* was murdered between two Walls by the merciless Inquisitors: *Bononatus* was burned alive, and *William*, *Gilbert*, and *Bartholomew*, were condemned after their death. The House where they used to Preach, was pulled to the ground, and all that adhered to them were Anathematized.

Lollard.

Anno Christi 1322. *Lollard walterus* (from whom our English Professors were called *Lollards*) was taken at *Collen*, where he had privately Preached, and through Gods Blessing, drawn many from ignorance and errors, to imbrace the Truth, and persisting constantly in his Opinions: He was condemned and burned alive.

Yet notwithstanding all cruelties used against them, their Enemies could never prevail to a total extirpation of them, but they still lay hid like Sparkles under the Ashes, desiring and longing to see that, which now through Gods Grace, their Posterity do enjoy, viz. The Liberty to call upon God in Purity of Conscience, without being inforced to any Superstition and Idolatry: And so instructing their Children in the Service of God, the Lord was pleased to preserve a Church amongst them, in the midst of the *Romish* corruptions, as a Diamond in a dunghil, as Wheat amongst chaff, as Gold in the fire; till it pleased God to disperse the Gospel, in a more general and publick way, by the Ministry of *Luther*, and his Associates and Fellow-Laborers in the Lord: At which time these *Albigenses* received, with greediness, the Doctrine of the Gospel, and so became more eminent in their Profession of Piety, then they were formerly.

LAUS DEO.

Collected out of a Book called *Luthers Forerunners*, and out of *Cades Justification* of the Church of England, and divers other Authors.

Here place the Sixth Figure.

CHAP.



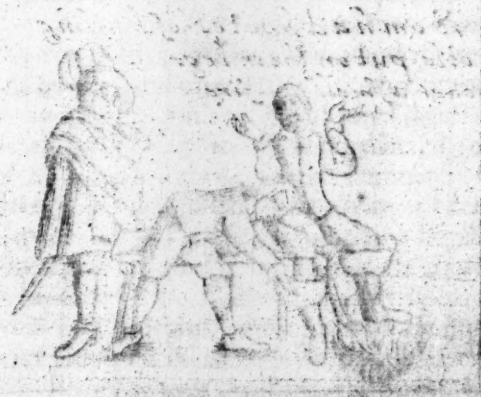
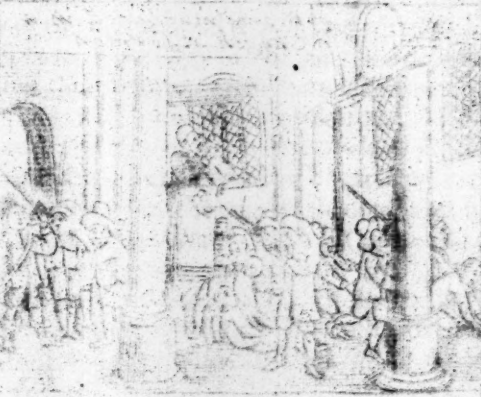
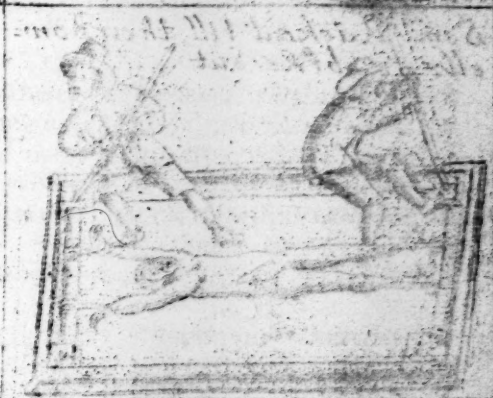
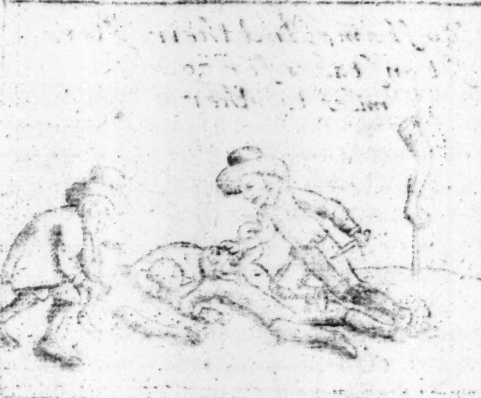
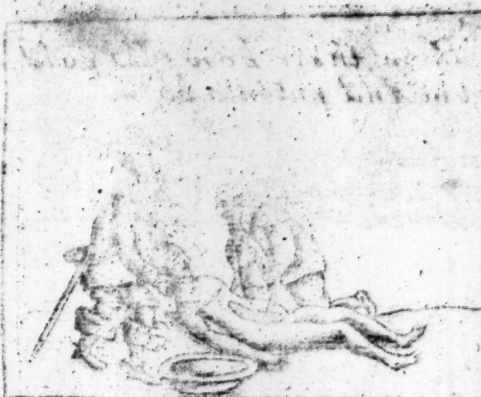


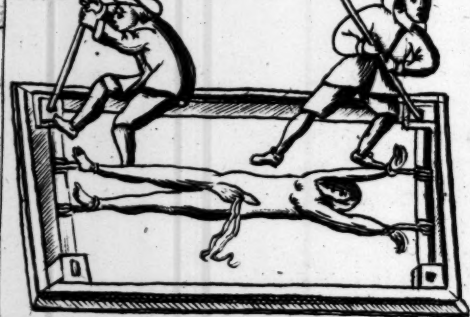
fig: 6.



Som their bowells puld  
out And put in a basin



Som Racked till their Bow-  
ells brke out



80 slaine And their g<sup>r</sup>ers  
set on stakes for 30  
miles together



Womens bellies Ript  
up And their Children  
trod under feet



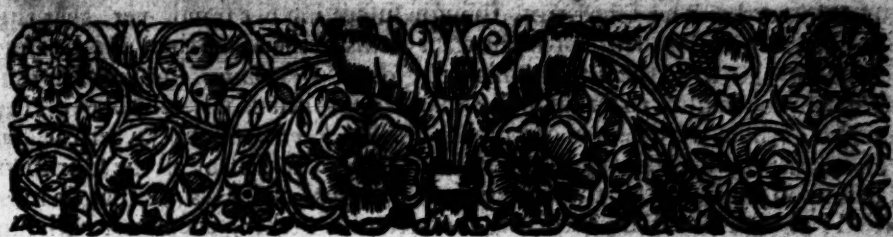
Too 2 tied to gether  
And slaine



Som had bootes of boiling  
oile put on their legs  
ouer a small fire







## CHAP. XXV.

*The Persecution of the Church of God in Bohemia, which began Anno Christi 894.*



**T**He Bohemians were Heathens and Idolaters, till their Duke or Captain *Borivoius* going into *Moravia*, Anno Christi 894. by a strange providence of God was converted to the Knowledge and Faith of Christ; whereupon, he together with Thirty other *Palatines*, was Baptized: At his return into *Bohemia*, he took along with him *Metbudius*, Bishop of *Moravia*, by whose Ministry, *Ludomilla*, the Dukes Wife, was Converted and Baptized.

Christianity brought into Bohemia.

*Borivoius* busying himself in erecting divers Schools and Churches, it pleased God, that, in a short time, a great Harvest was gathered, many of the Nobility and Commons being daily Converted and Baptized; but Satan envying the progress of the Gospel, presently raised up Persecution against the Professors of it. For first of all, *Borivoius* was banished by the wicked Faction of the Idolaters, and then compelled to resign his Dominion to his eldest Son, who being dead, his younger Son *Bolislavus* succeeded, who was a very holy Man, yet was drawn to marry *Drahomira*, famous for Nobility and Beauty, but a Heathen; yet she promised, after instruction, to be Baptized: And during her Husbands life, she cunningly concealed her hatred against Christians, but he being dead, the Grand-mother (*Ludomilla*) educated the elder Son (*Wenceslaus*) and *Drahomira* took the younger (*Bolislavus*) and usurped the Government, commanding the Christian Churches to be shut up, the Exercises of their worship to cease, prohibiting Ministers from instructing the People, and School-masters from teaching Youth; Such as disobeyed were imprisoned, banished, and put to death.

Persecution began.

At *Prague* the Magistrates were changed, and cruel Idolaters substituted in the rooms of Christians, by whose incitements the poor Christians were secretly, openly, and unworthily murdered and abused, whilst the Murderers went away with impunity: But if any Christian killed a Heathen, though in his own defence, ten Christians were massacred for that one. Yet the insatiable cruelty of *Drahomira* was not satisfied herewith, but that she might destroy all the Christians, she dealt with one *Baldass*, a cruel Wretch, whom she had set over the City of *Prague*, earnestly intreating him by fraud or force to effect it, promising him a great reward if he did it. He thereupon Arms Six hundred Conspirators at his own House, with whom he hastens to those that were designed for slaughter: But the plot, through Gods mercy, being discovered to the Christians, Four hundred of them met, to defend their own lives. The issue of the fight was victory to the Christians, the Streets being polluted with the Blood of Six hundred that were slain. Then did *Drahomira* pretend that she was much distressed.

Persecution at Prague.

Christians killed.

the Christians.

Christians.

Three hundred Christians slain.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

Wenceslaus Reigns.

Ludomilla Murdered.

Wenceslaus Murdered.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

Woytich banished.

The Pope usurps over the Bohemians.

pleased with the tumult, commanding, That the Arms of both parties should be brought into the City Magazine, severely forbidding any Man to walk with Dart or Sword. The Christians, though suspecting her fraud, yet, that they might not seem disobedient, brought their Arms to the Magazine, the Enemies pretending also to do the like. This being done, *Drahomira* employs her Cut-throats, in the night, to set upon the unarmed Christians, whereby above Three hundred of them were slain in one night. This *Drahomira* much rejoiceth at, but yet not satisfied, she commands the Major of *Prague* to destroy all the Christians. Whereupon he besets all the Streets and Passages, and slays all that he meets withal; till the Christians gathering themselves together, encounter with him, put him to flight, and in the pursuit slew this wicked person. This so enraged *Drahomira*, that she commanded the two Churches to be burnt down, in one of which, her Husband was Interred. Whilest she thus raged against the Christians, *Wenceslaus*, now grown to years, by the advice of his Grand-mother, and the Christian Nobility, took upon him the Government, and the better to establish Peace, he assigned the City of *Bolislavia*, and adjacent Parts to his Mother, and younger Brother.

*Drahomira* yet laid not aside her hatred and bloody designs against the Christians, which she first shewed against holy *Ludomilla*, substituting two wicked Villains, in the night, to murder her: These fellows finding her at her Prayers in her Oratory, strangled her. Some there were that much provoked *Wenceslaus* to revenge that wicked act, which he refused, because he judged it contrary to that duty which he owed to a Mother; and to the modesty and patience of a Christian. But he was shortly after ill requited by this unnatural Monster, who affecting domination, began to defame *Wenceslaus*, as sluggish and unfit for Government; but when she perceived that his Subjects loved him exceedingly, she waited a fitter opportunity, which thus fell out.

*Bolislav* having a Son, she invited *Wenceslaus* to the Baptising of this his Nephew at *Bolislavia*; he going thither, she entertained him with much disguised love; but, in the night, as he was making his Prayers to God, his Brother *Bolislav* assaults him; and being assisted with some other Cut-throats, slew him Anno 929. *Bolislav* having by this Fratricide, obtained the Government, threatened imprisonment and death, to all Ministers and Christians, if they did not presently depart *Bohemia*: His Mother added, That their dead Bodies should not be buried. Hereupon many fled, others were seized on, and tormented to death divers ways; but God suffered not *Drahomira* to escape his revenging hand, for in that place, where the Ministers Bones lay unburied, the Earth opened of it self, and swallowed her up alive with her Chariot, and all that were in it; which place is to be seen before the Castle of *Prague*, to this day.

Others also, who were her instruments in massacring the Innocent Christians; some of them ran mad, and threw themselves down from high places; others slew themselves with their own Swords, wherewith they had murdered the Innocent Men; and the place where *Wenceslaus* Blood was shed, could never be washed off, but remained as a perpetual witness of that Villany.

These things so affrighted *Bolislav*, that he became more milde to the Christians.

Anno 970. *Woytich*, the second Bishop of *Prague*, laboring seriously in converting the Relicks of the Gentiles, and reforming their wicked lives, they raised so great a Sedition against him, as enforced *Woytich* to a voluntary banishment. Then did the Pagans rise up against his Brethren, and murdered five of them, and then conspired against their Prince, but were overcome in Battle, &c.

Not long after, the Pope having usurped domination over other Churches, sought to obtrude his Superstitions upon the Bohemians also: But especially he commanded, That all their sacred Service should be in the Latine Tongue, and that they should not have the Cup in the Sacrament. The Bohemians sent two Ministers,



## The Persecution of the Church in Bohemia.

Ministers, and four others to *Rome*, Anno 977. to the Pope, desiring to be eased of these grievances, and at last obtained their request.

Yet afterwards they were again inhibited the use of their own Language in holy Services, whereupon *Uratellus*, Duke of *Bohemia* (who shortly after, for his valiant service to the *Roman* Empire, was Created King) sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, requesting a Confirmation of the Liberties formerly granted to them. But the Pope (*Hildebrand*) absolutely refused it.

Anno 1197. Pope *Celestine* sent a Cardinal into *Bohemia*, to inhibit Ministers Marriage, and to Divorce such as were married; but the Bishops and Ministers almost stoned him to death.

Also, when afterwards the Cup was taken away in the Sacrament, there were many that opposed that Sacrilege, and amongst the rest, *John Melitius*, of a Noble Family and fervent Spirit, much honored for his rare Learning and holiness of Life. In his Ministry he earnestly exhorted his Auditors to a frequent communicating in both kinds; at last he was much moved in spirit to go to *Rome*, and there to testify, That the great Antichrist was come, and did then reign.

He prayed unto God, with Fasting and Tears, desiring, That unless these thoughts came from Gods Spirit, he might be delivered from them: But when yet he could find no inward quiet, he went to *Rome*, and wrote upon the Cardinals doors, *Antichrist is come, and sitteth in the Church*. He also in his Conferences with many, asserted the same. For this, the Pope imprisoned him, and excommunicated both him, and his Auditors.

Mr. *Matthias* of *Prague* also, was a zealous Defender of the Communion in both kinds. Anno 1375. he with some other learned Men went to King *Charles* that then Reigned, requested him to call a Oecumenical Council, for the Reformation of the Church. *Charles* lending to the Pope about it, he was so incensed at the Message, that he commanded the King to punish those rash and Heretical Men. Whereupon *Matthias* was banished the Kingdom, and then was the use of the Sacrament in both kinds prohibited through all *Bohemia*: So that the godly could not administer, and receive it, but in private Houses, in Woods and Caves; and yet neither so, but with the hazard of their lives: For they were set upon in the Highways, plundered, beaten, and drowned in Rivers; so that at last they were necessitated to go together in Companies and Armed. And this continued to the days of *John Hus*. Concerning the Persecution of *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*; see in my First Part their Lives. But when these holy Men of God were so unjustly burned at *Constance*, the adversaries were not satisfied with their Blood, but took further counsel for the destruction of the whole Nation: For when Fifty eight of the chief Nobles of *Bohemia*, in the name of all the Commons, Anno 1416. had sent Letters from *Prague* to the Council, complaining, That their Pastor, an innocent and holy Man, and faithful Teacher of the Truth, was unjustly condemned. The Council, instead of answering them, wrote their Letters to some violent Papists, who were in authority, to assist their Legate in oppressing the Hereticks.

Thus the *Bohemians* were incited more and more to mutual contentions; the Priests daily from the Pulpits divulged their Excommunications and Execrations against the *Hussites*, and to stir up the greater hatred against them, they used lying signs, for, putting dirt about the wicks of their Tapers, when the flame had burned the Wax to the dirt, the Taper went out. Then cried they out, *That God by Miracles declared his hatred of those wicked Hereticks, who were unworthy to enjoy the Light*: And thereupon they persecuted them all manner of ways, and they used such violence, as raised a tumult at *Prague*, An. 1419. where in the enraged multitude threw twelve Senators of *Prague*, with the Major, out of the Windows of the Senate House, who fell upon the points of Spears.

After this, the Pope publickly excommunicated the *Bohemians* at *Florence*, exciting the Emperor, Kings, Princes, Dukes, &c. to take up Arms against them, entreating them by the Wounds of *Christ*, and their own Salvation, unanimously

to fall upon them, utterly to extirpate that cursed Generation, promising Universal Remission of sins to the most wicked person, if he did but kill one *Bohemian*. Hereupon great Wars were raised against them; but it pleased God still to give them the Victory under that brave Captain *Zisca*. Whereof see more in my Second Part in *Zisca's* Life.

Multitudes  
Martyred.

Yet still as the Popish party prevailed at any time, they exercised all manner of cruelty upon the poor Servants of *Christ*, infomuch, That at *Cutttenburgh*, where were deep Mettal Mines, Anno 1420. they threw into one of them a thousand and seven hundred persons, and into another a thousand thirty eight, and into a third a thousand three hundred thirty four persons.

Incourage-  
ment.

Also a Merchant of *Prague* coming to *Preslaw* in *Silesia*, the Emperor and Popes Legate being there, was in his Inn drawn into discourse, where pleading for *Hus*, and the Sacrament in both kinds, he was cast into Prison, the next day a Student of *Prague* was cast into the same Prison. The Merchant exceedingly encouraged him, saying, *O my Brother! what an honor is it, that we are called thus to bear witness to the Lord Jesus? Let us undergo the trouble with cheerfulness, the fight is but short, the reward is eternal. Let us remember the Lord, what a cruel death he underwent for us, and with what guiltless Blood we are redeemed, and what torments the Martyrs have patiently indured, &c.* But when they were brought to Execution, and the Ropes by which the Horses were to drag them through the Streets, were fastned to their Feet: The Student affrighted with the Terrors of Death, and allured by the fair promises of the Legate, recanted. But the Merchant, like an unshaken Rock, told them, That their hopes of any recantation from him were but vain. *I am ready to die* (saith he) *for the Gospel of the Lord Jesus.* And so being drawn slowly through the Streets, he was brought to the place of Execution, and there burnt, Anno 1420.

Apostacy.

Constancy.

Unnatural  
cruelty.

*Pichel*, the chief Magistrate of the City of *Litomeritia*, having taken Twenty four of the chief Citizens, and amongst them his Son in Law, put them in an high Tower, and at last he brought them out half dead with hunger and cold, and adjudged them to be drowned. When they came to the River *Albis*, their Wives, Children, and Friends greatly mourning; the Majors own Daughter came ringing her hands, and falling at her Fathers feet, beseeched him to save her Husbonds life: But he, harder then a Rock, bad her give over, saying, *what? Can you not have a worthier Husband then this?* To whom she answered, seeing his inexorableness, *You shall never more espouse me to any:* And so beating her Brest, and tearing her Hair, she followed amongst the rest. When the Martyrs came to the River, whilst Ferries were preparing, they with loud voices call Heaven and Earth to witness their innocency; and so taking their leave of their Wives, Children and Friends, exhorting them to constancy and zeal for the Truth, they were carried and cast into the midst of the River, with their hands and feet bound together, and so drowned; and if any were driven to the Banks, they were stabbed with Iron-forks and Pikes. The Majors Daughter seeing her Husband thrown into the River, leaped in to him, caught him about the middle, but being unable to draw him forth, they were both drowned; the next day they were found imbracing one another, and were both buried in one Grave, Anno 1421.

Many drown-  
ed.

A loving  
Wife.

Cruelty.

A Minister  
and others  
burned.

About the same time, a Company of Soldiers going towards *Prague*, seized upon a godly Minister, four other Men, and four Boys, the eldest not being above eleven years old, for administering, and receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, and carried them to their Colonel, the Colonel sent them to the Bishop, who required them to abjure, or else he would burn them: The Minister stoutly answered, *But the Gospel teacheth otherwise, so that you must either approve what we do, or blot it out of your Bible.* Hereupon one of the Troopers smote him so violently on the Face with his Gantlet, that the Blood ran out of his Mouth and Nose. The Bishop made this Minister the subject of his mirth and scorn all that night, and the next day, being the Sabbath, he burned them all in one fire; and when the Bishop



## The Persecution of the Church in Bohemia.

Bishop would have perswaded them to abjure the Cup in the Sacrament, the Minister answered, *That he would rather suffer a thousand deaths, than deny a truth so clearly revealed in the Gospel.*

Another Captain violently entering into a Church where many godly People were met together, he killed some, and took others Prisoners; and going to the Communion Table, he took the Cup, being full of Wine, and drunk to his Horse, who having pledged him, he said, *His Horse was now one of the Communicants in both kinds.*

Profaned  
and Blasphemy.

About the same time also a godly Taylor was burned at Prague.

Martin Luther.

Also one *Martin Loquis* should have suffered the like death, but his life was begged by the *Thaborites*. Afterwards, taking another associate with him, he was travelling towards *Moravia*, but by the way, they were taken by a Captain, who manacled them with Irons, examined them about the Sacrament; *Martin* answered, *The Body of Christ is in Heaven, and he hath but one, not many Bodies*: Hereupon the Captain gave him a box on the Ear, as not enduring such Blasphemy, and would have had him presently burned. Then did a Priest beg him, to see if he could convert him; but when that succeeded not, he thrust them into a dark stinking dungeon for two months: Then did he torment them with fire, till their bowels came forth, to extort from them who were their Companions: Afterwards they were both shut up in a Tub, and so burned. Anno 1421.

Prodigious  
cruelty.

A godly and eloquent Preacher in Prague, was, together with twelve more apprehended by a Captain, carried into the Common Hall, and there privately Beheaded, but their Blood running out, caused a great tumult in the City, wherein some of the Senators were slain; and others saved themselves by flight.

Some Beheaded.

Not long after there sprung up a *Schism* amongst those that were called *Hussites*; for some of them began in other things to comply with the Pope, only they insisted upon the Cup in the Sacrament, whence they were called *Calixtines*: Others of them stuck close to *Hus* his doctrine, and cried down all superstition. And this contention was cunningly fomented and increased by some that sought thereby the advancement of the Pope and Emperor: And to make the Professors of the pure Doctrine odious, they branded them with the hateful name of *Piccards*, by which name the *Waldenses* in *Piccardy* were called. Yet both these parties, when they were assaulted by the Emperor, joyned together in opposing him, and obtained many great Victories against him: Yet Anno 1444. the *Thaborites* were utterly oppressed by fraud and force.

Schism.

Catholics.

Popish  
ty.

Thaborites  
destroyed.

Anno 1459. There were divers godly People in *Bohemia*, Ministers, Nobles and Commons, who being much pressed in conscience about the superstitions in the Church of *Rome*, obtained of their King [*George Pogiebrascius*], a place in the hilly Country near to *Silesia* to inhabit, where throwing off all superstitious practices, they applied themselves to the form of the Primitive simplicity, calling themselves *Brethren* and *Sisters*.

Reformation  
began.

The beginning of this Church displeased the Devil, and therefore he raised a sudden and violent tempest to overthrow it: For the Fame of it being spread abroad, the Priests in every Pulpit started up the Hatred of the people against them, crying out, *Blow out these sparks, Blow them out before they grow into a flame.*

Popish malice.

Anno 1461. One of their Ministers with some others of them coming to Prague, to visit their Friends, were betrayed, and some Officers coming to apprehend them, said to them all, *All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer Persecution*, therefore come forth, and follow us to Prison, which they did. The King believing the slanders that were raised against them, as that they were attempting some sedition, &c. he commanded the aged Minister to be tortured, but he falling into an extasy, felt no pain at all: The Tormentors supposing him to be dead, took him down from the rack, but after

A Man  
suffered.

some hours, he came to himself, and by the intercession of a Friend, was dismissed.

A wicked  
Edict.

Presently after there came forth from the King an Edict, forbidding all Pastors to administer holy services without Ceremonies; and withal, threatening death to those that should administer to the Brethren, called now by the hateful name of *Piccards*. The Brethren hereupon were brought into great extremity, being like Sheep destitute of Shepherds. Yet presently came forth a new Edict, that none of them should be suffered to live either in *Bohemia*, or *Moravia*. Hereupon they were dispersed amongst the Woods and Mountains, dwelling in Caves; where yet they were scarce safe, so that they were forced to make no fire, nor dress any meat, but in the night time, lest the smoak should betray them. In the cold Winter nights, sitting by the fire, they applied themselves to the reading of the *Bible*, and holy discourses. When in the Snow they went abroad to provide them necessities, they went close together, and lest their Foot-steps should betray them, the hindermost of them did draw after him a great Bough, to cover the prints which their Feet had made.

Popish cruelty.

Elders chosen.

A Synod.

These Brethren chose by suffrage, certain Elders, to whom they promised obedience; and by the advice of these Elders, the chiefest of the Brethren in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, were called together in a Synod, in the Mountains to ordain *Ecclesiastical Laws*, whereby they should be governed: They appointed also sundry days of Fasting and Prayer for themselves, and their dispersed Friends, taking counsel from Gods Word, concerning those things which were required to the fuller Reformation, both of life and doctrine. That which most afflicted them was for want of Pastors, not knowing where they should have new ones, after those were dead, who then lived with them: But after debate, they resolved, that *Christ* had given this authority to his Church, that such as were ordained themselves, might ordain others: Yet some scruple arose, whether such as were but Presbyters, might ordain without a Bishop: For which cause they met together, and with fasting, prayers and tears, they sought unto God to reveal his will unto them in this difficulty; and afterwards making a scrutiny by lot, the Lord answered them, that it was lawful for Presbyters to ordain Prebyters, which occasioned great joy unto them.

Ordination of  
Ministers.

The Waldenses.

Then did these Brethren deliberate among themselves, whether they should joyn with the *waldenses* in *Moravia* and *Austria*; and so be one People with them, and one Church: The purity of their Doctrine and Christian Conversation did much please; but again, it much displeased them, that they concealed the truth, not openly professing it as they ought; but to avoid Persecution, they frequented the Churches of the Papiſts, and so communicated with Idolaters. Therefore they concluded to admonish them of this evil, and for this end they sent some able men to them, to acquaint them with it: The *waldenses* answered, that to be in unity with them was very grateful, and for the evils objected against them, they were not ignorant of them, nor would defend them, but rather would labor to amend them: Concluding that they desired to have a fixt day of meeting with the Brethren, in which they would take some further order about this business.

Admonition.

The Waldenses  
Persecuted.

But before the time came, the Papiſts having some intelligence of it, raged so violently against the *waldenses*, that they burnt one of the chiefest of them at *Vienna*, and so persecuted the rest, that they were fain to provide for their own safety by flight.

Anno 1468. There came out a new Decree against these Brethren, requiring all the Nobles of *Bohemia*, within their several jurisdictions, to apprehend as many as they could, and to proceed against them.

The Church  
encreaseth.

Many therefore were apprehended and put into Prison, where they were kept for a long time: But through the wonderful working of God, the more the Enemies labored to put out this spark, the more it brake forth into a great flame:



flame: For many of their Peers submitted to the Discipline of the Brethren, building Churches for them in their Towns and Villages, so that Anno 1500. they had in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, about two hundred Churches.

After the death of *Pogiebracius*, *Uladislavus*, a *Polonian* succeeded in the Kingdom, to whom the Brethren wrote an Apology, by reason of many foul accusations that were carried to him against them: This so exasperated their Enemies, that they endeavored by a most impudent invention, to stir up the hatred of all men against them. The way they used was this: They suborned a wicked Villain, to say that he came from amongst them, and that he had been an Elder, but had therefore forsaken them, because in their meetings they used to Blaspheme God, the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints, to traduce the Sacraments, to mingle themselves incestuously, after the manner of the *Adamites*, to commit Murther, and practice Witchcraft, &c. This Man they led through the Towns and Cities as a spectacle: They brought him to their Church, where he must abjure his errors, and beseech the people to pray for him, a most miserable sinner; and to take heed, by his example, of the wicked *Piccards*. They also published his confession in writing, being confirmed with the seals and subscriptions of some Deans and Priests, causing them to be read in the Churches to the people.

Popish school.

Slanders.

But the Devil was befooled herein, for the Brethren, by publick writings did confute these lies; and the Villain, trembling so often to forswear himself in the sight of the people, confessed at last that he was suborned to do what he did, and that he knew not any of the *Piccards*: Yet thus far it made for good, that some to make experience of so great Villanies, began privately and disguised, to frequent the Assemblies of the Brethren, and finding it to be far otherwise than it was reported, did associate themselves with them, as with true Christians.

Confession.

Anno 1488. *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, banished the Brethren from *Moravia*, which caused some hundreds of them, taking a Minister along with them, to go into *Moldavia*: Whereupon the Brethren in *Bohemia* sent one of their Elders to them, to exhort them unto patience under this Persecution, which was for the truth.

The Brethren banished.

Shortly after the restless Enemies of God and his Church, raised another Persecution against the Brethren in *Bohemia*: For some Bishops consulting together, suborned the Queen, great with Child, (so that they conceived that the King would deny her nothing in that state,) to request of him, that he would severely punish the *Piccards*: The King displeased at her request, only nodded his head, but gave no answer at all: Yet the Bishops, in his presence, began to draw up the Edict. The King going into his Chamber, fell down on his knees, and with tears besought God to forgive the guilt of those bloody counsels, and to grant no success to them; and God heard his Prayers, and shewed some examples of his severe judgments on the Authors of this conspiracy.

Persecution.

Popish malice.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

The Queen who proposed to her fancy, what grateful spectacles she should have in seeing the *Piccards* brought to *Prague*, and there, some burnt, some beheaded, and others drowned in the water, presently fell in travel, and when she was not able to bring forth, the Physicians advised that the Child should be cut out of the Mothers womb, which was accordingly done, whereby the Child lived, but the Mother died.

Two years after, the Bishops by their importunity prevailed with the King that sharp remedies should be used against those growing evils, as they were pleased to call them; whereupon an Edict was sent forth that all the *Piccards*, without distinction of sex, age or quality, should be slain. This Mandate was brought to the Assembly of States at *Prague*, by two Bishops, but divers of the chiefest Nobles opposed it, so that eighteen moneths were spent in debate, before any thing was done, but at last, by the cunning artifice of the Chancellor,

Anno 1545. A cruel

Devillish wickedness.

and his Bloody associates, was confirmed by the greatest part of the Nobility, in the presence of the King; and a mutual confederacy was entered into, that it should be prosecuted with an armed power: But God following some of the chief contrivers of it with sundry judgments, it almost came to nothing.

Temptation resisted.

Yet in these troubles most of the Ministers were turned out of their places, so that they durst not preach nor pray, but in private. And a certain Noble man, having apprehended six of the Brethren, cast them into Prison, and when they were brought forth to be burnt, they went chearfully to the fire; and when the chief Officer, taking affection to one of them, offered him his life, if he would recant his error, profering him withal to give him a years time to consider of it; he pawled a while, but by and by answered, *It is too much by such a delay, to lose my Brethrens Company*, and so going along with them, they were burned together.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

Shortly after the Chancellor that had procured the passing of the Edict against the Brethren, as he returned from the Parliament, visiting a certain Noble man by the way, he with great pleasure reported to him what was agreed upon against the Brethren: The Noble man having a Servant by, that was much addicted to the discipline of the Brethren, asked him how he liked it; The Servant answered, that all were not agreed: The Chancellor suspecting some new conspiracy, asked him who durst oppose the States of the Kingdom, &c. The Servant said, *In heaven there is one, who if he were not present at your counsels, you have consulted in vain*: The Chancellor replied, *Thou Knave, thou shalt find that as well as the rest*. And rising up in fury, immediately a Carbuncle rose upon his Foot, which turned to a disease, called *Ignis sacer*, whereof he died miserably.

Another of the great sticklers in this business, returning homewards, as he was alighting out of his Chariot to make water, he struck his Member on a sharp Nail that was in the Boot, whereby he drew out his entrails with him, and not long after he gave up the Ghost.

Allo *Dr. Augustine*, who by slanderous libels had endeavored to stir up the King against the Brethren, died suddenly as he was at supper.

Another Noble man of these Persecutors, as he was hunting, his Horse threw him, and his Arrow ran into his thigh, and came out at his loins, whereby he died a most painful death.

Many others of them felt the like judgments of God, so that it grew into a Proverb amongst them: If you be weary of your life, attempt something against the *Piccards*, and you shall not escape a year to an end.

Anno 1523. Luther.

Zahere an Apostate.

About this time God stirred up in *Germany*, undaunted *Luther*, the Thunderbolt against the Pope, which occasioned many of the *Calixtines* to resolve to embrace the purer Doctrine of the Gospel, and to seek for the Ordination of their Ministers from *Wittenburg*, rather than from *Rome*. But among these, there was one *Zahere*, an Apostate, who to ingratiate himself with the King and Pope, would enforce the Pastors and Citizens of *Prague*, to subscribe to sundry Articles, or else they must be proscribed. And first of all six Pastors were banished, then Sixty five of the chiefeft Citizens: Then to colour greater cruelty, a rumor was spread abroad of a conspiracy made by the Brethren against the *Calixtines*; and to extort a confession hereof, three Citizens were brought to the Rack, who rather chose to suffer all torments, than falsely to accuse the innocent: Yet divers were Persecuted; Amongst others, a Cutler that had found an Orthodox Book about the Sacraments, was whipped openly in the Market-place, and banished: Another was branded in the Forehead; A third was thrust into Prison, and there murdered.

Popish lies and slanders.

Persecution.

Then in the Assembly of Estates it was decreed, that the Mandate of the King should be put in execution against the *Piccards*: Whereupon a new Persecution was raised against the Brethren, their Churches being shut up, and their Exercises forbidden.

Anno



## The Persecution of the Church in Bohemia.

*Anno 1526.* A godly and learned Man, together with his Hostels with whom he lodged, a Widow of sixty years old, were both burnt in the fire for *Piccardism*, together with the Books that were found about them. Two born.

Another godly Woman being brought before the Magistrate, made a bold profession of her Faith, and then being required to prepare her garments to be burnt in, She answered, *They are ready, lead me away when you please.* The Crier declaring openly that she had Blasphemed, She with a loud voice denied it, saying, *This is false, I am condemned because I deny the Real presence of Christ in the Sacrament; give no credit to these Priests, they are dissembling Hypocrites, Adulterers, Sodomiters, Epicures, &c.* Being commanded to pray to the Crucifix, she turned her back to it, and lifting up her eyes to Heaven, she said, *There is our God, thither we must look,* and so cheerfully mounting the Pile, she was burned. A godly Woman burnt.

*Anno Christi 1527.*

The year after two German Tradefinen were caught at *Prague*; accused by the Monks of *Lutheranism*, and condemned to be burnt: As they went to execution, such gracious words proceeded out of their mouths, as drew tears from the Spectators eyes: When they came to the Pile, they exceedingly encouraged one another; one of them saying, *Since our Lord Christ hath suffered such grievous things for us, let us cheerfully suffer for him, and rejoyce that we have found so much favor with him, that we are counted worthy to die for the Law of God:* The other said, *I in the day of my Marriage found not so much inward joy as I do now.* When fire was put to them, with a loud voice they said, *Lord Jesus, thou in thy sufferings prayedst for thine enemies, therefore we also do the like. Forgive the King, the Men of Prague, and the Clergy, for they know not what they do, and their hands are full of Blood;* and so they slept in the Lord. But one of their chief Persecutors, who wished that all the *Piccards* were hanged, beheaded or burnt by his own hands, had all these beset himself by Gods just judgment: For being much in debt, he hanged himself, and when his Friends had privately buried him, the common people hearing of it, digged up his carcass, and cast it away, which by the Magistrates command was ordered to be burnt; but when the Woodstack was consumed, and the carcass only scorched, his head was stricken off. Two godly Men burnt.

*Zahere* the Apostate, when under colour of an Inquisition against the *Piccards*, he raised up civil commotions, was by the King banished, where he died miserably: The like beset another of those cruel Persecutors. Comfort to death.

*Anno 1535.* *Ferdinand* the first succeeding in the Kingdom, the Popish party cunningly stirred up the *Calixtines* to persecute the Brethren: Whereupon, they suffering many grievous things, sent a petition, together with a confession of their Faith to *Ferdinand* at *Vienna*, subscribed by twelve Barons and thirty three Knights, complaining how unjustly they were accused by their Enemies, and that the Priests ordinarily cryed out that the *Piccards* might be slain without controul, and that a less sin was thereby committed, than if one killed a Dog; *Ferdinand* returned answer, that he had not leisure to consider of their Papers, yet promised that nothing should be done either against law or equity, till he had further knowledge of the cause. Gods judgment on Persecutors.

In the mean time the Brethren being much encouraged by Letters from *Luther*, *Bucer* and *Capito*, went on constantly; and through Gods mercy, a great number was added to the Church, till that fatal year 1547. At which time *Charles* the Fifth putting in execution the decrees of the Council of *Trent*, raised Wars against the Protestant Princes in *Germany*: At which time his Brother *Ferdinand* solicited the *Bohemians* for aid, but they refused it in regard of their ancient league with the House of *Saxony*. But the German Protestants being overcome in War, *Ferdinand* entred *Bohemia* with an Army, seised on *Prague*, imprisoneth the principal Nobles, Barons and Citizens, some he scourged, some he beheaded, and upon others he laid grievous Fines, and of others he sequestred all their Estates: Also he disarmed the City of *Prague*, took away their privileges, banishing some, whilst others went into voluntary exile. A new Persecution.

Then

Persecution  
caused reformation.

A special Providence.

Popish malice.

Ministers Persecuted.

A special Providence.

Conversion.

John Augusta.

Popish lies and  
slanders.

A wicked  
Edict.

Two hundred  
Ministers banished.

The Baron of  
Schanow.

Jesuits first  
brought into  
Prague.

Maximilian  
Emperor.

Then did the Devil raise up some to lay all the blame upon the Brethren, to which malicious suggestions the King giving heed, first by open Proclamation commanded all their Churches to be shut up, and then he took away their Peers, and banished them all out of his Realms. When this Thunderbolt came abroad, the Brethren agreed amongst themselves, that they would be more faithful to God and their consciences than they had been; and so by common consent, dividing themselves into three Companies, they went into *Poland*; and all of them had experience of an admirable divine protection in their journey, escaping some that might, and would have robbed them, but that they were restrained by God: As also in most places where they came, they found Christian commiseration and liberality of men towards them, and courteous entertainment in *Poland*, though most of them were Papists: Yet not long after the Bishop of that part where they were, got a Mandate from the King to drive them away: Then were they forced to go into the farthest parts of *Prussia*, where, by Duke *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, they had a place of habitation allotted to them; and one *Paul Speratus*, a Protestant Bishop, having conferred with them about their Faith, was very courteous and charitable to them.

The next Edict that *Ferdinand* set forth against the Brethren, was for the apprehending of all their Ministers, whereupon some of them retired into *Moravia*; others, that they might be near their flocks, hid themselves in private places, and in the night-time they visited the faithful, which continued for some years, but at last three of them fell into their Enemies hands; yet one of them, through the admirable Providence of God, escaped out of a deep dungeon in the Castle of *Prague*, and fled to his Brethren in *Borussia*, and he sometimes passing through *Polonia*, and preaching the Gospel, through Gods mercy, many of the Nobility, and others were converted by his Ministry; so that in a few years he erected twenty Churches in *Poland*.

The Enemies having imprisoned *John Augusta*, they much rejoiced at it, because he was a chief Minister amongst the Brethren, and as *Luther* in *Germany* against the Pope, so he, both by his Ministry and Writings had mightily confuted the *Calixtines*, and thereupon they laid to his charge his refusal to raise Forces for the assistance of *Ferdinand*, and intentions of bringing in *John Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony* to be King in *Bohemia*, and for the discovery of this pretended conspiracy, he was cruelly racked three times, but when they could draw nothing from him, they yet kept him in Prison seventeen years.

Anno 1549. *Ferdinand* published another Decree for the extirpating both of the Brethren, and *Lutherans*; and the Ministers that had received Ordination in *Germany*, or that were Married, were banished out of the Kingdom to the number of about two hundred.

Also the Baron of *Schanow*, a Man of much experience and learning, being apprehended under the pretence of some conspiracy against *Ferdinand*, was imprisoned, examined, and then laid on the rack: He with an Heroical indignation cut out his tongue, and cast it away, and being asked why he did it, he wrote on the Wall, *I did it because I would not by any Torturers be brought to say any thing falsely against my self or others*. He also in writing taxed the Tyrannical proceedings against himself and other innocents, citing the King and his Councillors to appear and answer it before the Tribunal of God, and so shortly after died.

About that time *Ferdinand* brought *Jesuits* into *Prague*, and built a stately Colledg for them, who sought by all means to overthrow the Church of *Christ*, and added fuel to the fire of Persecution.

After the death of *Ferdinand*, *Maximilian* succeeded, Anno 1562. who being of a peaceable disposition could by no means be induced that any should suffer for their Faith.

After



After him *Rodolphus* succeeded, Anno 1607. who treading in his Fathers steps, the Church of *Christ* enjoyed peace under him, yea, pure Religion so flourished through the whole Kingdom; that there was scarce one amongst an hundred that did not profess the Reformed Religion: But alas! with liberty of Religion, by little and little Men began to be licentious in their lives, and carnal security so encreased, that some began to preface that an horrible tempest should again overwhelm them.

*Rodolphus* Emperor.

Sin the forerunner of Persecution.

*Mathias* Emperor.

After the death of *Rodolphus* succeeded *Mathias*, who coming into *Bohemia*, Anno 1617. he called an Assembly of the States, but it being harvest time, few appeared: To them that did appear, *Mathias* complained, that since he had no issue he would adopt *Ferdinand* for his Son, commendeth his vertues, and desires that he may be crowned: The Orders assembled, affirmed, that a matter of that consequence could not be done in the absence of the United Provinces: *Cesar* urged, that what *Bohemia* should do would be confirmed by all the rest, that he grew faint, and that it could not be deferred till another time. In brief, the Orders protested, that the Term of *Receiving him King*, was new; that he ought first to be chosen, and then received: And some perceiving that there was no place for a free voice, departed; others, partly allured by promises, and partly deterred by threats, staid, and were present at the Coronation of *Ferdinand*, after which he presently went into *Moravia*, *Silesia*, and *Lusatia*, requesting to be received for their King.

*Ferdinand* nobly made King of *Bohemia*.

The Persecution of the Church in Bohemia, which began Anno Christi 1617.

**F***erdinand* the Second, Emperor of *Germany*, being thus obtruded upon the *Bohemians* for their King, contrary to the ancient constitutions and customs of the Kingdom, and not lawfully elected thereunto, as he ought to have been, retired presently into *Germany*: And thereupon the Enemies of the truth began to crow, and openly to threaten the Protestants; and it appeared sufficiently that *Ferdinand* swore to the Orders with his mouth, but in his heart to the Pope; and presently after his departure, the Popish Bishops, Clergy, and Nobles, began to vex his Subjects for Religion, contrary to that assurance which the King had given to them: They attempted also the like in *Prague*, the *Jesuites* daily threatening that their Liberty in Religion should not last long. Then did they strictly prohibir the Protestants from Printing any thing unless licensed by the Chancellor of the Kingdom, themselves in the mean time divulging their own slanderous Pamphlets and dangerous writings against the Protestants.

*Ferdinand* a *Maximilian*.

Popish malice.

The first Artifice.

Also instructions were given to the Captains and Judges that they should suffer no meetings in Churches except themselves were present, and except they had a Popish Priest to administer only in one kind.

The second Artifice.

The *Burgavie* also, who had the custody of the Crown, and priviledges of the Kingdom, was apprehended; because in the late Parliament he had stood for the free Election of a King, and delivered Prisoner to one of the bitterest Enemies of the Protestants.

The third Artifice.

In other places they destroyed the Churches of the Protestants.

The fourth Artifice.

In the beginning of the year 1618. The Governors of the University and Consistory met together, having formerly had power given them so to do, and choosing six persons, two Barons, two Knights, and two Citizens, to consult what was best to be done in this time of their Enemies insolency, there presently came an injuncton in *Cesar's* name to inhibit them to call any together, and

The States  
inhibited their  
meeting.

that if any Man was called, he should not dare to appear upon the pain of High Treason.

Notwithstanding which, the major part of the States met, and when as new prohibitions and threats were spread abroad, and the States were informed that those Thunderbolts came not from the King, but from the Castle of *Prague*, their abused patience was turned into severity, and being guarded with a great Troop, they went to the Castle, and apprehended two of the chief Authors of these troubles, and threw them head-long out of the Castle Windows, together with their Secretary that was privy to all their designs: But God intending to preserve them to be the *Bohemians* scourges, they caught no hurt in the fall, falling upon the grafs, and great store of papers.

The Jesuites  
banished by  
the States.

Hereupon a great tumult was raised in *Prague*, but the States appeased it; and the first thing they did was to banish the *Jesuites* out of *Bohemia*, as the chief contrivers of these mischiefs: Then did they write to *Cesar*, that they had no intention against his Royal Majesty, but only to bring to punishment the disturbers of the publick peace, being authorized thereto by his Majesties Letter, and bound by their protestation; yet he resolved to revenge this Treason (as he called it) by force of Arms, and the *Bohemians* on the other side resolved to defend themselves, and for that end they chose thirty Directors, and the *Moravians* and *Silesians* resolved to joyn with them, when they perceived Religion to be the cause of the quarrel. And indeed this was that which the Enemies aimed at, and therefore they provoked the *Bohemians* by all ways, that so they might make a conquest of *Bohemia*, and for this end an Imperial Army presently entred the Kingdom under *Dampier*, and a Spanish Army under *Bucquoy*.

An Army raised  
against the  
*Bohemians*.

In the mean time the States resolved not to admit *Ferdinand* to be their King, who was so open an Enemy both to their Religion and Liberties, and who was obtruded upon them without a due Election: They sent also Embassadors to *Francford*, where the Electors were met together to choose a new Emperor, desiring that *Ferdinand* might not be admitted amongst them as King of *Bohemia*, notwithstanding which, he was admitted and chosen Emperor: The *Bohemians* in the mean time choosing *Frederick* Elector Palatine, for their King; This more enraged their Enemies, so that they sent another Army under *Maximilian* of *Bavaria*, which took two Protestant Towns by storm, and put all to the Sword, and every where made great slaughter of the Protestants: Then the Imperial Armies came to *Prague*, which being struck with a Pannick fear, the Protestant Army being overthrown in a set Battel under the Walls, and their new King fled, they delivered up the City to them, the Conqueror promising to keep Articles agreed upon, but performing nothing less. For they did more mischief to the Church of *Christ* by their subtle and slow proceedings, then lately by their outrageous fury; when the Sword, Fire, and Wheel were the Instruments of their rage against the faithful.

*Frederick* chosen  
King of  
*Bohemia*.

Anno 1620.  
Novemb. 8.  
*Prague* taken.

For a little before, when it was debated at *Rome* how they should deal with the *Bohemians*, and *Germans* after the Conquest; it was agreed, that seeing their former strong purges which they had used to expel *Heretical* humors, had not proved effectual; they therefore resolved not to put them to death, wherein they did glory as in Martyrdom, but rather to weary them and to change the hateful name of Inquisition, into the milder name of Reformation.

Anno 1617.  
Popish subtil-  
ty.

The fifth Ar-  
tifice.

And whereas there was a debate amongst the Imperialists at *Prague*, whether all the Protestants should be presently banished, the negative was resolved on, because they would then carry much away with them, and so spoil the Province, and endure their banishment with greater ease, and therefore they concluded that they must first be squeezed, and deprived of their goods: and for this end the Soldiers at *Prague* were authorized to plunder the houses of Noblemen and Citizens; yet this was done at several seasons, and mostly in the Night; by which means, as the Enemies boasted, they took from the Protestants some millions of gold: For indeed hither were all their riches brought in the time of War, as to a place of the greatest

The sixth Ar-  
tifice.

The seventh  
Artifice.



greatest security. But as this fell to the Commanders shares, so the Neighbor-<sup>Plundering</sup> ring places were exposed to the fury of the rest, the Common Soldiers robbing and spoiling Villages, Towns, and Churches, burning and killing without any restraint: The Soldiers that were placed in Garrisons would not only have Free-quarter, but extorted Money from their Landlords every day.

Then were Commissions sent abroad, promising security to those Noblemen, Knights, Corporations, and Ministers, that would bring in a good sum of Money to pay the Army, which yet they would not receive as a free gift, but only desired to borrow it. *Cæsars* protection was also promised to those that were liberal, the rest were threatned to be plundered by the Soldiers.

They set down also what sums they expected from every one within such a time; they promised also, That when that was paid, the Soldiers should be removed, which made every one to bring in their Plate, Money, and Jewels, the more willingly.

Then were Commissioners sent to require certain Cities, that belonged to the Protestant Noblemen, to maintain the standing Forces of the Kingdom, and to contribute Corn for their publick Granaries. But whilst they were fed with a vain hope of lessening and removing the Soldiers, there were more listed, which raised the Taxes so high as was impossible for the People to pay; and whereas some were allured to deny the Truth, that they might be eased of Taxes, and Quarterings of Soldiers. This was not performed, whereupon they complained that promise was broken with them; but the Jesuites answered them, *That they had no cause to complain, for they had provided for their Souls; and therefore they ought cheerfully to help the King by Contributions, and Quarterings of Soldiers; and that Hereticks must be dealt with, as mad Men and Children: From whom if you desire to get a Knife, you must shew them something else, though you never intend to give it them.*

Thus the Kingdom being emptied of Gold and Silver, counterfeit and adulterate Money was Coyned in great abundance, that so the common People might rejoyce in their plenty. But in the mean time, the Soldiers would receive none but good Money.

Gold and Silver also was raised to ten times the price of it, and on a sudden the Emperor diminished the value, making every piece of Money to be worth but the tenth part; whereby the *Bohemians* were more impoverished suddenly, then if they had lain under the burden of an Army ten years.

Then was it ordered, that the Creditor should lose all the Money that he had lent in the time of the Rebellion, as they called it. And thus they were first impoverished, after which the Enemies insulted over them by infamous Books, insolent Pictures, and proud words.

Then did they send abroad their Commissioners of Reformation, who in every Town and Village endeavored to bring Protestantism into disgrace, and highly to magnifie and set abroad their own cause: The most eminent Men for Honor and Estates are invited to Apostacy, the inferior sort are either fooled by their examples, or compelled by threatnings.

Then was there an High Court of Reformers set up, from which there was no Appeal.

In the next place, the Soldiers exercised barbarous tyranny against the Ministers of *Jesus Christ*. One aged Minister lying sick in his Bed, they shot him to death as he lay, the next day they robbed and murdered another, another, as he was Preaching to his People, they came into the Church, and shot him to death. A Nobleman, and a Minister hearing of Soldiers that were coming that way, conveyed themselves away into a place of safety: The Soldiers when they came, caught a School-master, and binding him in Cords, examined him where the Lord of that place, and the Minister were, and where they had hid their Treasure; he confessed, that he knew neither the one nor the other: Whereupon they beat him, first with their fists, then with cudgels, then stripping him naked,

The eighth Artifice.

The ninth Artifice.

The tenth Artifice.

Apostacy rewarded.

Popish perfidiousness.

The eleventh Artifice.

The twelfth Artifice.

The thirteenth Artifice.

The fourteenth Artifice.

The fifteenth Artifice.

The sixteenth Artifice.

Ministers persecuted.

Barbarous Cruelty.

naked, they so extreemly singed him with fire, that at last he promised to bring them where the Treasure was, shewing them a Ditch full of Stones; which for greediness of Gold, they emptied, but finding nothing, they beat him afresh: And when he professed that he knew of no Treasure, though through pain he had said so much, they cudgelled him, and with Clods beat him into the Ditch, and buried him under the Stones.

Presently after they lighted on another godly Minister, whom they so miserably tortured, that he died within five days, shamefully abusing his Daughters also; whom they led away with them.

Gods Providence.

Another godly Minister, for a moneth together, they excruciated with new invented mockeries: They spit in his Face, buffeted him with their Fists, exposed him to be beaten by every vile Rascal; they with a knotty Cord, twisten about his Forehead, with a stick so strained his Head, that his very Eys were ready to start out: Then they let loose a wild Horse upon him, which yet leaped quite over him, and did him no harm. At last, with much ado, he redeemed himself with five hundred Florences.

Another Pastor they lighted on, and because he had a better estate then the former, they tormented him more; sometimes covering him over with hot burning Coals, sometimes with Ice, till they had forced him to pay a thousand five hundred Florences for his Ransom, though shortly after, through extremity of the pain, he died.

A special Providence.

Another Minister they fetched from his House, and miserably tortured him by twisting a Cord about his Head; then tied they his Hands behind him, and his Legs with a small Cord, intending the next morning to torture him with fire; but in the night time, as he was earnest at his Prayers, repeating these words, *In thee, O Lord, is my trust*, he perceived his hands and feet miraculously to be loosed: Whereupon getting up, he went to the Gate, where were three Watchmen, one of them standing with his hand on his Sword, yet he passed by them undiscovered. When he came to the Town Gate, he was known by the Soldier that stood Sentinel, but he, being a *Bohemian*, was overcome by intreaty, and let him pass over the Bridge, whereby he escaped.

Cruelty to Ministers.

Another Minister, together with his Wife they cruelly burnt.

Another was hanged upon a Cross-beam, and making a fire under him, they broiled him to death.

Prodigious cruelty.

Another they cut into small pieces.

Another Minister they sought for, but he being escaped, they took a young Man in his house, laid him on his back, filled his Mouth with Gun-powder, which setting fire to, they miserably tore his Jaws in pieces, and then killed him.

Ingratitude.

When some Soldiers came to the house of another, he entertained them courteously, and made good provision for them; but when they knew he was a Minister, they first beat him cruelly, then killed him, stripped, and plundered his house; they also burnt his Library, and would not suffer his Body to be buried for seven weeks, during their abode there.

Another aged Minister and his Wife, were so sorely burned by a Soldier that demanded Money of them, that presently after they died.

Another was hung up by the Privy Members, being seventy years old, and his own Books burnt under him, and at last was shot through and slain.

Another was first assailed at seven hundred Florences, and then had his house plundered; and lastly, himself was murdered.

Another they caught and wounded, cutting his Neck half through; but being afterwards carried by some Friends to a Chirurgion, he lived about two years, but in much pain and torment.

Anno 1622.

Another being above seventy years old, they carried into the Market place, where laying him upon a fire, they burnt him to death.

Another was beaten so, that he died three days after.

The



The Jesuites laid wait for one *Pesinus*, a Man eminent for Learning and Piety, at last they suborned an Apostate to betray him; who discovering him as he rode in a Coach with a Nobleman, forty Horsemen came suddenly and took him away: But by the importunity of some Noblemen, he was ransomed for Four thousand Florences, and ended his life in banishment. Another being bound to a Tree, was made a mark for the Musquetiers to shoot at; and though they did not hit him, yet by reason of the affrightment, he died within three days.

Another being met by a notable Papist, was ran thorow with a Spear; but all this was done through Military licentiousness: Now we come to what was acted by Procel of Law.

Anno 1621. Six Articles were exhibited to the Protestant Congregations in Prague.

The German-  
tenth Article  
sic.

129 116 111  
0701 109 1001  
to 10010 111  
11111 11111  
11111

Ministers  
charged with  
Treason  
11111111  
11111111

Ministers be-  
nished.

The German  
Ministers be-  
nished.

Respectful

pastor

11111111  
11111111

1. That they should lend some thousands of pounds to Caesar, for the payment of his Army.

2. That they should publicly renounce the coming in of Frederick.

3. That they should bring into the Church the Popish Rites and Ceremonies.

4. That their Ministers should be ordained anew.

5. That the Ministers should leave their Wives, or get a Dispensation from the Archbishop.

6. That such as would renounce their Ecclesiastical Functions, should have publick promotions, and the favor of Caesar.

But they answered unanimously, That they would do nothing against their Consciences.

Then came forth an Edict, wherein the blame of all the former Rebellion (as they called it) was laid upon the Ministers of Prague, because they had stirred up, by their seditious and lying Sermons (as they pleased to stile them) and by their Writings; not only the common People, but the Nobles also against Caesar, and that they were Authors of the choice of Frederick, and that they still labored to stir up in the People an hatred against Caesar. Thereupon all the Ministers within Prague, were required within three days to depart out of Prague, and within eight days to depart out of all the Kingdom, and the Provinces belonging thereto, and never to return again: And if any, under what pretence soever, should stay or return again, or if any should presume to harbor or conceal any of them, that both the one and the other, should suffer death. This was Anno 1621.

Then were their Churches in Prague given to the Jesuites. It cannot be exprest what Lamentations and Mournings there were amongst the People, when thus they must leave their Pastors, and that for ever. Yet the German Ministers, whereof there were two, were suffered to continue in favor to the Duke of Saxony. Thendid as many as understood Dutch, flock to their Congregations, which so vexed the Jesuites, that they obtained not a banishment, but a gracious dismissal of them as they would have it called. Multitudes of People followed them, with great Lamentations and Tears, and in the Field they heard their farewell Sermon.

The next design was, to remove the Ministers out of other free Cities, and the Commissioners of Reformation were employed herein. One of them with a Troop of Horse coming to Slana, and going to Church, the Minister (a godly and learned Man) was reading the Gospel, the Commissioner lent a Soldier to him to bid him give over, but the Minister still going on, himself went to him with his Sword drawn, crying out, *Thou foolish Preacher, leave off thy babling*; and withal, he dashed the Bible out of his hand with his Sword. The Minister with eys, hands, and voice lift up to Heaven, repeated often, *No, no unto you, you enter not into Heaven your selves, and forbid them that would. No, no, no unto you.* But they mocking at these words, presently laid hands on him, justling him to and fro; whereupon he said, *I for the Name of my Lord Jesus*

*Christ am ready to suffer all this, and what else you shall impose.* The People were much affrighted, but the Chief Magistrates, and many good Women interceding for him, he was at last dismissed, provided, That he should depart the City within three days. And thus was this faithful Shepherd, not without the great lamentations of his people, banished; where, about three years after, he died.

In a Neighboring City, the Minister for fear of these Barbarous proceedings, went away of himself, yet the Commissioners extorted a great sum of Money from his Church, and banished him in his absence. In another place, they commanded the Minister to depart from his Parish within three days, and from the City within eight days. He modestly asking the reason of his banishment, they told him, *Caesar by conquest was Master of all the Churches, and that therefore he would put into them whom he pleased.*

Illiterate persons put into the places of Christs Ministers.

But, into the rooms of these godly Preachers, were put in unclean men, wicked, blasphemers, and men illiterate, and of no worth, and yet they could not provide for all places: So that one of their hirelings supplied divers Churches, and instead of the wholesome Food of Gods Word, he fed them with poyson. Then brought they ignorant Monks out of Poland, unprofitable burthens to the Earth, yet fit enough to be scourges to unprofitable and common Gopellers.

Twenty one Ministers banished.

Also a Commissioner, with some Troops of Horse, entring into *Cattenburgh*, a place famous for maintaining the Orthodox Faith, calls before him the Ministers, casts them out of their places, and puts Jesuites into their Churches: And these Jesuites urging it, the Ministers were commanded to depart out of the City Gates before break of day, and out of the Kingdom within eight days: Hereby were twenty one Ministers driven away, many Citizens accompanying them; one of them at the parting, Preached upon that Text, *They shall cast you out of the Synagogues*, exhorting them to perseverance. All the multitude much bewailed their loss, and with great lamentations, wailing and kissing each other, they recommended themselves to the Blessing and Protection of the Almighty.

Ministers charged with Sedition.

In every place the Ministers were cast out of their Livings, some imprisoned, and after a while dismissed; and all commanded to depart the Kingdom, upon pain of death. Some were stifled with stink, whilst they lay in prison.

At last, *Anno 1624.* another Decree came forth from the King, whereby all the Ministers of the Gospel were commanded to depart the Kingdom by a peremptory day prefixed, because, as was alleaged, they were Seditious Men, and Seducers of the People: Yet herein they used this Artifice, that in most places this Edict was concealed, till the time was almost or altogether elapsed; so that by this means, the Ministers not having time to communicate their Counsels together, went into several Provinces; and some were fain to hide themselves in Caves and Dens, and those either returned privately, and visited their Auditors, or comforted such as came to them in the Mountains and Woods, Preaching and Administring the Sacraments to them.

Tentation.

Constancy.

But as soon as the Enemies understood it, they presently published a new Decree, wherein a punishment was proposed to those that should conceal the Ministers, and a reward to such as should betray them. Whereupon some of the Ministers were taken and cast into prison; then by the Jesuites were they by all ways solicited to Apostacy: And fear of death, hunger, cold, the stink of the prison, &c. prevailed with some to renounce their Ministry. But most bore up courageously against all storms; and at last, some by paying great fines, others by giving it under their hands, that they would never return into *Bohemia*, were dismissed.

A Minister Martyred.

One godly Minister was examined by tortures, when, where, and to whom he had administred the Sacraments of *Baptism*, or the *Lords Supper*, &c. He answered,



swered, *That he had neither laid down, nor shak'd his Ministry, which he received from Christ, and not from Caesar.* Being proffered life if he would change his Religion, he answered, *This body of mine is subject to corruption, and now it begins to decay already; why would you have me hinder it?* Being brought forth to execution, the Cryer with a loud voice proclaimed, *That he was guilty of Sedition:* But he with a loud voice said, *I suffer for the truth of Christ.* None of the Citizens were suffered to accompany him, yea, they were threatned to be shot, if they did but look out at their Windows, and that his voice might not be heard, the Drums and Trumpets sounded continually. As he was passing on, he cheerfully said, *This day shall my Soul be with Christ;* the Captain said, *With the Devil in Hell.* The Martyr replied, *But you wish your impious crew will run headlong thither, except ye repent.* Then was his right hand cut off, wherewith he gave the Cup in the Sacrament; then was his head cut off, his bowels taken forth, and wrapped in his shirt, his quarters set upon four stakes, and his head upon the fifth.

Popish cruelty.

The Vice-Roy.

Courage and Constancy.

Courage and Constancy.

The numerous Artifice, Summe Papacy, The chief Nobles imprisoned.

After this did the Commissioners go into Moravia, to a Noble Baron called *Charles de Zerzina*, a Man for Wisdom and Virtue, famous through all Europe, a constant Professor of Religion, and one who maintained twenty four Ministers of the Brethren within his Jurisdiction: They told him, *That they had an Express command from Cardinal Ditrichsteine, to expel all these Ministers out of the Countrey.* He answered, *That in Matters of Religion he ought not to be subject to the Cardinal, and therefore from him he appeals to Caesar.* They granted him fourteen days to prosecute his Appeal; but the Baron being not in health, could not go in that time to Caesar. Then they came again to him, and told him, *That it should be in his choice, whether he would send them away himself, or suffer them to do it.* The Baron answered, *That he could not banish those whom he knew to be the Servants of Jesus Christ, nor could consent that they should do it.* Yet that night they sent abroad their Citations, to require all the Inhabitants of that Village, to appear before them the next morning; at which time the Minister and People came. Then did they read to them *Caesar's* Edict, asking them if they would submit to it, they answered, *That they wholly relied upon the Will of God, whom they served in the Gospel of his Son, and therefore they were resolved to undergo what punishment they should inflict, seeing they suffered only for the Name of Jesus Christ, and not for any ill deeds.* Then they demanded of them, *whether they would forsake their Heresie, and return to the Catholick Church?* Which they unanimously denied. The Commissioners would have given them time to consider of it, but they all answered, *That in so Religious a cause as this, they needed no deliberations.* Hereupon in *Caesar's* name they banished them, commanding them to depart within eight days. These godly persons obeyed, and by the Baron, at his own charge, they were conveyed into Hungary. The like they did in other places. So that the Ministers of the Gospel, through all Bohemia and Moravia, were thrust out, and ignorant and illiterate persons set in their rooms.

The next design of the Enemies was against the Nobles. The Crime was, for taking up Arms for *Frederick* their lawful King, against an Usurper: For though hope of Pardon was granted, if laying down Arms they would submit to *Caesar's* Mercy, yet divers of them were apprehended. And first they seized upon some that were of the rank of Defenders of the Kingdoms Liberties, and then all those whom they knew to have done any thing for the common good of Religion and Liberty, or feared, that they might be able to do for the time to come; and all such as feared to break their Faith given to *Frederick*. These were about the number of fifty Men, famous for Learning, skill in Military Affairs, and Prudence in Government, who were the light, delight and safeguard of their Countrey.

All of these in one night, and at one hour, were apprehended in their Houses, when they suspected no danger, and by the Captains were commanded to

to get up into Waggon; and so some of them were carried to the Castle of Prague, others to the Majors House. The next day Proclamations were issued out, requiring all those that had hid themselves, or departed the Kingdom, to appear within six weeks. But they not appearing, Sentence was pronounced, *That all such as were guilty of Treason, should forfeit Goods, Honors, and Lives;* and then their names were set upon the Gallows. The next day Sentence was pronounced against their Heirs, *That all their Goods should be confiscate to the King.*

The Nobles  
examined.

A brave  
Speech.

Success no  
sign a good  
Cause.

Then did they proceed to the tryal of the Noblemen whom they had taken. Two Apostate Civilians were appointed to examine them, with some of the Nobility, who tired them out with a thousand impertinent questions, laboring to extort that from them whereof they were never guilty: Which one of them not able to indure, renting his Garments, and opening his Breast, said, *Tear into a thousand pieces this Body, and search into my Heart, and you shall find nothing there but what is expressed in my Apology. The love of Religion and Liberty made us unsheath our Swords; but seeing God would have Caesar prevail, and hath delivered us into your hand, his will be done.* Others of them also stoutly maintained, that their cause was not the worse, because of the success.

After some time, when none of the Noblemen would yield, or acknowledge themselves in an Error, or sue unto them for Mercy, they proceeded to execution; their Judgments were committed to such as were sworn Enemies to the Gospel.

After Sentence was passed, it was sent to Caesar to consider of it; and he was so troubled, that he slept not that night, and the next morning calling his Confessor, he said to him, *I adjure thee upon thy Conscience to tell me, whether I may with a safe Conscience pardon these that are condemned? Or whether I should suffer execution to pass on them?* The Confessor answered, *O Caesar, both are in thy power.* Then did he with his Pen pardon some, and left others to execution, with a great addition of shame and ignominy.

Their con-  
demnation.

Presently after they were brought out singly to hear their Sentence, wherein some were condemned to death, others to perpetual imprisonment, others to banishment, and some were reserved to Caesars further pleasure.

Profane Blas-  
phemy.

Then were each sort of Prisoners carried to their several Prisons; the Noblemen into the inward Prison of the Castle, the Citizens to the Majors House; and as they went, some Villains were suborned to insult over them, saying, *why do they not now sing, The Lord reigneth?*

Then did the Wives, Children, and Kinsfolk, of the condemned Persons, humbly Petition for their lives: But answer was made, that all the favor which could now be granted to them, was, that they should have leave to bury the Corps of their Friends.

Temptation  
resisted.

In the Evening, the condemned Men, which were Twenty seven in number, had notice given them of the day wherein they were to suffer; and therefore they were advised to send for Jesuites or Capuchins, or a Minister of the Augustine Confession, for the good of their Souls; but they must expect no Minister of the Brethren, for that would not be granted to them. The Jesuites and Capuchins, not staying till they were called for, flocked to them, using many persuasions, promising life, &c. if they would turn. But God so strengthened them, that all those endeavors of Satans imps were in vain. Then were some Ministers of the Augustine Confession sent for, who spent that time which remained in Religious Exercises, Conferences, Prayer, and singing of Psalms; and lastly, by administering the Sacrament to them.

Credo quod  
habes & habes.

They which were of the Brethren, willingly admitted these Ministers, protesting, That they acknowledged them for Brethren, though they differed from them in some things; only two of them did not partake of the Sacrament, for fear of some false accusation, comforting themselves with that saying, *Believe, and thou hast eaten.*

They



They which were Prisoners in the Majors House, being called to Supper, the Night before they were to suffer, comforted themselves, saying, *That this was their last Supper on Earth, but to morrow they should feast with Christ in his Kingdom.* Whereupon a great Papist flouted, saying, *Hath Christ Cooks for you in Heaven?* Blasphemy.

When it was told them, that the Noblemen were coming to the Scaffold in the Market-place, where they were to suffer, they hasted to the Windows, and entertained their Fellow Martyrs, with singing the forty fourth Psalm. The Night after they spent in Psalms, Prayer, godly Discourse, and mutual Exhortations, *That since it pleased God to call them before others, to this honor of Martyrdom, they hoped by their constancy to confound the world, to glorifie Christ, and to leave a good example to others.* And singing the sixty eighth Psalm, wherein David prays to God, *To shew some token of good upon him: One of them said, Shew therefore some token of good upon us, O God, whereby we thy Servants may be strengthened by thy goodness, and our Enemies confounded.* And being full of Faith, he said further, *Be of good cheer, for even in this God hath heard your voice, and to morrow he will shew some wonderful sign; whereby he will witness that we suffer for his Cause.* Joy in Tribulation.

Early in the Morning they washed their Faces, and put on clean Clothes; as if they had been going to a Wedding; and cut off the Collars of their Doublets, that when they came to the Scaffold, there should need no new making ready. Then did they earnestly pray to God; *That he would be pleased to confirm and strengthen both themselves and the people, concerning their innocency.* Faith.

Presently after the Sun rising, a beautiful Bow appeared, and compassed the Heavens, the Ministers, Soldiers, and many others looking upon it. The Martyrs looked out at the Window, and saw a Rainbow of an unusual colour, the Heavens being clear, and no Rain of two days before: Whereupon, falling upon their knees, they lifted up their voices and hands, praising God for this sign that he shewed from Heaven. Then presently was a Gun discharged, which was a warning for their bringing forth to execution: Whereupon those Champions of Christ encouraged one another, praying, *That each of them might be strengthened, &c.* Then came Troops of Horse and Foot to fetch them; the Streets, Market-place, and Houses, being filled with multitudes of Spectators. Prayer.

The Martyrs being called forth one by one, went to their death with an undaunted courage, hasting as if they had been going to a Banquet: When one was called for, he thus took his leave of the rest, *Farewel most loving Friends, God give you the comforts of his Spirit, patience and courage, that what formerly with your Mouths you have professed, you may confirm by your glorious death. Behold, I go before, that I may see the glory of my Lord Jesus Christ; you will follow me, that we may together see the face of our Heavenly Father. At this hour all sorrow departs from me, and joyfull Eternity shall succeed it.* Then did the rest answer, *God above to whom you are going, prosper your journey, and grant that you may pass happily from this vale of misery, unto that Heavenly Countrey. The Lord Jesus send his Angels to meet you. Go, dear Brother, into thine and our Fathers House, and we will follow after; presently we shall meet in the Heavenly Glory. And this we are confident of, through him in whom we have believed.* Courage.

The first was the Lord Schlik, a Man of admirable parts, about fifty years old: When he was condemned to be quartered, and his parts to be scattered here and there, he said, *The loss of a Sepulchre is easie.* Being exhorted by a Minister to courage, he said, *I have Gods favor so, that no fear of death doth trouble me. I have formerly dared to oppose Antichrist, and I dare now die for Christ.* The felons troubling him when he came to the Scaffold, he shook them off, and seeing the Sun shining bright, he said, *Christ, thou Son of Righteousness, grant that through the darkness of death, I may pass into eternal light;* and so having ended his Prayers, he constantly received the stroke. His right hand and head were hung on the High Tower upon the Bridge. The Martyrs mutual farewells.

The Lord Schlik. The Lord Schlik.

His Faith and Courage. His Faith and Courage.

His Majesty. His Majesty.

The

The Lord  
Wenceslaus.

His Patience.

Psalm. 119. 92.

His Martyr-  
dom.

The Lord  
Harant.

His Message  
to his Wife.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Sir Casper  
Kaplitz.

His Courage  
and Constancy.

His Martyr-  
dom.

The Lord *Wenceslaus* was next, about seventy years old, famous for Learning, Religion, and his travels through divers Countreys; his House was formerly plundered, even to his wearing apparel, he only saying, *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away.* Being asked, why he would ingage himself in *Fredericks Cause*? He said, *My Conscience pressed me to do what I did; I am here, my God, dispose of me thy servant as seems good in thine eyes. I am full of years, take me out of this life, that I may not see that evil that is coming on my Countrey.* Afterwards holding forth his Bible, he said, *Behold my Paradise, it never yielded me so much Nectar and Ambrosia, as now.* When he was sentenced, he said to the Judges, *You have a long time thirsted after my Blood, but know withal, you will find God a revenger of innocent Blood, for whose cause we suffer.* A Fryer saying to him, *You are deceived in your opinion;* he answered, *I rely not on opinion, but on the infallible Truth of God; for I have no other way, but him who said, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.* On the Scaffold, stroaking his long Beard, he said, *My gray Hairs, behold what honor remains for you, that you should be crowned with Martyrdom!* And so praying for the Church, his Countrey, his Enemies, and commending his Soul to *Christ*, his Head was cut off, and set on the Tower.

The next was the Lord *Harant*, a Man that had gained much experience by his travels in *Asia, Africa, and Europe;* his crime was, *That he had taken an Oath to be true to Frederick, and durst not violate it.* As he was going to suffer, he called the Minister to him, and told him, *That he much feared his wives inconstancy in Religion; and therefore desired him to exhort her to constancy, and not to suffer herself to be drawn from her Religion by any allurements, assuring her, That it is the infallible way to Salvation.* Then to exhort her to use more clemency to his Subjects, rather easing them over charging them with Burthens. Lastly, *To require her to have a care of his Children, and to bring them up in the pure Religion, &c.* Being called to execution, he said, *I have travelled through many Countreys, through many Barbarous Nations, escaped many perils by Sea and Land, and now suffer innocently in my own Countrey, and by them, for whose sake, I, and my Forefathers have spent our Estates and Lives: Father forgive them.* Then he said, *In thee, O Lord, have I hoped, let me not be confounded.* On the Scaffold he said, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit: In thee, O Lord, have I trusted from my youth. I am confident, that I shall be accepted by that ignominious death of my Saviour.* And falling upon his knees, he said, *To thee, O Lord, I commend my Spirit; for thou, O God, just and true, hast redeemed me.* And so he received the fatal stroke with the Sword.

The next was *Casper Kaplitz*, a Knight, of eighty six years old: When the Minister came to him after his condemnation, he said, *See me, a miserable old Man, who have often intreated my God, that he would have mercy on me, and take me out of this miserable life, but have not obtained it; for God hath reserved me to be a spectacle to the world, and a sacrifice to himself; Gods will be done. My death indeed is disgraceful in the eyes of Men, but glorious in the sight of God: For God will account that death precious in his sight, which I suffer for his Glory and Truth.* And when it was told him, *That he might have his life, if he would ask pardon:* He answered, *That he would ask pardon of him, against whom he had committed many sins all his life, but he never offended the Prince; and therefore would not give occasion to suspect that he had committed some crime, for which he had deserved death, &c.* God forbid therefore, said he, *that I should be separated from this holy Company of Martyrs.* As he was going to the Scaffold, being feeble with age, he said, *O my God strengthen me, lest I fall down, and become matter of scorn to the Enemies.* Being crooked with age, and hanging down his Head, the Executioner could not well come at his Neck; whereupon the Minister said to him, *My noble Lord, as you have commended your Soul to Christ, so now offer up your heavy head cheerfully to God, and lift up your self towards Heaven.* Then lifting up his Head as well as he could, he said, *Lord Jesus into thy hand I commend my Spirit; and so his Head was cut off.*

The



The next was *Procopius Dorzecki*, who after his condemnation said to the Minister, *I have had a great contention all night with old Adam, so that it made me sweat again; But thanks be to my God, by whom my soul hath overcome all temptations:* saying further, *O Almighty God, strengthen thy Servant that I may not be made a derision to mine Enemies by any fear of death; and as thou wast wont to encourage thy holy Martyrs, so I strongly believe thou wilt comfort me.* When he was called forth to Execution, he said, *Thanks be to God, who doth now call me to himself, to him I have lived, and for him I will die; For my Saviour hath therefore died and risen again, that he might be Lord both of the living and the dead: I know that my soul shall live, and my Body shall be raised like to his glorious Body.* Upon the Scaffold, he said to the Imperial Judges, *Tell Cæsar that we are now under his Judgment, but he shall undergo a more grievous, yet just Judgment of God: And seeing a gold Medal hanging about his Neck, wherein was ingraven the Coronation of Frederick, he delivered it to one that stood by, saying, I require thee that when my dear King Frederick shall recover the Throne of this Kingdom, thou deliver him this, and tell him, that for his sake I wore it till my death, and that now I lay down my life willingly, for God and my King, and so presently after he lost his Head.*

*Procopius Dorzecki.*

*His prayer and faith.*

*His fidelity to his Prince.*

*His Martyrdom.*

*Lord Frederick de Bile.*

The next was the Lord *Frederick de Bile*, who suffered death likewise patiently and piously.

*Lord Henry Otto.*

The next was the Lord *Henry Otto*, a Man of great judgment, who having received the sentence of condemnation, said, *O Cæsar, do you indeed establish your Throne by our Blood? But what account will you make to God of it in the day of judgment? &c. Kill my Body, disperse my Members whether you please; yet do I believe that my Saviour will gather them together again, and clothe them with skin, so that with these Eyes I shall see him, with these Ears I shall hear him, with this Tongue I shall praise him, and rejoyce with this Heart for ever.* Afterwards when the Minister came to him, amongst other things he said, *I was troubled, but now I feel a wonderful refreshing in my heart; adding, with his hands lift up to Heaven; I give thee thanks, O most merciful Saviour; who hast been pleased to fill me with so much comfort; O now I fear death no longer, I will die with joy.* As he was going to the Scaffold he said to the Minister, *I am sure that Christ Jesus will meet my soul with his Angels, that he may bring it to an everlasting Marriage, where I shall drink of a new Cup, a Cup of joy for ever: This death I know shall not separate me from him: Upon the Scaffold lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, Behold I see the Heavens open, pointing with his hand to the place, where others also observed a certain brightness which dazzled their eyes; after he had prayed silently, he said, Into thy hands O Lord God I commend my spirit, have pity on me through Jesus Christ, and receive me that I may see thy glory; and so he received the stroke of the Sword.*

*His faith.*

*Joy unspeakable.*

The next was *Dionysius Zervius* formerly a Papist, but being told of the promises made to the people of God concerning the pardon of sins, and assurance of salvation to those that believe in *Christ*, he struck his Breast, and with tears in his eyes, cried out, *This is my Faith, and in this I die, I rest in the grace of Christ, and I trust in my God, that he will graciously accept my contrite spirit.* When upon the Scaffold the Jesuites exhorted him, he listened not to them, but turned from the Crucifix, and falling down on his knees he prayed softly: Then looking up towards Heaven, he cried, *They can take away the Body, but they cannot take away the Soul; O Lord Jesus, I commend that unto thee: and so he ended his life being fifty six years old.*

*His Martyrdom.*

*Dionysius Zervius.*

The next was an aged Man about seventy years old, that had been long lame: His crime was that he had assisted *Frederick* with his counsel and wealth. At the time of his death, he said, *O Lord Jesus, who being innocent didst undergo death, grant that I may die the death of the righteous, and receive my soul into thy hands.*

*His Martyrdom.*

*An aged Man.*

The next was the Lord of *Rügenia*, a Man of excellent parts, and full of zeal for God; when he was judged to die, he said, that it was more welcome to

*His Martyrdom.*

*The Lord of Rügenia.*

His excellent  
Speech.

him then if the Emperor had given him life, and restored him to his estate with addition of more: Afterwards he said to the Minister, *God is our witness, that we fought for nothing but the Liberty of Religion; and in that we are overcome and condemned to die, we acknowledge, and find that God will not have his truth defended by our Swords, but by our blood, &c.* When he saw divers called out before him, he said, *what is the matter my God? thou knowest that I resign my self wholly unto thee: Ah do not despise thy Servant, but make hast to take me away:* And when the Sheriff came for him, he rejoiced, and said, *Praised be my God, that I shall now be taken out of the world, that I may be with Christ;* and so he went to meet him. On the Scaffold he comforted himself with that promise, *Father, I will, that where I am, my Servants may also be, to behold that glory which thou gavest me: Therefore* (said he) *I make hast to die that I may be with Christ, and see his glory;* and so he suffered Martyrdom courageously.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Valentine Cock-  
ken.

The next was *Valentine Cockken* of about sixty years old: During his imprisonment, he was full of heavenly discourse, and at the Scaffold he said, *Grant me, O God, to pass through this valley of death, that I may presently see thee, for thou knowest, my God, that I have loved thy word, bring me O God, through the paths of life, that I may see fulness of joy in thy presence:* and kneeling down, he said, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;* and so holily ended his life.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Toby Steffick.

The next was *Toby Steffick* a Man of a composed temper, and sincere in Religion: He spent most of the time of his imprisonment in silent sighs and tears: Before his Execution he said, *I have received many good things of the Lord all my life long; shall I not therefore receive this Cup of affliction? I embrace the will of God, who by this ignominious death makes me conformable to his Son, and by a narrow way brings me to his Heavenly Kingdom; I praise God who hath joyned me undeservedly to these excellent Men, that I might receive with them the Crown of Martyrdom:* When he was called to die, he said, *My Saviour being about to die, said, Father, not as I will, but as thou wilt: Thy will be done. Shall I therefore who am but a worm, yea, dust, and a shadow contradict his will? far be it from me; yea, I come willingly, my God, only have mercy on me, and cleanse me from my sins, that no spot or rinkle may appear in me, but that I may appear pure in thy sight;* And so he lifted up himself full of sighs, yet full of hope, and as he was praying he rendred up his spirit unto God.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Dr. Jessenius.

A Prophecy.

Then was *Jessenius*, a Doctor of Physick, called forth, a Man famous for Piety and Learning all over Europe: Having heard his Sentence, he said, *You use us too cruelly and disgracefully; but know, that our Heads shall be buried, which you ignominiously expose for a spectacle;* which afterwards came to pass, Anno 1631. when the King of Sweden with his Army took Prague, and caused the Martyrs Heads to be taken from the Tower, and solemnly and honorably buried. When the Hangman required his Tongue to cut it off, he willingly put it out, and falling upon his knees, as he was praying, his Head was cut off, his Body quartered and set upon four stakes.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Christopher  
Chober.

His excellent  
Speech.

The next was *Christopher Chober*, who much encouraged his Fellow-Martyrs, and then cited the words of *Ignatius*, *I am Gods corn, and shall be ground with the teeth of wild Beasts:* So we (saith he) *are Gods corn, sown in the field of the Church, and that we may be for our Masters use, we are now to be torn by Beasts; but be of good cheer, the Church is founded in Blood, and hath ever increased by Blood; God is able to raise up a thousand worshippers of himself out of every drop of our Blood; for though truth now suffers violence, yet Christ reigns; and no Man shall throw him from his Throne:* Being called to Execution, he said, *I come in the name of my God, neither am I ashamed to suffer these things for his glory, for I know whom I have believed: I have fought the good fight of faith, and finished my course, &c.* Then praying, *Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit,* he received the Crown of Martyrdom.

His Martyr-  
dom.

John Shultis.

*John Shultis* was next, who on the Scaffold, said, *why art thou so sad, O my soul? Hope thou in God for thou shalt yet praise him, &c. The righteous seem to die*  
in



in the eyes of Fools, but indeed they go to their rest: Lord Jesus thou hast promised that whoso comes to thee, thou wilt not cast off: Behold I now come, look on me, pity me, pardon my sins, and receive my soul to thy self: Then kneeling down, he said, Come, come, Lord Jesus, and do not tarry and so he was Beheaded.

His Martyrdom.  
Maximilian Hostialick

The next was Maximilian Hostialick, a Learned, and Pious Man: After his condemnation he was sadder than the rest, and being asked by the Minister the reason of it, he said, The sins of my youth do now come into my mind: For though I know that nothing remains to condemn them which are in Christ Jesus, yet I know that God exerciseth justice as well as mercy towards his own: Being called to death, he said, Look upon me, O Lord my God, and lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death, and lest mine enemies say, we have prevailed. Afterward repeating the words of Simeon, Now lettest thou thy Servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, he was Beheaded.

His Martyrdom.

John Kutnaw  
His Speech to the Jesuits.

The next was John Kutnaw, who when the Jesuites began to speak to them, said, Pray you trouble not our consciences, we are sufficiently furnished against the fear of death, we need none of your help: And when they would have proceeded, he said, why do you create unprofitable labor to your selves, and trouble to us? Then said they one to another, They are hard rocks, and will not suffer themselves to be removed: To whom he answered, You say true, Christ is an hard rock, and we are firmly fixed on him. Afterwards he said to his Fellow-Martyrs, I understand that I must be hanged, but whether by the neck, middle or feet, I know not, nor care not; this only is my grief, that my Blood may not be mingled with yours, that we might be made one sacrifice to God. When he was called forth to Execution, he was besprinkled with the tears of his Friends, to whom he said, Play the Men Brethren, and refrain from weeping, I go before, but it is but a short time and we shall meet in the Heavenly Glory. When he was upon the Ladder, he said, I have plotted no Treason, committed no Murder, I have done nothing worthy of death, but I die because I have been faithful to the Gospel, and my Country? O God pardon my Enemies, for they know not what they do: But thou, O Christ, have pity on me, for I commit my soul unto thee; and so he slept in the Lord.

His Speech at death.

His Martyrdom.

Simeon Suffickey

Temptation

His Martyrdom.

Nathaniel Wodnianskey  
His Speech to the Jesuits

His counsel to his Son.

His Martyrdom.

Wenceslaus Gisbitzky

The next was Simeon Suffickey, who when he saw the Jesuites coming, he said to his Companions, These Birds of prey are flying hither, but they shall not feed on these Carcasses, but return hungry: For God hath promised to preserve his own as the apple of his Eye, and therefore he will not suffer us to be seduced. The last night he had a great conflict with the flesh, because the Scripture saith, Cursed is every one that hangeith on a Tree. But when the Minister told him, that that Curse was taken away by the death of Christ, he was well satisfied: He went to his death praying and singing, and being hanged next to Kutnaw, who was his Son in law; after he was dead, he turned towards him, and so near that their mouths touched each other; so that their Enemies said, These were such obstinate Rebels that they cease not to plot after death.

The next was Nathaniel Wodnianskey, who when the Jesuites solicited him to Apostacy, he said to them, You take away our lives under pretence of Rebellion, and not content with that, you seek to destroy our souls: Glut your selves with sight of our blood, and be satisfied with that, but we shall leave a sting in your consciences: Afterwards his own Son saying to him, My Father, if hope of life should be proffered you, upon condition of Apostacy; I pray you be mindful of keeping your faith to Christ: He answered, It is very acceptable to me; my Son, to be exhorted to constancy by you, but what makes you to suspect me? I rather advise and exhort you to follow your Father's steps, and to exhort your Brethren, Sisters, and Children, to that constancy whereof I shall leave you an example, and so he patiently ended his life upon the Gallows.

The next was Wenceslaus Gisbitzky, to whom were given great hopes of life: And the Minister fearing Satans stratagems, advised him to take heed of security, and to prepare himself for the encounter of death. Upon the Scaffold, seeing

His Prayer. his hopes frustrate, he fell on his knees, and said, *we are prostrate before thee, O Eternal Father, do not forsake us, have pity on us through Jesus Christ: we would say more, but we are not able to express it: Into thy hands do we commend our souls, perfect that which thou hast begun to work in us. Render to us our inheritance that we may sing Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.* and so in the midst of his Prayers he ended his life.

His Martyrdom. There was also one *Martin Fruin*, an eminent Citizen of *Prague*, who being taken in his own House, was scoffed at by the Soldiers, beaten with their fists, and afterward cruelly tortured, and so burnt in the privy parts, that for six moneths he was troubled with most grievous pain: He was shut up in Prison from all Company, and at last was found dead in the Castle ditch under the Tower.

He is murdered. Presently after the Execution of these holy Martyrs, all their goods were confiscated, as also of those that were driven into Banishment. Then was a Proclamation published, wherein a general pardon of all crimes was offered to all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, only their goods were confiscated, either in whole or in part, which must be brought into his Majesties Treasury, to pay his debts which were contracted by this necessary War: Besides which, they were to make a confession of their faults in a form prescribed before Cardinal *Lichtenstein*, who was *Cæsar*s Viceroy, and if any did not appear, he should lose this favor.

Recantation prescribed. Hence it was that the Enemies publicly boasted that none were punished but such as were convicted by their own confession. Then by Edict all were forbidden to diminish, or wait their goods, by selling them, or conveying them over to others; and if any Man should send away his goods to another place, all should be lost; and whosoever received such goods, should pay so much of his own to the Emperor.

The twentieth Artifice. Yet the merry Judges turned all this to a jest, saying to divers that pleaded their innocency from having any hand in bringing in *Frederick*, *That though they had not actual sins, yet they were infected with the original sin of Heresie and wealth, and therefore could not be exempted from punishment.*

The Protestants begged. Then did they proceed to take from the Protestants all their Castles, Towns, and Villages, whereby they were deprived of their livelihoods, and driven into strange places: Some were forced to cast themselves upon their Popish Friends, others to become Servants to their own destroyers.

Their debts and money seized on. Afterwards all their personal Estates were sequestered, scarce leaving so much as a garment for them wherewith to cover their nakedness: And left any Man should have money at use, they commanded all to bring in all their Bonds, upon pain of losing all their debts, if they concealed the least: And when any considerable sum was brought in, the Kings Treasurers were at hand, who protesting that the Emperor had need of it to defray his charges of War, took it away, giving to the Party a note that so much was due to him from the Emperor, which yet was never repayed.

The Soldiers get most. And thus the Protestants being commanded to depart the Kingdom, the Popish party divided their confiscated goods and lands amongst themselves, and as it lay commodious for any of them, they added this or that Village, Town, Castle, or Lordship to their own, but the greatest part fell to strangers shares, *Spaniards, Italians, or Germans* which were Commanders in the Imperial Army, instead of their pay. If any Widows or Orphans had lands or goods not taken away, their Popish Neighbors would either circumvent them by craft, or weary them out by quartering Soldiers upon them, and so enforced them to sell their lands, at what prices themselves listed to make thereof, and yet afterwards not paying that neither.

The one and twentieth Artifice. Then did the Emperor call for the ancient Charters of the Kingdom, which he immediately rent, and threw into the fire.

*Charles de Zerovine*. The Ministers being all banished, the noble Lord *Charles de Zerovine* did yet not only retain his household Chaplain; but he sustained also many others privately,



vately in their Caves with Bread and Water; and not fearing Man, he did not give liberty to his own Subjects, but to divers others in neighboring places to resort to the holy exercises which were performed in his Castle.

Hereupon the Enemies by a new Edict published, that all such Barons, Noblemen, and Citizens, as kept any Protestant Tutor for their Children, should presently dismiss him; otherwise he should be taken and punished.

Also by another Edict all the Protestants were cast out of Protection of the Laws, and were to have no benefit by them.

The two  
twinleth  
Attice.  
Protestant Tu-  
tors banished.

Successes make  
the Enemies  
proud.

The Protec-  
tions all ba-  
nished.

Falsc testimo-  
nies bought.

Protestant  
Children taken  
from them.

Popish libel-  
ly.

Temptation

Many seduced

Lord de Zer-  
stine goeth into  
exile.

Accord

The Enemies being every day puffed up with their successes and victories, made a Decree that all the Protestant Noblemen should presently depart out of the Kingdom, and the Emperor published a Proclamation, that to prevent all divisions which were dangerous to the Kingdom and Magistrates, therefore he was resolved no longer to tolerate any of the inferior, much less of the superior Estates of either Sex, who was infected with Heretical errors: And withal, he granted to the superior States the term of six moneths, wherein to learn the holy *Roman Catholick* faith: And for that end he appointed Commissioners of Reformation to instruct them, requiring them to be obedient to his will, and to be diligently instructed by them, otherwise they should not be suffered to stay in the Kingdom, much less to possess their goods; and therefore he required all those which at the end of that term of six moneths did not turn *Catholicks*, immediately to depart the Kingdom, and never to return again.

Hereupon they which loved Religion at their hearts, did presently separate themselves by banishment: Others solicited *Cesar* by petitions, either to change the decree, or to grant them a longer time: Others there were that thinking to deceive the Emperor and Pope, did buy false testimonies of the Priests, that they had been at Confession, and communicated in one kind, and so made shew of a dissembled Apostacy, thereby to avoid banishment.

Then was the forenamed Act extended unto Widows, and the Protestants Children were commanded to be delivered to the care and instruction of *Catholicks*, or else to be shut up in Monasteries, and this caused extreme grief and groanes, when Noble-mens Sons, and Daughters, even Maids that were marriageable, were pulled from their Parents, and Friends, and thrust into *Jesuits* Colledges, or *Monks* Cels; their Goods being taken also from them, and committed to Papists.

The cunning craftiness of those seducing Reformers, deceived many unwary Persons, whilest they told them, that they might hold their former opinions; only for order sake they must acknowledg the *Roman* Bishops to be the visible head of the Church: Hereby the simpler sort, thinking that they were not constrained to any other Faith, but what they had formerly learned, thought that they might with a safe conscience promise that outward obedience. And if these seducers saw any one of more Nobility than ordinary, they presently suggested to them how much it grieved *Cesar* that those ancient Families which had formerly been the ornaments and props of the Kingdom, should cast themselves out into banishment through there unadvisedness, when they might remain and flourish under the favor both of God and *Cesar*; and this ruined many of the Protestant Nobility, who preferred their Earthly, before the Heavenly Country.

Yet about a hundred Families, leaving their inheritances, and all their possessions, went away: Amongst these was the Lord de Zerotine, who might have lived in his Country if he would have deprived himself of the worship of God, by the loss of his Minister, or if he would have used it covertly, yet he rather chose to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to continue the enjoyments of his earthly possessions.

And whereas many of these Protestants were gone into *Cilicia*, and *Assyria*, the Emperor sent forth a Proclamation, wherein he protested, that it was not his intention to remove them out of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*; and to suffer them to be incorpo-

incorpo-

incorporated Provinces; and therefore he commanded them to depart from thence also, or else they should be brought to punishment; requiring them also to send back their Children which they had carried with them, upon penalty of losing all the goods which any of them could demand in his Country.

Protestants  
Wives banish-  
ed from their  
Husbands,

Presently after he published another Edict, wherein he required all the Protestant Wives of the *Catholicks*, either to reform, or to go into banishment: But when many of the chief Officers of the Kingdom had Protestant Wives, and they would not indure that they should be thus divorced from them; he set forth another Edict, whereby they were tolerated till the death of their Husbands, and then they should be excluded from their Inheritances, and sent into banishment: And required that in the mean time they should absent themselves from all festival and nuptial solemnities, or else should take the lowest places after the *Catholicks*.

The exiles  
sought after,

And whereas some of the Protestants did privately return; or stay to make the best of that little that did remain unto them: Proclamation was sent out that all such should be apprehended and imprisoned; and to warn all such as had harbored any of them, upon their allegiance, to appear before the chief Officers in the Castle of *Prague*: requiring that if any knew where any of them lay hid, they should secretly and suddenly attach them, and bring them to Prison.

The three and  
twentieth Ar-  
tifice.  
Laws repealed.

Then did the Emperor repeal, and disannul divers of the ancient Statutes of the Kingdom, that made most for the Peoples Liberties, as concerning their free Election of a King, &c. that he might the better every where oppress them.

The four and  
twentieth Ar-  
tifice.

Then in all the free Cities, Men of base and mean quality were appointed to determine all businesses, and to be the chief Officers, and to these were added some of the chief of the Soldiery, the better to procure subjection.

These Cities also they impoverished by Taxes and Contributions, which continued divers years, and were extorted by the Soldiers power.

Apostates pro-  
moted,

Then Mass-Priests were put into the places of godly Ministers, and People were compelled to frequent the Mass: Marriages were forbidden, except amongst the *Catholicks*: Such as turned *Apostates* were promoted to all places of Magistracy in the Cities, though men of no judgment, nor experience.

Then were these Articles given to the Captains of Distresses.

The five and  
twentieth Ar-  
tifice.

I. **T**hat whosoever is not of the Kings Religion, all traffick and commerce shall be debarred him.

II. whosoever shall suffer private Preaching, Baptism, or Matrimony in his house, shall pay a great Fine, or suffer six moneths imprisonment; but if he harbor a Preacher, he shall lose Goods and Life.

III. If any man shall work upon Catholick Holy-days, he shall be imprisoned, and pay ten Florences.

IV. It shall not be lawful for any Non-Catholick to make a Will; if he do, it shall be null.

V. No Youth shall be bound Apprentice, or learn any Art or Trade, unless he learn the Catholick Religion.

VI. The poor People in Hospitals, except they be converted by such a day, shall be turned out, &c.

After the taking of the City of *Prague*, Papists were examined upon Oath to declare what they knew or heard that the Protestants had spoken or done against *Cesar*. Then was an Act published to the rest of the Citizens, that though they had forfeited their whole Estates, yet they should not be wholly sequestred, but every one should contribute part of his Estate to support the Army: All Men also were required upon Oath to discover what their Estates were, according to which they



they were enjoined to pay a ransom to obtain a pardon; yea, all trading was inhibited to such as were not *Catholicks*.

In the City of *Kuttenberg* were abundance of silver Mines, and the Inhabitants generally were zealous Professors: Hereupon so soon as they began to be molested for Religion, the Kings Revenue began to diminish, most of the Workmen giving over the work: The King seeing this, he farms his Revenues to the Citizens for ten years, promising that in the *Interim* they should not be troubled with Soldiers, nor for their Religion; and hereto he set his hand and seal: But Satan envying their place and liberties, stirs up the *Jesuites*, to move the King to break his Covenant within four moneths after: And the Soldiers were sent thither again, and they began again to be questioned about their Religion. The Citizens astonished at this manifest breach of Covenant, humbly petition that no violence might be offered to them, which would overthrow the Mental-works: But instead of answer, the Major and chief Aldermen had twenty Musquetiers apiece put into their Houses upon free quarter, till they had driven themselves to a Priest. The Soldiers domineered exceedingly, wasting these Mens Estates by their profuseness, and abusing them divers other ways at their pleasure; yet the patience of the one, overcame the Tyrannical behavior of the other. These godly Men so long as they had it, provided for the Soldiers, but when all was gone, some of them withdrew themselves from danger by flight; others resigned their Houses and Goods to these domineering Villains, delivering the Keys to them, and so departing.

The Protestants in the silver Mines had a promise of favor. Popish perfidiousness.

Soldiers quartered upon them.

Don Martin's cruelty.

The Bolislawans persecuted.

Constancy

Apostasy

not to be

spit

When yet this prevailed not, the task of reforming that City was committed to *Don Martin*, who accompanied with a Troop of *Curiaffiers*, and himself brandishing a naked Sword, entred into the City, the Citizens trembling at his coming, hearing of the cruelty which he had exercised in other places, whereupon that very night multitudes of them betook themselves to flight, thinking to hide themselves in Neighboring Villages, this caused *Don Martin* to get an Edict that none should harbor Exiles upon a great penalty.

The year after a Senate at *Kuttenberg* was Elected out of the Apostates: The Major being a base and illiterate Person, so that all the Citizens being still oppressed with the Soldiers, either fled with their Wives and Children, leaving all behind them, or else were fain to submit their Necks to the Antichristian Yoke.

The next City whither these Reformers went, was *Bolislawia*, where the Orthodox Religion had continued for Two hundred years, and it was the Principal Seat of the Brethren. The Ministers being ejected, they placed in their rooms two crafty Friars, that by all means sought to pervert the people, but when this prevailed not, they brought in three Companies of Soldiers to quarter upon them. Then were some of the Citizens banished, others cast into Prison, and three of the principal were sequestered to strike a terror into the rest, The cause pretended was, because they said, as was alledged, *That none had power to command their consciences*, &c. But when yet the Citizens remained constant, they were all warned to appear in the Court, and being come, they were shut up in several Rooms, and called out and examined one by one. The first was the Town-Clerk, a weak and timorous Man, and therefore they had set a Russian in a corner, with a Sword in his hand, whom the fearful Man seeing, was so terrified, that he promised to turn *Catholick*; they so rejoiced at this beginning, that they dismissed all the rest, bad them consider of it, and do as the Town-Clerk had set them an example.

Amongst these there were two Burgo-masters, Learned Men, who exhorted their fellow Citizens not to be affrighted with these imaginary terrors. Afterwards one of them being called for, was partly with threats, and partly with flatteries so wearied out, that at last he took time to consider of it: The other being called for, and an old man proposing the others example to him, he

Constancy. spit in his Face, saying, *Traytor is this your constancy?* And so both he, and the rest of the Citizens remained as unmoveable as a Rock. The first Burgo-master considering what he had done, and being ashamed of it, came and gave them such a positive answer, as that with the rest he was sent to Prison.

Recovery. One *Bartholomew Lang* told them to their Faces, that he had rather die by the Sword, than deny his Faith; whereupon, with divers others, he was thrust into a stinking Dungeon, where they kept them Prisoners for seventeen weeks; their Houses in the mean time being possessed by the barbarous Soldiers.

Bethlem Gabor.

Gods Providence.

One of these godly Persons died in Prison: And about that time *Bethlem Gabor* warring with the Emperor, and Count *Mansfield* entering *Cilicia*, with the King of *Denmarks* Army, these Tyrants were struck with such a terror, that presently Proclamations came forth, that it was not his Majesties pleasure that any Man should be forced to the Faith by violent means; by which Proclamation the Inhabitants of *Bolislavia* had some respite.

A new Persecution.

But the year after, when *Gabor* was retired, and the King of *Denmark* beaten out of *Cilicia*, their Tyranny again revived, and a new Proclamation came forth to inhibit the Protestants all Trade and Commerce, and to command them to abjure their *Heresies* under pain of the severest and inevitable punishment. Hereupon some were banished, others voluntarily went into exile, others were denied traffick, the Friers taking away such commodities as they set to sale, so that the Citizens which stayed, were forced to take the *mark of the Beast*, that they might buy and sell.

In Litomericia.

In the City of *Litomericia*, Anno 1517. there was an unanimous agreement amongst the Citizens, that none should be made free amongst them, but such as professed the reformed Religion; and that whosoever should move for the nulling of this act should be disfranchised. This continued inviolate for a hundred years, till two *Jesuites* sued to be made Free-men of the City, which being denied, they entred their complaint in the *Chancery*, whether some of the principal Aldermen were summoned, and kept for nine weeks space, till by threats they had obtained from them to make these two Men free. Five moneths after, one of them is made an Alderman, that so they might have their spies in every place: There were also cunning Seducers sent thither to withdraw the people from their Religion.

Popish subtilty.

But when this prevailed not, Anno 1525. they took the Names of every Citizen, commanding them constantly to come to the Mass, and every one to shew his Name to the Sexton, that they might know that all were there present, or else for every omission they should forfeit five pound.

Then bringing in more Soldiers, they commanded all the Inhabitants to be present at their idolatrous Proceffion, and because the Recorder came not, they sent a whole Company of Soldiers to plunder his House, who also abused and threatned his Wife.

Patience in Persecution.

The year after they brought in more Soldiers, quartering them in the principal Mens Houses, in some ten, in some twenty, and in others thirty, who abused them fearfully; but, through Gods assistance, they bore it with such admirable patience that the Enemies were weary with plaguing them, and began to be more moderate; yet they published an order, that whosoever would not turn *Catholick*, should, with their Wives and Children, depart the City and Kingdom by a certain day, whereupon many of them removed into *Mishnia*.

In Radecium.

Temptation resisted.

At the City of *Radecium* they drave away the Ministers, and placed there a merry Arch-Deacon, who protested that all violent means were displeasing to him, and therefore he entertained the Citizens with jests and merry speeches, and would draw them to Taverns and Gameing-houses: But when after four years trial, he found that he had not converted any one of them by these means, he brought in Soldiers for his help: Then did he assemble the people, requiring them to go in Proceffion with him, but when none would follow, the Soldiers rushed



rushed in amongst them with their drawn Swords; whereupon the People ran; some one way, some another, others were forced to follow the Procession whether they would or no, and some for refusing were slain.

Popish cruelty.  
17.

Then was a whole Regiment of Soldiers sent thither, with express charge not to depart, till the City was reformed. The Arch-Deacon taking some of these, went to a Physician that had been lame for some years, and asketh him whether he would become a *Catholick*? which he stoutly refused, saying, *That he had rather his half rotten Carcass should be drawn through the Fields, and torn in pieces, than to deny any thing against his conscience.* Then were all the Inhabitants called together, the City Gates shut, and the People grievously threatened if they would not turn; and such as refused, were thrust into Prisons, and Soldiers were sent to their Houses, who raged and domineered over their Wives and Children; whereupon they ran to their Husbands with tears and intreaties, and prevailed with many of them to desire time to be given them to learn the *Romish* Religion, only Twenty eight of them, together with their Wives and Children forsook their earthly Estate, and went into banishment to preserve their consciences clear.

Conscience.

Humanity.  
militia.

Conscience.

At Bidford.

Popish cruelty.  
17.

At Zaticum.

Bibles burnt.

Don and the  
cruelty.

*Don Martin* went also to *Bidford*, ten Miles from *Prague*, attended with his Soldiers, and assembling the Citizens, he made an Oration to them to turn *Catholicks*, they answered, *That they could not unlearn that in an hour, which they had been Learning all their life.* This so enraged *Martin*, that he assaulted the Man that answered for all the rest, with a Club, beating him extremely, and then he commanded the chief Officer to carry him out of the City, not suffering him so much as to visit his House before his departure: This so terrified the rest, that they promised to be taught within a certain time; and whereas some of them thought to save themselves by flight, sending their Wives and some of their goods privately before, with whom went also some godly Widows; *Martin* having intelligence of it, sent some Soldiers after them, that stript them of their goods, and brought them back and cast them into Fetters, refusing to release them, till both they and their Husbands turned *Catholicks*.

At *Zaticum*, another City, famous for religion, the Minister being banished, Fryers were put into his place, who being assisted with Soldiers, used to Cane those that would not bow to the Host, and because the Major and some of the Aldermen were absent at a solemn Procession, they fined them. Then came thither *Don Martin*, and proclaimed, that whosoever had any Bibles, or other Evangelical Books; if they brought them not in presently, they should be fined at a hundred Florences, or suffer five weeks imprisonment. As also whosoever refused to come to Mass, should pay five Florences, and three pounds of Wax; All the Books that were so brought, he burnt them without the Walls; and for such as still stood out, he quartered Troopers upon them, which extorted money from them day by day: Hereupon many forsook their Houses and betook themselves to the hardship of a banished life. Then did he proclaim that without his leave none should go out of the Gates upon pain of death: The next day he arrested the Major, and would not release him, but upon the promise of Apostacy. Two of the Aldermen he bound with Iron Chains for refusing to adore the Host, and for fourteen days together tormented them grievously, till he had forced their consent to the like Apostacy.

Then assembling the whole Senate, he commands them presently to submit to *Cæsars* will, to go to Auricular Confession, and to communicate in one kind, promising that such as obeyed should be eased of Soldiers, that the others should have their burthens doubled, requiring every one in order to answer for himself, whither he would promise to perform this within three Weeks: One of them modestly pleading to be excused, in regard of his conscience, the furious Beast fell upon him, beat him about the Head, and abused him with cursed words, saying, *Thou art an unworthy Knave to be in this place, I will have thee bound Hand and Foot, and cast into a deep Dungeons, and when thou hast vomited up*

*thy wicked soul, I will deliver thee to the Hang-man to be buried, &c.* Then he calls to his Soldiers for Chains and Fetters, with which they bound his Hands and Feet, and put an Iron Coller about his Neck, with a thick Chain, and so brought him to the Dungeon, where he was tormented for three weeks, neither Wife nor Children being suffered to come to him, and fed with Bread and Water; the *Jesuites* also were daily molesting him: Then was he sentenced to death, which he chose before Apostacy. Then said one of the *Jesuites*, he is possessed with the Devil, and therefore he commanded him to be bound more straitly, whereby at last he was forced to go to Auricular Confession, but by that means getting out of the Prison, he fled into *Misnia* to escape their Tyranny.

Exile denied  
to the Prote-  
stants.

All the best Citizens did desire banishment, but the City Gates were kept strictly, lest any should get out, or carry out their household-stuff; whereupon many escaped by the Mines of the Wall; and among these, a Lords Wife, leaving all her rich household-stuff behind her, crept out at the common sewer, to follow her Husband into banishment.

Many of the Exiles in *Misnia*, having spent all that little which they carried with them, were forced to seek alms in *Bohemia*, where being betrayed, they were cast into Prison, and so tormented, till some of them were almost distracted, and then they were sent away to other places; some of these were Persons of good quality.

At Tusta.

At *Tusta* a chief Officer of the Kingdom solicited the Citizens to turn *Catholics*, which they refusing to do, he complained of it to the *Jesuites* at *Prague*, whereupon *Don Martin* is sent thither, who entering the City, sends his Soldiers into the Senators Houses, licensing them to abuse them at their pleasure, so that in a short time many were forced to Apostacy. Then did that other Officer set a great fine upon the City, because they turned *Catholics* for another Mans sake, and would not do it for his: And thus the poor Protestants were abused on every hand to satisfy the lusts of these Tyrants.

Apostacy.

At Rokitzan.

Then did another Noble man with a band of Soldiers, go to the City of *Rokizan*, and Tyrannically abuse them for their Religion, forbearing no kind of insolency that they could think of: Amongst other projects this was one, He caused all the Citizens to write their Names in three Books: In the first such as were already *Catholics*, (which were but six, late Apostates:) In the second the Names of such as would become Apostates within a Fortnight, which were very few: In the third such as absolutely refused, and so were opposite to God and *Cesar*; and in this were almost all the Names, which so enraged him, that he resolved to use all manner of cruelties, saying, that they deserved the Cross, the Wheel, yea and Hell it self.

Popish subtil-  
ty.

Constancy.

Then did he command all the Citizens to come to the Church the next day, to receive the Sacrament in one kind; but when, coming himself to Church, he found few or none there, he runs through the Streets, and into the Houses, driving all that he met with to the Church with his stick. When he came thither again, he espied one *John Felix*, a chief Citizen, but a *Calvinist*, he therefore fell upon him with a knotty Club, beating him about the Head, Shoulders and Hands, till he was all gore blood, and then he said to him, *Get thee hence thou Beast, with thy cursed Calvin-blood.* Then did he rage against the other Citizens, cursing them, beating some, and spitted in the Faces of others; and from one of the grave Citizens he pulled off his Beard, and strewed it on the floor.

John Felix.  
Barbarous  
cruelty.

Felix escapes.

After this he again sent word to *Felix*, that except he changed his mind by the morrow, he would act a new tragedy with him, but that night he escaped, leaving behind him his dear Wife and Children, and an aged Mother of eighty years old. Then did the Earl imprison his Wife, and sequestered his Estate, and enforced the rest of the Citizens to subscribe, that they did freely, and with all readines of mind, imbrace the *Catholic* Religion.



One Martinitz was appointed to reform the City of *Slava*, who substituted *As Field* one *Hansburky*, an Apostate, to see this work done. This Man that he might ingratiate himself with the *Jesuites*, appointed a solemn Procession, and either by fraud or force, brought to it most of the Citizens: Among others, he required one *John Blyssa* to accompany him, but he refused, saying, *As oft as I have* *John Blyssa* received the Lords Supper, so oft have I obliged myself to God, and against these *al-* *minations*: Then said the other, *Thou shalt not resist the Emperers pleasure*: But said he, *In those things which belong to Cæsar, I will not, but here Gods business is in hand*: Then said the other, *Thou shalt be forced to it*: God, replied he, *seeks wil-* *ling, not forced worshippers*; whereupon he was presently committed to Prison for nine weeks, and so was another godly Citizen, and fined, and then together with his Wife, driven out of the City.

Afterwards also was *Blyssa* and his Wife banished, for procuring his Child to be Baptized by a Protestant Minister privately, and his Estate was sequestred, having nothing left him to support him in his banishment. *Banished.*

Also by divers kinds of torments he compelled some to a forced obedience, as he did fifty Men whom he shut up in a narrow Room, where they could neither stand, sit, nor lie, nor have leave to go forth to ease nature: So that after three days enduring of this pain and stink, they were forced to promise to learn the *Roman* Religion.

The like dealing he used to divers Women in his own Chamber: But so soon as they could, most of them went into voluntary banishment.

The City of *Prachatice* they entered by force, and slew the Major, who was bringing to them the Keys, together with a thousand six hundred Men, Women and Children, sparing none but such as fled, or hid themselves in secret places: The Carcasses they left unburied for divers days, all dirty, and shamefully naked. Afterwards when the City began again to be inhabited, the Commissioners of Reformation came thither, promising them that if they would turn *Catholicks*, they should have their Liberties restored to them, but if they refused, they should be restrained from all trading; and when this prevailed not, they thrust Men and Women, young and old into Prisons, where they miserably afflicted them for four whole moneths. *As Prachatice* *Prodigious* *crackles.*

The like cruelty they used to all other Cities where they shewed and used all manner of impostures, deceits, tyrannies, and impudent practices, till they had rooted out the reformed Religion, and set up their idolatrous and superstitious worship in the stead of it.

The godly Ministers being generally removed, the next design of the Enemies was to take all Bibles, and other profitable Books out of the Peoples hands, that so the heat of Religion might in time grow cold: The Friers also which were placed in the Churches, did not presently thunder, but dealt fairly, beseeching and confirming the truth of their Religion with Oaths; and dreadful cursing of themselves, promising also the Emperors favor, and ease of their burthens; yea they sought by works of charity to oblige the poorer sort to them. *The reformed* *faith* *Arch-*

One Frier promised a bushel of Wheat to every one that would come to Confession; But when his Garners began to waste, he gave but half the measure, whereupon one flang away in anger, saying, *What, is my soul viler than the rest?* But when they perceived that they gained but few by their Fox-like subtilty, they returned to their Wolvish cruelty, compelling men to come to Mass, and taking the Names of all such as absented themselves, and if any went to private religious meetings, they were fined, imprisoned and whipt. *Popish* *school* *7.*

Some godly Persons being met together with a Minister, in a private Chapel, two Colonels with some Troops came upon them, encompassed the Church, rushed in with their drawn Swords, took the Minister from the Communion Table, stript off his Cloaths, and sent him away to Prison; then they cast the *Bread*

Christians  
stript.Popish un-  
cleannesse.

Bread upon the Earth, poured out the Wine, and trampled upon it : Then they fell upon the People, stripping Men and Women naked, it being frost and snow, so that many of them died ; some were wounded, others so affrighted that they fell into diseases : Modesty forbids to tell how they used the Women, even in the Church.

\*Then came out an Edict, that whosoever refused to turn *Papist*, whether Men or Women, young or old, bond or free, their Names should be returned to the Council of State, who would give instructions what should be done with their Persons and Estates.

The twenty se-  
venth Artifice.

Marriage, Burial and Baptism were forbidden to the Protestants, and if any did it privately, they were imprisoned, and not dismissed without Apostacy, or a great fine. Then was all trading inhibited, or means of getting their living, and at last buying of food, so that the poor people being oppressed with hunger and want, were either forced to flie, or to Apostatize.

Prodigious  
cruelties.

The Countrymen they fetched out of their Houses, yea out of their Beds, by troops of Soldiers, driving them like Beasts before them in the sharpest cold, and filled the common Prisons, Towers, Cellers, Stables, yea and Hogsties with them, where they were killed with hunger, cold and thirst.

A godly Chirurgeon, with others, was cast into a place full of Snakes. Another Company was thrust into a Stable, and all the windows stopt up, that they were almost stifled for want of breath. In some places they shut them up in Privies, that they might be poysoned with the stink. In some places they made holes, and knockt them full of Iron Spikes, wherein those that were shut, could neither sit nor stand, but bending and crooked : It was not possible that any Man could endure this posture above two or three hours, their sinews in the mean time trembling, and their members quivering, and their hearts ready to faint with anguish ; so that some were forced to promise to turn *Catholicks*, others that refused, were brought back to torture.

Then they devised a Prison upon the Water, very narrow, and not above a cubit and an half in length, wherein the Prisoner could by no means lay himself at length, and if he turned himself unawares, he must fall into the Water.

The twenty  
eighth Artifice.

Another design was, first to assault men of greatest authority, to make them an Example to the rest.

At Minion.

In the Town of *Minion* the Commissioner demanded of the People a positive answer, whether they would turn *Catholicks* : And one of them in the Name of the rest, saying, *that conscience neither would nor could be forced*, he was presently laid upon the ground and beaten, and still denying to turn *Catholick*, when he could hardly speak, he was torn in pieces : The rest affrighted at this terrible spectacle, promised obedience if time were given them.

Popish malice.

In another place the Senators refusing to turn Apostates, the chiefeft of them was made to ride the wooden Horse in the Market place, for six hours space, though he was very ancient, so that he was lame and half dead, when he was taken off.

Death denied  
them.

When any desired to die, rather than to forsake their Religion ; it was answered, *That the Emperor did not thirst after their Blood, but rather after the welfare of their Souls* : To others they said, *Oh, you affect the Glory of Martyrdom, but you are base Knaves, and are unworthy to have any thing to glory in.*

Prodigious  
wickedness.

There were many who would have died in the maintenance of their Christian Faith, but there were none that would inflict death upon them : For these cruel Tyrants, brought up in the Devils School, would not kill the Body but the Soul, and therefore they sought by lingring and continual punishments to bring them first to stagger, and then to deny the truth.

Blasphemy.

When any Man desired to be convinced by Scripture, they answered with scoffs and jeers, accusing the Scripture of imperfection, of obscurity, of ambiguity, saying, *That it was the Fountain of Heresie, the Sanctuary of Hereticks, and that*

Laymen



Laymen had nothing to do with it: They called the Bible *Wiblia*, which in the *Bohemian* Language, signifies *Vomit*. They took away all Orthodox Books from the People, that thereby they might be the more easily led into error.

In some places they shut up the People in the Church; and forced them to receive in one kind; and if they would not fall down to the Host, they used to beat their Legs with Clubs, till they fell down: Some they imprisoned and racked several times to force them to Auricular confession. Of others they set open their mouths with gags, and thrust the Host down their throats. In other places they forced the People, not only to abjure the Cup, but to throw it down, and to spit upon it, and to tread it under foot.

If any to avoid this Tyranny fled into the Woods and secret places, hunger drove them out again, whereby they became a prey to their Adversaries; if they went to neighboring places, some or other would betray them.

Edicts also were published, forbidding all to entertain such as fled, upon pain of forfeiting a hundred pieces of silver for every nights entertainment. Yet these miserable People could not go out of the Kingdom, not being acquainted with any other Language: Besides, they were told that ere long the like Tragedy should be acted every where.

Four Men of *Koffenburg* continuing constant after long imprisonment, they were first exposed to cold for five weeks together in the depth of Winter: Then for nine days they were pined with hunger, they having only a small portion of Bread that kept life and soul together, and drinking their own Urine, and when they were threatened with harder usage if they turned not, they answered, *We willingly embrace all afflictions, of famine, hanging, burning, or any thing, rather than we would sin against God.* Thereupon, only twice a week there was given them a mouthful of Bread, and a draught of Water. Then were they parted asunder, one thrust into the sink of the Prison, another into a Furnace, and none permitted to visit them; and when nothing would prevail, they set a fire upon them, and banished them.

Others were kept in Prisons and bonds till they died. One was kept in a filthy Prison till his Feet rotted off, and yet he passed away the time with singing of Psalms, as if he enjoyed all manner of delights.

Another Man being tired out with imprisonment, promised to turn *Catholic*, and was released; but presently (as himself wrote afterwards) God chastened him for this his fault, holding his conscience captive for an whole year together, so that he could have no hope in Gods mercy: Yet he recalled to mind former sinners, who upon their repentance obtained mercy of God: Thereupon he cried unto God a whole year together, night and day watering his Bed with his tears, because he thought himself damned; But at last God (saith he) sent his Angel to me, and I saw his glory brighter than the Sun, and I had Gods Spirit bestowed upon me, &c. After which he was apprehended, beheaded and quartered.

The Pictures of *John Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague* they defaced; All the Bibles that they could meet with, they burned; The graves of the Ministers they opened, took out their Bones and burnt them.

The Statues of King *Frederick* they beat in pieces, and trampled them under their Feet. One Man they fined at five hundred Dollars, for giving his Son the Name of *Frederick*.

Before these calamities befell the *Bohemians*, God gave them warning by sundry Prodigious. In several places divers Suns were seen together. At *Prague* the Sun seemed to dart out balls of fire. Also a flying Dragon, flaming horribly, was seen throughout all *Bohemia* and *Cilicia*. Also a Spring flowed with Blood for an whole month together. In another place a Fish-pond was wholly turned into Blood for the space of three days.

A great flock of Crows and Daws, fought together for a whole days space, whereby multitudes of them were slain.

At *Prague* it rained Brimstone, and the Image of the Crucifix being set up, was struck down with a Thunderbolt. The Gates of some Cities opened of their own accord. Many Bibles being thrown into a great fire, were untouched, only the margin a little scorched.

Gods Judgment on Apostates.

Many Apostates tormented by the sting of conscience, cried out, *They were damned*. Some to avoid these terrors, hanged themselves; others drowned themselves. Some died in fearful despair, others died suddenly: One as he was about to abjure, was stricken dumb, and being carried home was possessed with a great trembling all over his Body, and gnawing his own Tongue, he died miserably.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

Dr. *Knapper* a great Persecutor was slain by the appointment of his Wife an adulteress, for which she was afterwards hanged. Another vomited out his ungodly soul with blood. Another ran mad, and cast himself down from the top of his House, and so roaring fearfully, he breathed his last. Another shot himself to death with his own Pistol. Another ran mad, fell into such a disease, that none could come near him for stink, and at last was choaked with vomiting up abundance of Blood. Another being taken with a sudden disease, waxed as black as a Cole, uttered his Speech like the barking of a Dog, and within three days died with terrible pains. Another by the breaking of a great Gun, was torn all to pieces. Another had a terrible disease in his Throat, his Tongue rotted, many holes were eaten in his Throat, whereout his food and medicines came, so that he died miserably.

Collected out of a Book called *Historia Persecutionum Ecclesie Bohem.*  
Written by some Bohemian Exiles.

**H**AVING thus given you a brief Narrative of the Persecutions of the Church in *Bohemia*, from the first planting of the Gospel amongst them, to our present times: Before I proceed any further, let us a little look back to see how God fought for them, against their Popish Adversaries, and thereby after a wonderful manner plagued their Persecutors. Much may be read hereof in my *second Part*, in the Life of *Zisca*; But after his death, there was a great fear, and sorrow seized on his Army, and the Soldiers being divided amongst themselves, one part of them chose for their Captain *Procopius Magnus*, who still retained the name of *Thaborites*. The other part, thinking none worthy to succeed *Zisca*, named themselves the *Orphanes*, by reason of the loss of their Captain; yet whensoever their Popish Adversaries came against them, they both joyned together to defend themselves, and the liberty of the Gospel in *Bohemia*.

The Pope stirs up Persecution.

About this time Pope *Martin* perceiving the Gospel and the Professors of it to increase daily in *Bohemia*, he sent the Cardinal of *Winchester*, an *English* Man, into *Germany*, to stir up the Emperor and *German* Princes to make War against the *Bohemians*. Hereupon three Armies were levied, One under the Duke of *Saxony*; The Second under the Marquess of *Brandenburg*; The Third under *Otho* Arch-Bishop of *Trevers*: These three Armies entred *Bohemia* three ways, and at last joyning all in one, besieged the City of *Misna*, which but the night before was won from the *Papists* by one *Prichicho*, a learned and zealous Protestant, and therefore the Popish Armies resolved to take that place before they marched any further: But so soon as news came that the Protestants had raised an Army, and were hastening to the relief of *Misna*, they speedily fled before they ever saw an Enemy, leaving all their Engins of War, and a great Booty behind them.

Gods Judgments on Persecutors.  
The Popish Army flies.

The Cardinal meeting them in their flight, used all the arguments that possibly he could to the Nobles and Captains, to turn them back again, magnifying their



their number and prowess, and vilifying their Enemies, but when nothing would prevail, himself was fain to accompany them in the flight. Presently the *Bohemians* pursuing, fell upon their reere-ward, which made their flight much more fearful and disordered than it was before, neither did they leave flying till the *Bohemians* left pursuing of them.

The Emperor hearing of this shameful flight, went to *Nuremberg* and by the assistance of the Cardinal, a new Army was raised under the Command of *Frederick* Marquis of *Brandenburg*, which entered *Bohemia* one way, and another great Army under *Albert* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, which entered another way. In these two Armies were all the chiefest Nobles and Bishops in *Germany*, being above Forty thousand Horsemen, besides Foot.

A new Army raised.

The *Bohemians* as soon as they heard of their Enemies approach, gathered their Host with all speed to encounter them: But God marvellously fought for them; For before the *Bohemians* came near them, the Popish Army was struck with such a marvellous sudden fear, that they began most shamefully to run away; The Cardinal wondering at it, went up and down to the Captains, exhorting and encouraging of them, telling them that they were to fight for their Lives, Honor, Religion, and the salvation of Souls, &c. But notwithstanding all that he could say and do, the Ensigns were suddenly snatched up, and every Man ran headlong away, so that the Cardinal was forced to do the like: The Protestants encouraged hereby, speedily pursued them, and obtained a very great Booty. This so astonished both the Pope and Emperor, that afterwards they fought rather by subtilty to entrap them, than by force to compel them to forsake their Religion, as we have seen in the foregoing Story.

They fly when none pursue.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*The Persecution of the Church in Spain, which began Anno Christi 1540.*

**A**NNO 1540. There was one *Francis Romanes* sent by the *Spanish* Merchants of *Antwerp*, to *Breme* to take up some money that was due to them; where, being at a Sermon (through the marvellous working of Gods Spirit) he was so effectually wrought upon, that after the Sermon he went to the Preacher, and repeated the contents of his whole Sermon to him, and then betaking himself to the searching of the Scriptures, and conferring with learned Men, in a short space he had attained to a great measure of knowledge in the Word of life; which the Minister observing, and withal finding him of a fervent spirit, he directed and exhorted him to circumspection in his carriage, more and more instructing him in the knowledge of the Gospel, which he so greedily received as one that could never be satisfied. This made him give over seeking after temporal treasure, and instead thereof he bought good Books, by reading of which, and conference with the Minister, he much improved his knowledge in all the chief Articles of Religion. Then did he write Letters to his Countrymen at *Antwerp*, wherein he first gave thanks to God for revealing his truth to him; And did bewail the gross ignorance of his Countrymen, beseeching God to open their Eyes to understand the Word of salvation, and so promised shortly to return to them to confer with them about the grace of God, which he had received; and lastly, he declared his purpose of going into *Spain*, to acquaint his Parents and Friends with that wholesome Doctrine which God had communicated to him.

Francis Romanes converted.

See

He wrote other Letters also to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, opening to him the miserable state of *Christ's* Church, desiring him to tender the good thereof; especially to reform the gross corruptions of the Church of *Spain*; He wrote also a Catechism, and some other Treatises in the *Spanish* Tongue.

The Merchants at *Antwerp* having received his Letters, sent for him, pretending much good will, but secretly practising his destruction: For against his coming, they

See

Treachery. / they suborned some Friars, who so soon as he was alighting from his Horse, seized upon him, rifled his Books, and carrying him into a Merchants House, examined him; but he mightily confuting them, they bound him Hand and Foot, calling him *Lutheran*; they also burnt his Books before his Face, threatening to burn him likewise. Then was he sent Prisoner to a Tower six Miles from *Antwerp*, and cast into a deep Dungeon, where he endured much misery for eight moneths, at the end whereof, the Merchants supposing that he would be better advised for the time to come, released him. After this did he go to *Lovian*, where he had much conference with *Driander*, who advised him to continue in his calling of a Merchant, wherein he might have many opportunities of doing good; and for Religion, that he should do nothing for favor of Men, whereby the glory of God should be diminished. He advised him also to take heed of inconsiderate zeal, lest he should do as some, who going beyond the bounds of their vocation, thinking to do good, and to edifie, they destroy and do harm. For (said he,) it is God that takes care of his Church, and will raise up faithful Ministers for the same; neither doth he approve such as rashly intrude themselves into that function without any calling thereto.

Good counsel.

Note.

This advice *Francis* willingly hearkned unto, promising to follow the same. Not long after going to *Ratisbone*, where the Imperial Diet was held, having opportunity, he boldly stept to the Emperor, beseeching him to deliver his Countrey and Subjects of *Spain* from false Religion, and to restore them to the sincerity of *Christs* Doctrine, protesting that the Protestants of *Germany* were in the truth; and that the Religion of *Spain* was greatly dissonant to the Word of God, &c. The Emperor all this while heard him gently, promising him to consider of the matter, and so to do therein as he trusted should be for the best.

*Francis* being encouraged with this answer, went again to the Emperor a Second and Third time, and still received a quiet answer as before; yet not satisfied herewith, he went a Fourth time, but was repulled by some *Spaniards* about the Emperor, who were so incensed against him, that immediately they would have thrown him headlong into the River *Danubius*, if the Emperor had not restrained them, willing that he should be judged by the Laws of the Empire: Then was he cast into Prison, till the Emperors voyage into *Africk*, at which time he, with some other Captives, were carried into *Spain*, and there delivered unto the Inquisitors, who cast him into a dark Prison under ground: He was oft examined, loaden with many reproaches and contumelies, yet ever remained firm and unmovable, so that at last they condemned him to be burnt for an *Heretick*. As he was led to the place of Execution, they put upon him a Miter of Paper, painted all over with ugly Devils; As he passed by a Wooden Cross, they required him to Worship it, to which he answered, *That the manner of Christians was not to worship wood*: Being laid upon the Pile of Wood, when he first felt the fire, he lifted up his Head towards Heaven; whereupon the Inquisitors thinking that he would recant, caused him to be taken down, but when they found his constancy, they threw him on again, where he slept in the Lord. Then did the Inquisitors Proclaim that he was damned, and that none should pray for him, and that they were *Hereticks* whosoever doubted of his damnation.

Is imprisoned.

Carried into Spain.

Condemned by the Inquisitors.

Burned.

There was also dwelling at Saint *Lucar* in *Spain*, one *Rochus*, a skilful graver of Images: But the Lord pleasing to enlighten him with the saving knowledg of his truth, he gave over making of idolatrous Images, and imployed himself in making of Seals; only he kept standing on his stall an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, artificially graven for a sign of his occupation.

An Inquisitor passing by, and liking the Image, asked the price of it: *Rochus* set him a price, but was not willing to sell it: The Inquisitor bad him half so much: The other answered, that he could not afford it so, and that he had rather break it than sell it; yea, said the Inquisitor, let me see that if thou darest: with that *Rochus* with a Chisel cut off the Nose of the Image, whereupon the Inquisitor presently commanded him to Prison, and within three days he was condemned to be

Condemned.



be burnt. At the place of Execution he poured out his fervent Prayers to Almighty God, and so made a blessed end, *Anno 1545.*

Divers other godly persons being by the Inquisitors cast into loathsome Dungeons, ended their lives there.

*An. 1550.* at *Validolid*, the Inquisitors brought forth thirty prisoners together, of high and low estate, as also the Coffin of a certain noble Woman with her Picture lying upon it, she being dead long before, to receive Judgment and Sentence. For the Solemnities whereof, they had erected three great Stages; the first for the Kings Sister, the Lady *Jane*, and his eldest Son, Prince *Philip*, with other States; the second for the Fathers Inquisitors; and the third for the Prisoners. Multitudes of people being assembled together, these dear Servants of *Jesus Christ*, cloathed with Sambito's (a yellow Cloth hanging down before and behind, powdered with Red Crosses) and having burning Tapers in their hands, and Miters upon their Heads Painted with Devils, were placed in their Ranks; Then was a Sermon Preached, after which an Oath was administered to the Princes and Nobles, by the Inquisitors, That they should favor the holy Inquisition, and consent to the same; and that they should imploy their uttermost endeavor to see all them executed, which should swerve from the Church of *Rome*, and adhere to the *Lutherans*, without respect of Persons, of what degree, quality, or condition soever; and that they should compel their Subjects to submit to the Church of *Rome*, and to obey all its Laws, &c. Then was Doctor *Cacalle* called forth, a Man of excellent Learning, who had often Preached before the Emperor, whilst he was a Fryer: But being now accounted to be the Standard-Bearer to the *Lutherans*, he was called forth to hear his Sentence; which was, That he should be degraded, and presently burnt, and his goods confiscated.

Thirty Chel  
stems con-  
demned.

A wicked  
Oath.

Cacalle  
condemned.

The like Sentence of Condemnation was pronounced upon his Brother *Francis*, a Preacher also; who having spoken boldly against the Inquisition, they so stopt his Mouth that he could not speak a word. Then *Blanch* their Sister received the like Sentence, and so did most of the other, only some few of them were condemned to some years imprisonment; and to wear their Sambito's all their life time, &c.

Then was the Coffin of the dead Lady, with her Picture upon it, condemned likewise to be burnt. This good Woman, whilst she lived, was a worthy maintainer of the Gospel, of great integrity of life, and one that had divers Assemblies in her House, for the true Preaching of the Word of God; wherefore her House was also sentenced to be razed down, and a Pillar to be set up in the place thereof, with an Inscription shewing the cause.

People  
sentenced.

Then were all these that were sentenced to death, together with the Coffin, delivered to the Secular Magistrate; and so every one of them being set upon an Als, with their Faces towards his Tail, they were guarded by many Soldiers to the place of Execution. At which place, there was for each of them a Stake set up, to which every of them were bound; and so they were first strangled, and then burnt to ashes; only one of them, who had been most vehement against them, was burnt alive, and his mouth stopped, that he should not speak to the People. All Men marvelled at their constancy and quiet end.

Malice!

Many  
burnt  
together.

At the same time also, there were in Prison at *Validolid* thirty seven others, which were reserved for another Tragedy and Spectacle of the Bloody Inquisition. But seeing much mention is made of the *Spanish* Inquisition, and of the cruelty exercised thereby against the Poor Servants of *Jesus Christ*, I shall here set down the first original and progress thereof, as hereafter followeth.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XXVII.

*The Original, Progress, and Practice of the Spanish Inquisition.*

The Spanish  
Inquisition.

Invented by  
Dominicans.

WHEN King Ferdinand and Isabel, had expelled the *Turks* out of the City and Territories of *Granata*, and other places of *Spain*, who had lived there Seven hundred seventy and eight years, they set upon the Reformation of Religion, and granted the conquered *Moors* liberty to stay, and to enjoy all their Goods, provided, that they would turn Christians: And whereas also, there were many *Jews* who had continued there since *Titus* conquered *Jerusalem*, they gave them leave to stay upon the same condition; but all such as refused, were commanded presently to depart out of *Spain*. Yet afterwards, finding that those Persons were only Christians in name, and had submitted only to save their Estates, instead of providing godly Ministers with meekness to instruct them, and to draw them from their Errors (by the advice of the *Dominican* Fryers) they erected the Inquisition; wherein the poor Wretches, instead of Instructions, were robbed of all their Estates; and either put to most cruel deaths, or else suffered most intolerable torments by whipping, &c. and leading the rest of their lives in ignominy and poverty: Neither was this only inflicted upon such as blasphemed *Christ*, but for the observation of the least *Jewish* or *Moorish* Ceremony, or the smallest Error in the Christian Religion. But this Inquisition, at first erected against *Jews* and *Moors*, was afterwards turned against the faithful Servants of *Jesus Christ*, and for the suppressing of the Gospel, and the Profession of it. And thus briefly you have the original of it; let us now see what their practice and exercise is.

As soon as Information is given in against any one, though but for a very small matter, they do not presently cite the person to appear before them, but they suborne one of their Officers, called a Familiar, to insinuate himself into his company, who taking occasion to meet the party accused, uses thus to greet him. *Sir, I was yesterday by accident at my Lords Inquisitors, who said, That they had occasion to speak with you about certain of their affairs; and therefore they commanded me to summon you to appear before them to morrow at such an hour.* The party not daring to refuse, goes to the place, sends in word, *That he is come to attend them*; and so when he is called in, they ask him, *what suit he hath to them?* And when he answers, that he comes upon *Summons*; they inquire his name: For, say they, we know not whether you be the same man, or not. But since you are come, if you have any thing to inform this Court of, either concerning your self or any other, you may let us hear it, for the discharge of your own Conscience. The parties safest way is constantly to deny, that he hath any thing to declare to them. But if, through simplicity, he doth accuse himself, or any other, they rejoyce, as having attained their desires, and so presently commit him to prison.

Subtily.

If nothing be confessed, they dismiss him, pretending, That for the present they know not whether he be the party, or no. After his departure, they let him alone for some space, and then send for him again, exhorting him, That if he know, or hath heard any thing that concerns their Holy Court, to disclose it to them. For (say they) we know that you have had dealing with some persons suspected in Religion; and therefore remember your self well. If you confess, you shall fare the better, and you shall but do therein as a good Christian ought to do. If still he refuse, they threaten, and so dismiss him.

Yet they have always one or other to keep him company, to creep into his bosome, and grope his Conscience; who under the colour of Friendship shall visit him daily, and have an eye to all his dealings, observe what company he keepeth, with whom he confers, &c. So that without Gods special assistance, it is not possible to escape their snares. The Inquisitors also, if they meet him,  
speak



Speak courteously to him; promise to befriend him, &c. and all to make him more careless of himself, that they may undo him before he be aware: But if the party be a stranger, or one that is like to make an escape, or that they hope to gain any thing by his Confession, they presently clap him up in prison; in which prison great numbers die, either starved with hunger, or by extremity of racking of them, &c.

Their death with Anguish

If any one that is accused, chance to make an escape, they have many devices to find and fetch him in again. They have store of searchers, to whom, besides the common signs, they give his lively Picture, whereby they may easily know him. An *Italian* at *Rome*, having wounded an Apparator, fled to *Sevil*; the Familiars were sent to seek him; and when they had found him, though they had his counterfeit; yet by reason that he had altered his habit, they were doubtful whether it was he or no, the rather, because he had changed his name; whereupon they followed him only upon suspicion. But one day as he was walking, and earnestly talking with some Gentlemen, two of these Familiars suddenly called him by his old name: The party earnest in talk, and not minding it, looking behind him, and made answer; whereupon they presently apprehended him, clapt him in Irons for a long time, then whipt him, and condemned him to the Gallies, during his life. So soon as any is arrested by the Familiars, they take from him all the Keys of his Locks or Chests whatsoever, and then they take an Inventory of all his Goods, leaving them with some man that will undertake to be accountable for them. But in the Sequestering and Raising the Houses, if they have any Gold, Silver, or Jewels, these Familiars, which usually are Bawds, Thieves, Shifters, and the vilest of People, will be sure to filch some of it. And the reason of this Sequestration is, That if the party be condemned, the holy Inquisition may enjoy his whole estate.

Their Family an

Sequestration

As soon as the Prisoner is entred within the first Gate of the Prison, the Gaoler asketh him, If he have a Knife about him, or Money, or Rings, or Jewels; and if a Woman, whether she hath Knives, Rings, Chains, Bracelets, or other Ornaments; and all these the Gaoler strips them of as his fee. And this is done that the poor Prisoners may have nothing to relieve themselves with, during their imprisonment: They search them also, to see whether they have any Writing or Book about them, which likewise they take from them; then they shut them up in a Cabin, like to a Little-cave, where they have little room for cleanliness, and but little light.

Strip of all in Prison

Some are thus kept all alone for two or three Moneths, some as long as they live, others have company, as the Lords Inquisitors please. When the party hath been in Prison a week or two, the Gaoler perswades him to Perition for a day of hearing, telling him, The sooner the better, and that it will much further his cause, and bring it to some good effect, &c. Whereas it were far better for him to stay till he be called for, for then he hath nothing to do but to answer their objections. But the poor Prisoner, not knowing this mystery, is usually ruled by his Keeper, intreating him to stand his Friend to procure him a day of hearing, whose suit is easily heard, and the Prisoner is brought into the Confistory. Then do the Inquisitors ask him, What is his request? The Prisoner answereth, That he would gladly have his matter heard: Then they labor by threatening him with worse usage, if he conceal the truth, to cause him to confess the thing whereof he is accused; and if they can but draw him to this, they have their desires: For usually they draw more from him, than they could have proved against him. Then they advise him to let it come from himself, promising, That if he acknowledge his faults, he shall presently be released and sent home: If yet he stand mute, they then charge him to disburthen his Conscience, and in the mean time to return to his Prison, till he hath better be-thought himself, and then he may sue for a new day of hearing, and so they dismiss him.

Subsily

How Inquisitors deal with the Prisoners

After some days they call for him again, asking him, Whether he be yet determined to confess ought? But whether he plead his innocency, or confess some little, they still urge him to disburthen his Conscience, perswading him, That they advise him for the best, and in love and compassion to him; but if he now refuse the favor proffered, he shall find them afterwards sharp Justices, &c. and so send him back again to prison.

The third time he is called for, they use the like subtilty to draw him to Confession, telling him, That if he refuse, they must use extremity, and do what they can by Law; by which word they mean extream tormenting and mangling of him. Then if the party confess any thing; *Nay*, say they, *we are not yet satisfied, we have not all you can say, you keep back something on purpose.* And so they remand him to prison.

Having thus excruciated him day by day, if they can yet get nothing out of him, they then require an Oath of him, and hold a Crucifix or Cross before him, whereby the Poor Christian must at last needs shew himself: For knowing that he ought to swear by God alone, who hath reserved this honor to himself, he must refuse the Oath; which if he do, then they read a large Indictment against him, wherein they lay to his charge, things that never any Man accused him of, and, which it may be, himself never thought of: And this they do to amaze him, and so to try if he will confess any of these misdemeanors; or if they can trip him in his answers, and so catch him in their Net. Then they put him to answer to every Article particularly *ex tempore*, without any time of deliberation. Then they give him Pen, Ink, and Paper, requiring him to set down his answer in writing, to see if they can find any difference betwixt his former answer and this. And if the party chance to confess ought, then they inquire of whom he learned it, and whether he hath spoken of it before others, and who they are, and hereby many are brought into trouble. For, whether they liked it, or not, they are sure to be questioned, because they did not come and declare it to the Fathers Inquisitors. Then pretending to shew him favor, they appoint him an Advocate to blind the Peoples eyes, as if they proceeded according to the Rules of Justice: But this Advocate dares not tell his Client any Point of Law, that may do him good, for fear of angring the Inquisitors; neither may he speak privately with his Client, but either before an Inquisitor or a Notary.

Two or three days after the party hath had the Copy of his Accusation, he is called into the Court, where his Advocate is, as if he intended to defend his cause: But indeed, he dare say nothing to the purpose for fear of angring the Inquisitors; only he cheers up his Client, and bids him tell the truth in any Case, as the only way to prevail in that Court, and then is the Prisoner sent back again; who hopes that now his cause will be heard, and his business dispatched, whereas usually these good Fathers let him lie, two, or three, or four years in prison, without ever calling for him again: And if through loathsomeness and intolerableness of the Prison, any sue to come to hearing, it may be with much ado he obtains it, but usually that favor is denied him: Yet at length, when they please, they call for him to hear the Depositions of the Witnesses against him; which yet is not done till the poor Prisoner, by his grievous imprisonment, is brought so low, as that they think he will rather chuse death, than such a life; and therefore will be willing to tell all, that so he may be rid out of his misery. Then between rebuking and a gentle admonition, they tell him, that though he hath stood out so long, yet at length they would have him wiser to confess the truth: But if he yet refuse to be his own accuser, then the Fiscal produceth the Depositions, which are delivered to the Prisoner; but they are drawn up so intricately and ambiguously, that he knows not what to make of them. And this they do to conceal the Witnesses, lest he should except against them, and to set him on guessing, that so if he chance to reckon up any others, to whom he spake any thing about any of those matters, they may thereby get more Grist.



to their Mill : For they presently Out-law such Persons as favorers of Hereticks; for suffering an Heretick to sow such pestilent seeds amongst them, without complaining thereof to the Inquisitors.

The Keeper of the Prison also is examined, what he hath seen and observed of him in the Prison, and his testimony is as good as two witnesses, to take away the Prisoners life.

They have also Promoters to bring in Accusations, who are admitted, though frantick Bedlams, or the veriest Varlots that be; and in their Informations, if they chance to want words of weight, the Inquisitors will help them out, and prompt them word by word. Then after three or four days, the Prisoner is called again to put in his answer to the Depositions; but in the *interim* his Advocate never comes at him to assist or direct him, but he is left to himself without all help, save of God alone. His answer being viewed, he is remanded to Prison again with this *Item*, That if he confess not the truth, they will extort it out of him by extremity.

After two or three moneths more, he is called for once again, and required to speak what he hath for himself, or else they must draw to an end: And if he still shrinks not, but stands firm in his own Justification, they proceed to other dealings; in comparison of which, all their former proceedings are not only sufferable, but seem very reasonable and full of gentleness. For their future actions far exceed all barbarousness, the Devil himself being not able to go beyond them in their monstrous tyranny: For not long after, the Prisoner is called in before the Inquisitors, who tell him, That they have fully considered his whole case, and found out that he doth not declare the whole truth; and therefore they are resolved, that he shall be racked, that by force they may draw from him what by fair means he will not acknowledge: And therefore they advise him rather to do it voluntarily, and thereby to avoid the pain and peril that yet attends him: Yet whether he confess or not confess, all is one, for to the Rack he must go. Then is he led into the place where the Rack standeth, which is a deep and dark Dungeon under ground, with many a door to pass through, ere a Man come to it, because the shrieks and cries of the tormented should not be heard. Then the Inquisitors set themselves upon a Scaffold hard by the Rack, and the Torches being lighted, the Executioner comes in, all arrayed from top to toe in a Suit of black Canvas, his head is covered with a long black Hood that covereth all his face, having only two peep-holes for his eyes; which sight doth more affright the poor Soul, to see one in the likeness of the Devil to be his tormentor. The Lords being set in their places, they begin again to exhort him to speak the truth freely and voluntarily; then with sharp words, they command him to be stripped stark naked, yea, though the modest Maid, or chaste Matron in the City, whose grief, in regard of the Rack, is not half so great as to be seen naked in the presence of such manner of persons: For these wicked Villains, without any regard of honesty, will not by any Prayers of godly Matrons, or chaste Maidens, forbear one jot of that barbarous impudence. As if a Shirt or Smock could hinder the violence of the Rack from sufficiently tormenting them.

They proceed to the Rack.

Their Privy Parts are covered with Linen.

The party being thus stripped, the Inquisitors signify to the Tormentor, how they would have him or her ordered. The first kind of torment is the Gibbet or Pulley; but first one comes behind him, and binds his hands with a Cord eight or ten times about, the Inquisitors calling upon him to strain each harder than other; they cause also his thumbs to be bound extreme hard with a small Line, and so both hands and thumbs are fastned to a Pulley, which hangs on the Gibbet; then they put great and heavy Bolts on his heels, and hang upon those Bolts, between his feet, certain weights of Iron, and so hoist him or her up from the ground: And whilst the poor wretch hangs in the Pulley, they begin to exhort him again to accuse himself, and as many as are guilty of; then they command him to be hoisted up higher to the top of the Pulley, till his head touch the pulley. Having hung thus a good while, they command him to be let down, and twice

The Gibbet.

Inhumane  
cruelty.

Railings.

Scoffs.

Threats.

Another cruel  
torment.

The Trough.

Devilish cru-  
elty.

twice so much weight to be fastned to his heels, and so hoisted up again, and one inch higher if it may be: Then they command the Hangman to let him up and down, that the weights of the Iron hanging at his heels may rent every Joynt in his Body asunder. With which intolerable pains, if the party shriek or cry out, they roar out as loud to him to confess the truth, or else he shall come down with a vengeance. Then they bid the Hangman suddenly to slip the Rope, that he may fall down with a sway, and in the midway to stop; thus give him the *Strappado*, which being as soon done, it rends all his Body out of Joynt, Arms, Shoulders, Back, Legs, &c. by reason of the sudden jerk; and the weights hanging at his Legs. If he yet remain constant, they add more weight to his heels the third time, and the poor wretch already half dead is hoisted up the third time, and to increase his misery, they rail upon him, calling him Dog and Heretick, telling him, That he is like there to make his end. And if the poor Creature in his pangs call upon *Christ*, intreating, That he would vouchsafe to aid and assist him, thus miserably tormented for his sake; then they fall to mocking and deriding him, saying, *why calledst thou on Jesus Christ? Let Jesus Christ alone, and tell us the truth: what a crying out upon Christ makest thou? &c.* But if the party desire to be let down, promising to tell somewhat, that is the ready way to make him to be worse used, for now they think that he begins only to broach the matter: For when he hath done they command him to be haled up again, and to be let down as before; so that usually these torments are exercised upon him for three hours together. Then they ask the Gaoler, if his other torments are ready, to affright the poor Soul: The Gaoler answereth, That they are ready, but he hath not brought them with him. Then the Inquisitors bid him to bring them against the morrow; for, say they, we will try other ways to get the truth out of this fellow: And so turning to him that lies in miserable pain, having all his Joynts out. *How now, Sirrah, say they, how like you this gear? Have you enough of it yet? Well, see that you call your wits to you against to morrow, or look to die when: For what you have felt, is but a Fleabiting, in comparison, of what is behind. And so they depart.*

Then the Gaoler plays the Bone-setter so well as he can, setting his Joynts, and so carries him back to Prison, or drags him by the Arms or Legs most pitifully: If they mean to rack him no more, after two or three days they send for him again, and cause him to be brought by the Rack, where the Hangman stands in the likeness of a Devil, as before, the more to affright him. When he comes before the Inquisitors, they fall a perswading him to confess the truth at last; and if he confess any thing, he may chance to go to the Rack again, whereby they hope to extort more: And when indeed they intend to rack the party again, then at three days end, when the ach in his Joynts is most grievous and painful to him, they send for him, requiring him to declare all his Heresies, and to peach all such as he hath had conference with, about them, and all such as he knows to be of that mind, or else he must prepare himself for the Rack; and if he continue constant, he is again stripped of his cloaths, and hoisted up with weights at his heels, as before; besides which, as he hangs at the Pully, they bind his Thighs together, and Legs about the Calf, with a small strong Cord, and with a short piece of Wood they twist the Cord till it be shrunk so deep in the flesh, that its past sight; which is an extream and terrible torment, worse than any that he hath yet indured, and in this plight they let the poor Soul lie two or three hours: The inquisitors in the mean time not ceasing to exhort, perswade, threaten, and scoff at him.

Yea, sometimes they proceed to another kind of torture called the *Aselli*, which is after this manner. There is a piece of Timber somewhat hollowed on the top like a Trough, about the middle whereof, there is a sharp Bar going a cross, whereon a Man's back resteth, that it cannot go to the bottom; it is also placed so, that his heels shall lie higher than his head: Then is the naked party laid thereon; his arms, thighs, and legs bound with strong small Cords, and



wrested with short Truncheons, till the Cords pierce almost to the very Bone. Then they take a thick fine Lawn Cloth, laying it over the parties Mouth, as he lies upright on his Back, so that it may stop his Nostrils also; then taking a quantity of Water, they pour it in a long stream like a Thred, which falling from on high, drives the Cloth down into his Throat, which puts the poor wretch into as great an Agony, as any indure in the pains of death: For in this torture he hath not liberty to draw his Breath, the Water stopping his Mouth, and the Cloth his Nostrils; so that when the Cloth is drawn out of the bottom of his Throat, it draws forth Blood with it, and a Man would think that it tore out his very Bowels. This is iterated as oft as the Inquisitors please, and yet they threaten him with worse torments, if he confess not. And so he is returned to his Prison again.

Yet many times after he hath lain there a Moneth or two, he is brought again to the Rack, and used as before, yea, sometimes five or six times, even as oft as they please; for their Lust is a Law: And yet they have another torment with fire, which is no whit inferior to the former. They take a Pan of burning Charcoal, and set it just over against the Soles of the parties feet, just before he goes to the Rack; and that the fire may have the more force upon them, they bast them with Lard or Bacon. But if all extremity of torments will not force him to confess what they desire, nor to deny the truth, they use other means by subtil Interrogatories, and frequent Questionings, to draw him into some snare or other. Yea, if yet they cannot prevail, then some one of the Inquisitors comes to him in private, and shews himself much affected with his misery, weeps with him, comforts him, gives him advice, seems to impart such a secret to him, as he would scarce impart to his Father, or dearest friend alive. And this they use most with Women, whereas they are but fair Baits upon deadly Hooks, whereby they seek to destroy them: Whereof we have this example.

Torment with fire.

Subtilty.

At *sevil* there were apprehended, a godly Matron, two of her Daughters, and her Neece, who all of them underwent the forementioned torments, with Manly courage, and Christian constancy, because they would not betray each other, nor other godly Persons in that City. Then one of the Inquisitors sent for the youngest Maid oft to his Chamber, pretended much compassion towards her, spake much to comfort her, told her what a grief it was to him, to see her torments: And then he used familiar and pleasant communication to her; and told her, That he would advise her the best way to free her self, Mother, and Sister, from these troubles; that he would undertake the ordering of their business; and then perswaded her to disclose the whole truth to him; and he bound himself with an Oath, that he would stop all further proceedings against them, and procure their dismission. Having thus outwitted the poor Maid, who gave too much credit to him, she told him of some points of Religion which they had wont to confest amongst themselves: And so when he had gotten out of her what possibly he could, like a perfidious Villain, contrary to his vows, promises, and oath, he caused her to be racked again to get more out of her; yea, they put her also to the intolerable pain of the Trough, and through extremity of pangs and torments, they at last extorted from her a betraying of her own Mother, Sisters, and divers others, which were immediately apprehended, tortured, and at last burnt with fire. But when they were brought in great pomp upon the Scaffold, and had the sentence of death passed upon them, this Maid went to her Aunt, who had instructed her in the Principles of Religion; and boldly without change of countenance, gave her hearty thanks for that great benefit which she had received by her means, intreating her to pardon her for what she had offended her at any time, for that she was now to depart out of this life. Her Aunt comforted her stoutly, bid her be of good cheer, for that now ere long they should be with *Christ*. This Woman was openly whipt, and kept in prison during her life, the rest were all presently burned.

A woman and her two Daughters, and Neece, A Judas.

Perjury.

Another device that they have, is this. When they think that Prisoners, which are together, do talk together of Religion, exhorting and comforting one another,

Fly.

another, as they have occasion or opportunity; the Inquisitors commit to prison, under a colour, a crafty Knave whom they call a Fly; who after two or three days will cunningly insinuate himself into the bosoms of the other Prisoners, and then pretending a great deal of zeal to Religion, he will proffer discourse to them, and by degrees get out of their Mouths something whereof he may accuse them. Then doth he move for a day of hearing, and so getting to the Inquisitors, he peaches the Prisoners, who shall be sure afterwards to hear of it to their smart. Yea, these Flies, as soon as they are out of one Prison, for the hope of gain, will be content presently to be put into another, and then into a third; where they will lie in chains, as the other Prisoners do, enduring hunger, cold, stink, and the loathsomeness of Prison, and all to betray others: And this mans accusation is as strong and valid as the testimony of any other witness whatsoever. Other Flies also there be that serve the holy Inquisition abroad, slyly insinuating themselves into the companies of the common People, who are suspected to be *Lutherans*, and when they can pump any thing out of them, they presently betray them. They have yet this other device, when they can catch any Man that is noted for Religion, or a Minister that hath instructed others, after he hath been in Prison a while, they give it out, that upon the Rack he hath discovered all his disciples, and acquaintance, and they suborn others to aver that they heard it: And this they do to draw the simple People to come of their own accord, and to confess their faults to the Inquisitors, and to crave pardon, whereupon they promise them favor.

Their cruel  
Prisons.

The Inquisitors and their Officers use to call their Prisoners Dogs and Hereticks; and indeed, they use them much worse than most Men do their Dogs. For first, the place where usually each of them is laid, by reason of the straitness, ill air, and dampness of the Earth, is liker a Grave than a Prison; and if it be a Loft, in the hot weather, it is like a hot Oven or Furnace; and in each of these holes, usually two or three are thronged together: So that they have no more room than to lie down in. In one corner is a Stool of easment, and a Pitcher of Water to quench their thirsts. In these Cells they have no light, but what comes in at the Key-hole, or some small cranny; other some there are much worse, not being long enough for a Man to lie in: So that such as are put into them, never likely come out till they be half rotted away, or die of a Consumption.

Their Diet is answerable to their Lodging: The rich pay large Fees to the holy House, and every Prisoner is rated as the Inquisitors please: But such as are poor, the King allows them three pence a day, out of which, the Steward, Landress, and some other necessary charges are deducted; so that one half of it comes not to the Prisoners share: And if any be moved with compassion to relieve them, it is counted such an hainous offence, that it will cost him a scourging till Blood come at least.

It once hapned, that there was a Keeper appointed for their Prison, in the Castle of *Triana* in *Spain*, that was of a courteous disposition by nature, who used the Prisoners well, and closely, for fear of the Inquisitors, shewed them some favor: At which time, there was a godly Matron and her two Daughters committed to prison; which being put into several rooms, had a great desire to see each other for their mutual comfort in their distresses: Whereupon they besought the Keeper to suffer them to come together, if it were but for one quarter of an hour; the Keeper yielded, and so they were together about half an hour, and then returned to their former Prisons. Within a few days after, these Women being racked in a terrible manner, the Keeper fearing lest they would confess that little favor which he had shewed them, of his own accord went to the Inquisitors, confessed his fact, and craved pardon. But they deemed this so heinous an offence, that they presently commanded him to be haled to Prison, where by reason of the extremity shewed him, he fell mad. Yet this procured him no favor; for after he had been a whole year in a vile Prison, they brought him upon their triumphant Stage, with a *Sambenito* upon him, and a rope about his neck, and there they censured him

All Pity denied them.



him to be whipt about the City, and to have two hundred stripes, and then to serve in the Gallies for six years. The next day one of his mad fits coming upon him, as he was set on an Asses back to be scourged, he threw himself off, snatched a Sword out of the Officers hand, and had slain him, if the People had not immediately laid hold on him; whereupon he was bound faster on the Asses back, had his two hundred stripes, and was for this offence condemned four year longer to the Gallies.

Another Keeper at another time had a Maid, who seeing how miserably the Prisoners were used, pitying their distressed condition, who were hunger-starved, and almost pined, she would sometimes speak to them at the Grate, exhort and comfort them as well as she could, and sometimes would help them to some good and wholesome food; yea, by her means the Prisoners came to understand one anothers condition, which was a great comfort to them. But this at last coming to the Inquisitors ears, they enjoined her to wear the *Sambenito*, to be whipped about the Streets, to receive two hundred stripes, and to be banished the City for ten years, with this writing on her Head, *A favourer and aider of Hereticks*.

A Maid whipt for showing them favour.

And whereas all other sorts of Persons in Prison and bondage are allowed to recreate and refresh themselves with singing at their pleasure, these poor Souls are forbidden this small solace in their great misery: For if any of them sing a Psalm, or openly recite any portion of Scripture, the Inquisitors take it very hainously, and presently send to them, requiring them to be silent, upon the pain of Excommunication; and if the Prisoner make light of this warning, he shall have a bit set on his Tongue to teach him obedience: And this they do, both to deprive the poor Souls of all kind of solace, and to keep other Prisoners from knowing how their Friends do: So that it often falls out that a Man and his Friend, the Father and Son, yea the Husband and Wife shall be in one Prison-house two or three years together, and not know of each others being there, till they meet upon the Scaffold, upon the great day of Triumph.

The Prisoners denied leave to sing Psalms.

By reason of this cruel usage many of the Prisoners die, some of their torments, others of the stink of the Prison, and others of diseases contracted by hunger, cold, ill diet, &c. They have also an Hospital, unto which they remove such as fall sick in their Prisons, where yet they are not dealt more gently with in any thing, save that they have Physick allowed them for their healths sake: But none are suffered to come to them but the Physician, and the Servants of the Hospital: And as soon as the Patient is on the mending hand, he is carried back to the place whence he came.

Their Hospital.

If the Prisoner be half naked, or want something to lie on, and thereupon pray the Inquisitors that his necessity may be considered: The answer which he receives is this, *well, now the weather is warm, you may live full well without either cloaths or couch*: And if it be Winter time, his answer is, *True, it hath been a great frost of late, but now the cold is come down again, and it will be more seasonable weather*. Care you for the garments wherewithal you should cloath your Soul, which consisteth in uttering the truth, and discharging your conscience before this holy House: And if the Prisoner desire to have some good Book, or the holy Bible to enable him to pass that troublesome and careful time to some profit, The Inquisitors answers him, *That the true Book is to speak the truth, and to discharge his conscience to that holy Court, and that he ought to be occupied in laying open his wounds to their Lordships, who are ready to give him a plaister*. Whereby it appears that all their care and desire is, that the poor Prisoner may have nothing to look on or think on but his present miserable state, that the grief thereof grating upon him, may force him to satisfy their requests.

Cruel mercy.

The last act of the Tragedy remaineth, wherein both Parties are pleased and have their desire: The Inquisitors in obtaining their prey, The Prisoners in finding some end of their miserable usage: But two or three days before the solemnity, they use severally to call before them, all such whose estates are confiscated,

Their condemnation.

examining them what Lands or Goods they have, where they lie, charging them upon great penalties not to conceal one jot, telling them, that if any thing be afterwards found, Felony shall be laid to their charge, and he with whom it is found, shall pay foundly for it, and when all is confessed, they are returned to Prison again.

Their habits.

The night before the Festival, they caused all the Prisoners to be brought into a large Room, where they are informed of the several kinds of penances that they are to do the next day: The next morning very early, the Familiars come and attire the Prisoners in their several habits, in which they are to appear before the People: Some in *Sambenito's*, which is a long garment painted all over with ugly Devils; on his Head he hath an high-crown'd Hat whereon a Man is painted burning in the fire, with many Devils about him, plying him with fire and fagots. Besides, their Tongues have a cleft piece of Wood put upon them, which nips and pincheth them that they cannot speak; they have also about their Necks, Cords, and their Hands fast bound behind them. On this sort come these constant Martyrs disguised, first to the Stage, and then to the Stake; and in the like sort do all the rest come forth, arrai'd as the other, and set forth with the like notes of infamy, either more or less, as the Inquisitors please to disgrace them in the sight of the People. On each hand of every Prisoner goeth a Familiar, all Armed, to guard him: As also two Friars with every one that is to die, who perswade him tooth and nail to deny that Doctrine that formerly he hath professed, now at their going out of this world; which wicked importunity is a great grief to the poor Servants of *Jesus Christ*.

The Inquisitors also pass in great pomp from the Castle of *Triana* to their Scaffold: And when all are set in their places, a Sermon begins, framing on purpose in commendations of the holy House, and in confutation of such Hereticks as are presently to suffer: But the greatest part is spent in slanderous reproaches, wherewith they vilifie and disgrace the truth, and the Professors of it. The Sermon being ended, the Sentences against the Prisoners are read; First, against such as have easiest punishments, and so in order to the greater; Which Sentences are commonly these, Death without mercy; Whipping in such extremity that the Persons seldom escape with their lives; Condemnation to the Gally; Forfeiture of all their Estates, &c.

Then doth the chief Inquisitor absolve all such as have forsaken *Christ*, and are come home to the Church of *Rome*, from all the errors for which they shewed themselves penitent; But though hereby they are absolved from the fault, yet not from the punishment; For notwithstanding their Recantation, they must abide the punishment without mercy.

A wicked Oath.

And whereas multitudes of People resort to this spectacle, some coming twenty Leagues to see it; The Inquisitors have this trick to uphold their Kingdom, They cause all the People present, to take an Oath to live and die in the service of the Church of *Rome*, hazarding both Life and Goods against any that shall oppose it; as also to their power, to uphold and maintain the holy Inquisition, and to defend all the Officers thereof, &c.

Degradation.

Then if there be any amongst the Prisoners to be degraded, they proceed after this manner. First, they apparel him in his Massing Robes, then they despoil him again of every part thereof; Then are his Hands, Lips, and the Crown of his Head scraped with a piece of Glass, or a sharp Knife till they bleed again, to scrape off the holy Oyl, wherewith he was anointed at his Ordination. In the end of their Sentence which is pronounced upon such as are to be burned, they use this abominable Hypocrisie: They bequeath him to the secular power, with this humble request to them, to shew the Prisoner as much favor as may be, and neither to break any Bone, nor pierce the skin of his Body: This shews their great impudence, that having already given Sentence on him to be burned, they yet should pretend such mercy and clemency towards him, whom all along themselves have used with such extream cruelty.

Hypocrisie!

They



They use also this trick further, that in reading the crimes for which he is condemned, they do not only misreport such things as he confessed upon his examination, but they devilishly father upon him such things as he never spake, or thought of in all his life; and this they do to disgrace him, and to make him and his opinions more abhorred of all Men. and to encrease their own estimation and credit, as being necessary Officers to rid the world of such pestilent Persons; and all this while the Prisoners Tongue hath a cleft piece of Wood upon it to his intolerable pain and grief, that he cannot answer for himself, nor gainsay that they charge him with.

All these things being finished, the Magistrate takes them into his hand, and conveys them presently to the place of execution, with divers instruments of Satan about them, calling and crying to them to forsake the truth; and when they cannot prevail, after the Prisoner is tied to the Stake, they break his Neck in a trice, and then they report amongst the common People that they recanted their Heresies at the last hour, and so came home to the Church of Rome, and therefore they felt no pain in the fire at all, which made them take it so patiently.

Abominable  
lyce.

Such as are not condemned to die, are carried back to Prison, and the next day brought up to be whipt, after which some of them are sent to the Gallies, others kept in Prison all their life time: But all have this special charge given them, that they never speak of any thing that they have heard, seen, or felt, during their imprisonment in the Inquisition; For if the contrary be ever proved against them, and that they utter any of their secrets, they shall be taken for Persons relapsed, and be punished with greatest severity, their judgment being death without Redemption; and hereby they keep in all their Knavery and Tyranny close and secret to themselves: And if any of them be released because their faults were but small, they are yet so careful lest their cruelty should come to light, that they inhibit them the company or conference with any other, than such as they shall appoint and allow them; neither will they suffer them to write to any Friend, except they first have the perusing of their Letters.

Their cruelty  
concealed.

Sometimes also, after they have imprisoned Men in such a miserable state, for a year or two, and can extort nothing out of them by their torments, nor prove any thing against them by witness, so that they must necessarily dismiss them, they then call them into the Court, and begin to flatter them, and tell them what a good opinion they have of them, and that they are resolved to send them home, for the which fatherly favor extended towards them in saving their Lives and Goods, they are to account themselves much beholding to their Lordships, &c. And so at last they dismiss him with special charge of silence; and when he is gone, they have special Spies, abroad to see how he takes the matter; and if they find that he complains of his punishments, or discloses their secrets, they presently commence a new suit against him.

Flattery.

On a time the Inquisitors at *Sevil* apprehended a noble Lady; The cause was, for that a Sister of hers, a very vertuous Virgin, who was afterwards burned for Religion, had confessed in the extremity of her torments, that she had sometime had conference with this her Sister about matters of Religion: This Lady when she was first apprehended, was gone with Child about six moneths, in respect whereof they did not shut her up so close at first, nor deal so severely with her as they did with others: But within four days after she was brought to Bed, they took the Child from her; and the seventh day after, they shut her up in close Prison, and used her in all things as they did other Prisoners. The only wordly comfort that she had in her misery, was, that they lodged her with a vertuous Maiden that was her Fellow-Prisoner for a time, but afterwards burned at the Stake: This Maid whilst they were together, were carried to the Rack, and so sore strained and torn thereon, that she was almost pulled in pieces; Then was she brought back

A Lady imprisoned.

Their cruel  
usage of her.

and thrown upon a Bed of flags, that served them both to lie on: The good Lady was not able to help her, yet shewed singular tokens of love and compassion towards her.

They torment  
her in the  
trough.

The Maid was scarce recovered when the Lady was carried out to be served with the same sauce, and was so terribly tormented in the trough, that by reason of the strait straining of the strings, piercing to the very Bones of her Arms, Thighs and Shins, she was brought back half dead to her Prison, the Blood gushing out of her mouth abundantly, which shewed that something was broken within her: But after eight days the Lord delivered her from these cruel Tygers by taking her mercifully to himself.

She died.  
John Pontio.

Upon one of their days of triumph, there was brought out one *John Pontio*, of a noble Family, a zealous Professor of the truth, and one of an holy and blameless life, and well learned; he was eminent also in works of charity, in which he had spent a great part of his estate: Being apprehended for the Profession of the Gospel, he was cast into Prison, where he manfully maintained the truth in the midst of all their cruel dealings with him. At last they cast into Prison to him one of their Flies, who by his subtilty and craft, so wroght upon him that he drew from him a promise to yield obedience to the *Romish* Church. But though God suffered him to fall a while to shew him his frailty, yet afterwards in much mercy he raised him up again with double strength to that which he had before, and before his Execution he manfully defended the truth against a subtil Frier. The things which he was condemned for, were these; *That he should say, that from his heart he abhorred the Idolatry which was committed in worshipping the Host. That he removed his household from place to place, that he might shun coming to the Mass. That the Justification of a Christian resteth only in the Merits of Jesus Christ apprehended by Faith, &c. That there was no Purgatory. That the Popes pardon were of no value, &c. And for my self,* (saith he,) *I am not only willing but desirous to die, and ready to suffer any punishment for the truth which I have professed: I esteem not of this world nor the treasures of it more than for my necessary uses, and the rest to bestow in the propagation and maintenance of the Gospel: And I beseech God daily upon my knees for my Wife and Children, that they may all continue in this quarrel even to the death.* And when he came to his Execution, he patiently and comfortably slept in the Lord.

Humane frailty.

Recovery.

His Speech at death.

John Gonfalevo.

At the same time there was also brought forth one *John Gonfalevo*, formerly a Priest, but by his diligent study of the Scripture it pleased God to reveal his truth to him, so that he became a zealous Preacher of it, laboring in all his Sermons to beat into Mens minds the true way, and means of our Justification to consist in *Christ* alone, and in stedfast Faith in him; for which he was apprehended and cast into Prison, where he endured all their cruelty with a Christian courage: At last, with two of his Sisters, he was condemned. His Mother and one of his Brothers were also imprisoned with him for the truth, and executed shortly after. When he with his Sisters went out at the Castle Gate, having his Tongue at liberty, he began to sing the 106 *Psalm* before all the People, who had often heard him make many godly Sermons: He also condemned all Hypocrites as the worst sort of People; whereupon they stocked his Tongue. Upon the Stage he never changed countenance, nor was at all daunted. When they all came to the Stake, they had their Tongues loosed, and were commanded to say their Creed, which they did chearfully; when they came to those words, *The holy Catholick Church*, They were commanded to add; *Of Rome*, but that they all refused; whereupon their Necks were broken in a trice: And then 'twas noised abroad that they had added those words, and died, confessing the Church of *Rome* to be the true *Catholick* Church.

Tormented in Prison.

With a cleft  
stick.

A Church in  
still.

There was in *Sivil* a private Congregation of Gods People, most of which the Inquisitors consumed in the fire, as they could discover any of them: Amongst others that were apprehended, they took four Women, famous above the rest for



for their holy and godly conversation, but especially the youngest of them, who was not above one and twenty years old, who by her diligent and frequent reading of the Scriptures, and by conference with godly and learned Men, had attained to a very great measure of knowledg; so that whilst she was in Prison, she non-plus'd and put to shame many of those Friars that came to seduce her.

Another of these Women was a grave Matron, whose House was a School of Vertue, and a place where the Saints used to meet, and serve God day and night: But the time being come wherein they were ripe for God, they, together with other of their Neighbors, were apprehended and cast into Prison, where they were kept in dark Dungeons, and forced to endure all the cruel and extream torments which are before mentioned: At last they were condemned, and brought forth to the Scaffold amongst other Prisoners. The young Maid especially came with a merry and chearful countenance, as it were triumphing over the Inquisitors, and having her Tongue at liberty, she began to sing *Psalms* to God; whereupon the Inquisitors caused her Tongue to be nipped by setting a Barnacle upon it. After Sentence read, they were carried to the place of Execution, where with much constancy and courage they ended their lives: Yet the Inquisitors not satisfied herewith, caused the House of the Matron where the Church used to meet, to be pulled down, and the ground to be laid waste, and a Pillar to be erected upon it with an inscription shewing the cause.

Some of them  
cast into Pri-  
son.

A clef-  
Their death.

Malice.

There was also apprehended another worthy member of the same Congregation called *Ferdinando*; he was of a fervent spirit, and very zealous in doing good: A young Man, but for his integrity of life, very famous. He had spent eight years in educating of Youth, and had endeavored to sow the seeds of Piety in the hearts of his Scholars, as much as lay in him to do in a time of so great Persecution and Tyranny; Being at the last apprehended for a *Lutheran*, he was cast into Prison, and terribly tormented upon the Gibbet, and in the Trough, whereby he was so shaken in every joynit, that when he was taken down, he was not able to move any part of his Body; yet did those cruel Tormentors draw him by the heels into his Prison, as if he had been a dead Dog: But notwithstanding all his torments, he answered the Inquisitors very stoutly, and would not yield to them one jot. During his imprisonment God used him as an Instrument to regeal and confirm a Monk, who had been cast into Prison for confessing the Gospel openly. But by means of the Inquisitors flatteries and fair promises he had somewhat relented: Gods Providence so ordering it, that *Ferdinando* was cast into the same Prison, and finding the Monk wavering, he rebuked him sharply; and afterwards having drawn him to a sight of, and sorrow for his sin, he at last strengthened him in the promise of free grace and mercy. Hereupon the Monk desired a day of hearing, where before the Inquisitors, he solemnly renounced his Recantation, desiring that his former confession might stand, whereupon the Sentence of death passed against them both: After which the Inquisitors asked *Ferdinando*, Whether he would revolt his former Heresies; To which he answered, That he had professed nothing but what was agreeable to the pure and perfect word of God, and ought to be the profession of every Christian man, and therefore he would stick to it to the death: Then did they clap a Barnacle upon his Tongue, and so they were burned together.

*Ferdinando*.

His torments.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

Humane in-  
mity.

Recovery.

Execution.

There was also one *Juliano*, called, *The Little*, because he was of a small and weak Body, who going into *Germany*, was there conversant with divers learned and godly Men, by which means he attained to the knowledg of the truth, and became a zealous professor of it, and earnestly longing after the salvation of his Countreymen, he undertook a very dangerous work, which was to convey two great dry Fats full of Bibles Printed in *Spanish*, into his own Countrey: In this attempt he had much cause of fear, the Inquisitors had so stopped every

*Julian*.

Zeal.

A special Providence.

every Port, and kept such strict watch, to prevent the coming in of all such commodities: But through Gods mighty Protection; he brought his burden safely thither, and which was almost miraculous, he conveyed them safe into *Sivil*, notwithstanding the busie Searchers and Catch-poles that watched in every corner. These Bibles being dispersed, were most joyfully and thankfully received, and through Gods blessing, wrought wonderfully amongst Gods People to ripen them against the time of harvest. But at last the matter broke out by the means of a false Brother, who going to the Inquisitors; played the *Judas*, and betrayed the whole Church to them. So that there were taken at *Sivil* at one time, Eight hundred Christians, whereof Twenty of them were afterwards roasted at one fire.

A false Brother.

Twenty burnt.

Juliano's torments and constancy.

Amongst these, this *Juliano* was one of the first that was apprehended and sent to Prison, where he lay without any company, laden with Irons above three years; yet was his constancy so great and wonderful, that the Tormentors themselves were sooner wearied in inflicting, than he in suffering torments; and notwithstanding his weak and wearyish Body, yet he remained undaunted in mind in undergoing all their tyrannies, so that he never departed from the Rack more dejected than he came to it; neither threatnings, nor pains, nor torments made him shrink or yield one jot to them: But when he was drawn back to his Prison, he would tell his Fellows how he had conquered and confounded his Enemies, saying, *They depart vanquished, they depart vanquished; The wolves flie with shame, they flie with shame.*

His death.

In the day of their Triumph, when he was brought out to be apparelled (with his other Fellow-Prisoners) in all their shameful habits, he exhorted them with a chearful countenance, saying, *My Brethren be of good chear, this is the Hour wherein we must be faithful witnesses unto God and his truth before Men, as become the true Servants and Soldiers of Christ, and ere long we shall have him to witness with us again; and within a few Hours we shall triumph with him in Heaven for ever:* But hereupon they presently clapt a Barnacle upon his Tongue that he should speak no more, and so he was led to his Execution, But though he could not speak, yet by his countenance and gestures he shewed his chearful and quiet mind: Then kneeling down, he kissed the step whereon he stood, and being tyed to the stake, he endeavored by his looks and gestures to encourage his Fellow-Martyrs in their sufferings, and so they quietly and patiently resigned up their Spirits unto God.

John Leon.

There was also *John Leon*, a Tailor by Trade, who out of a blind devotion to serve God, resolved to enter into a Monastery, but by Gods Providence it so fell out that he entred into a Cloister at *Sivil*, wherein most of the Monks were well affected to the true Religion, amongst whom in two or three years space, he was so grounded in the principles of Religion, that he resolved to leave that kind of life, which accordingly he did, and went into the Country, yet after a time he had a great mind to confer with his former School-masters: but when he came back to the Cloister, he found that they were all fled into *Germany*: Hereupon he resolved to follow them, and through many dangers and perils, it pleased God at last after a long and tedious journey, to bring him safe to *Franckfort*, where he met with some of his old acquaintance, and with them he travelled to *Geneva*. About which time Queen *Mary* suddenly dying, and Queen *Elizabeth* of blessed Memory succeeding her, the *English* Exiles that lived in those parts were called home; whereupon divers *Spaniards* that sojourned at *Geneva*, thinking *England* a fitter place for their Congregation, resolved to accompany the *Englishmen*; and for this end they dispersed themselves into several companies that they might travel with the more safety; The Inquisitors took the departure of these Monks so ill, that not sparing any cost, they sent their Flies abroad to apprehend them; who way-laid them, especially at *Collen*, *Franckfort*, *Antwerp*, and in all the ways that led from *Geneva*. This *John Leon* had gotten him a companion, with whom he travelled towards *England*, who

Leon goeth towards England.



who being discovered at *Argentine*, were dogged into *Zealand*, and as they were ready to take Ship, they were apprehended. *John Leon* took his arrest very composedly, never changing countenance at it: They were presently carried back into the Town, where they were miserably racked to discover their Fellows, and not long after were shipped for *Spain*, having great Irons, wrought like a Net, that covered both Head and Face, within which also was another piece of Iron made like a tongue, which being thrust into their Mouths took away their Speech: They were also loaden with other Engins and Fetters of Iron; wherewith they were bound Hand and Foot, and in these continual pains and torments they lay a Ship-board till they came into *Spain*, and then *John Leon* was sent to *Sivil*, and his companion to *Validolid*, where afterwards in defence of the truth he suffered Martyrdom: But *John* remained long in Prison, where he tasted of the Inquisitors tyranny, suffering both hunger and cold, and enduring all their torments one after another, and at last was brought out in their solemn shew, arrayed after their usual manner. It was a sad sight to see such a Ghost as he was, his Hair so grown, his Body so lean, that he had nothing but skin and bones left on him, and his pain much increased by having a Barnacle upon his Tongue. After Sentence of death pronounced upon him, they set his Tongue at liberty hoping that he would have recanted; but he made a stout and godly Confession of his Faith, and so quietly ended his life in the flames.

There was also burned at the same time a godly Virgin, that had formerly been a Nun; but being, through Gods grace, converted, she left her Cloister, and joyned her self to the Church of *Christ*. Being apprehended by the Inquisitors, she was intreated as others had been before her; and last was brought out to the Scaffold, where with a manly courage she put the Inquisitors to a foul foil, not only constantly affirming the truth, but sharply rebuking those Fathers, calling them dumb Dogs, a generation of Vipers, &c. Being brought to the stake, with a chearful countenance she underwent the pains of death, and so quietly slept in the Lord.

There was also one *Christopher Losada*, a Physitian, a learned Man and very well studied in the Scriptures, as also of a very holy conversation, inasmuch as he was chosen Super-intendent of the Church of *Christ* in *Sivil*, which at this time was very great, though dispersed into corners. At last he was apprehended by the Inquisitors, before whom he made a good Confession of his Faith, for which he endured hard and sharp imprisonment, with most cruel torments, and the open infamy of their solemn shew, and lastly was adjudged to the fire. As he stood at the stake, the Barnacle being taken from his Tongue, he disputed notably with some Monks that came to seduce him; and when they spake Latine that the common People might not understand them, *Losada* also began to speak in Latin so copiously and eloquently, as was strange to hear that he should have his Wits so fresh when he was ready to be burned: After which he patiently resigned up his spirit unto God in the fire.

There was also in *Sivil* one *Arias*, a Man of a sharp wit and well studied in Divinity, but withal of a crafty Wit and inconstant Nature; which vices he yet covered with a cloke of Religion, whereby he deceived many. About this time there were also in that City two sorts of Preachers, and both had a great number of Auditors: The one taught School-Divinity, and were continually calling upon their Hearers to often fastings, mortification, self-denial, frequency of Prayer, humility, &c. But themselves practised nothing less than these things: And indeed all their Religion consisted in works and bodily exercises, as running to Masses, hallowed places, shrift, &c. The other sort dealt more sincerely with the holy Scriptures; out of which they declared what was true righteousness, and perfect holiness: By means whereof that City above all others in *Spain*, bore the name for just and true dealing; and it pleased God that the brightness of this light did discover all the counterfeit holiness, and

Pharise

He turns Per-  
secutor.

Pharasaical devotion of the other party : The chief Laborers in this harvest were *Constantino*, *Agidius*, and *Varquius*, all Doctors, and sober, wise, and learned Men; who by this kind of Preaching procured to themselves many Enemies. But above all others, *Arias* was the most spiteful and malicious; yet he carried it so cunningly, that he still kept up his reputation with these Men : But it was not long before he discovered himself, and that upon this occasion; There was one *Ruzius*, a learned Man, questioned before the Inquisitors, for something that he had delivered in a Sermon about the Controversies in Religion : The Inquisitors appointed him a day of hearing; and two or three days before, *Arias* met him, saluted him courteously, and discoursed familiarly with him : Then did he pump out of him, all those Arguments wherewith he intended to defend himself before the Inquisitors. When the day came, and *Ruzius* appeared, *Arias* went on that side where his opponents were, which much amated *Ruzius*; and in the disputation, *Arias* being prepared, did so wittily entervate all his Arguments, that *Ruzius* had nothing to say for himself, and so was fain to yield the cause, and *Arias* went away with the honor of the Field, though he got it by treachery. Yet did this *Arias*, being of Saint *Isidores* Monastery, preach so practically, that a great light began to dawn in that dark place : For the whole scope of his Sermons was to overthrow all their Profession; He taught them that singing and saying of their Prayers day and night was no service of God, that the holy Scriptures were to be read and studied with diligence, whence alone the true service of God could be drawn, and which alone teach us the true obedience to his Will, to the obtaining whereof we must use Prayer as a means, proceeding as well from a sense and feeling of our own infirmities, as grounded upon a perfect trust and confidence in God.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

By laying these foundations, through Gods blessing, he began to make them out of love with their Monkish Superstition, and much provoked them to the study of the holy Scriptures. Besides also his Sermons, he read daily a Lecture upon *Solomons Proverbs* very learnedly, and made application thereof with good judgment and discretion; also in his private conference he did much good. The Lord also so ordered it in his wisdom, that he met with Schollers that were very tractable, such as were not greatly wedded to their Superstitions. And such was the force and might of Gods Election, that these few good Seeds so fructified, that in the end they brought forth a great encrease of godliness. For divers of the Monks, that hereby had their consciences awakened and cleared, to see their former Hypocrisie and Idolatry, sought out for further instructions, and through Gods mercy, they light upon those Preachers which taught the truth with more sincerity, of whom they learned the Principles of pure and perfect Religion, so that by degrees they left that evil opinion which they had formerly conceived against the *Lutherans*; and were desirous to read their Books : And God miraculously provided for them, that they had all sorts of Books brought them that were extant at that time, either in *Geneva* or *Germany*; whereby it came to pass that there were very few in all that Cloister but they had some taste of true Religion and Godliness; so that instead of mumbling their Mattens, they brought in Divinity-lectures, &c. Vain fasting was turned into Christian sobriety, neither were any taught to be Monkish, but to be sincerely and truly Religious.

But considering that when this should be once known they could not live in any safety, they resolved among themselves to forsake their nest, and to flee into *Germany*, where they might enjoy more safety of their lives, and freedom of their consciences; But how to get thither was all the difficulty; If one or two should go first, the rest would be exposed to danger : If many should go together, a thousand to one but they would be taken again; being to travel from the furthest part of *Spain* into *Germany*; yet upon debate they concluded,



concluded, That they must all either speedily depart, or shortly be apprehended by the Inquisitors, who now had got some inkling of the matter. And God seeing them in this distress, shewed them a means how, under an honest pretence, a dozen of them might depart together within a Moneth, and each betake himself a several way towards *Geneva*, where they appointed, by Gods assistance, all to meet within a Twelve Moneth: The rest, which were but young novices, were left behind; who yet not long after were so strengthened by God, that they indured the brunt of Persecution when it came: Three of them being burned, and divers others diversly punished.

The aforementioned Servants of *Jesus Christ* forsook that place where they lived in honor, ease, and plenty; and by undertaking for *Christs* sake, a voluntary exile, exposed themselves to shame, ignominy, wants, yea, and were in continual danger of their lives also. And under God, *Arias* was a great means of this, who, by his Ministry, had first inlightened them with the knowledge of the Truth: For which, he was often complained of to the Inquisitors, and was convented before them; where he so cunningly answered the matter, that he was still discharged: But his last apprehension, through the mercy of God, brought forth in him the fruits of true repentance; for he did so deeply and unfeignedly bewail, and repent of his former withholding of the truth in unrighteousness; that whereas he used to be exceeding fearful of the Rack, he being brought to it, and upon it, with a marvellous constancy withstood the Enemies of Gods truth, and took up the Inquisitors roundly; withal telling them, that he was heartily sorry, and did most earnestly repent him, for that he had wittingly and willingly in their presence impugned the Truth, against the godly Defenders of the same: Many other sharp rebukes he gave to the Inquisitors, so often as he came to his answer. But at last, he was brought forth arrayed in their accustomed manner upon their day of triumph, at which time, he also made a notable Profession of his Faith, and so was led from the Stage to the Stake with a merry and chearful countenance; where, by the notable example of his repentance at his death, he made satisfaction to the Church of *Christ* for all his former unfaithful and hypocritical dealing with them. And so quietly slept in the Lord.

Amiable Repose.

His Courage.

His Martyrdom.

### The Life of Doctor Egidio.

DOCTOR *Egidio*, who is before-mentioned, was brought up in the University of *Alcala*; where he took all his degrees, and was a hard Student in School-Divinity. But the Study of the holy Scriptures was there so neglected and contemned, that if any one read it, he was in contempt and scorn called *A good Bibler*. Afterwards being Publick Reader of Divinity in that University; he grew famous all over Christendom, and was sent for to *Sivil* to be Divinity-Reader in the Cathedral Church, where he was so highly esteemed, that soon after he was chosen Subdean; yet did he not attempt to Preach openly, nor had once so much as opened the Bible to read and study the Scriptures: And therefore the first time that he came into the Pulpit, contrary to all Mens expectations, he was found so unfit for such a Function, that he grew out of conceit with himself, and was contemned by others; insomuch, as they fell to repent themselves, the one for admitting him so unadvisedly, the other for taking upon him that Office so arrogantly. But having passed over some time, it so fell out, that he met with a plain Man which gave him such instructions, That after a few hours conference, he learned by him what the Office and Duty of a Preacher was; and by what means he might attain thereto: And, through Gods Blessing, his advice was so effectual, that now Dr. *Egidio* was quite altered, and became a

Scriptures

contemned

Gross Ignorance

ance

Ministers ho-  
nored.

new Man, thinking all his former life and labor ill spent, and therefore he resolved to steer another course. He also fell into acquaintance with Dr. *Constantine*, a Man excellently well learned, by whose conference and advice he profited marvellously in his Studies, fell to the reading of good Authors, and grew to profound knowledge in the holy Scriptures : So that after a time, he began to Preach as learnedly, godly, and zealously, as he had before done coldly, foolishly, and unskilfully. Then did his hearers find the marvellous force of that doctrine which was taught them by these three worthy Men, *Egidio*, *Constantine*, and *Varquio* : So that the more they crept out of their former ignorance, and grew in knowledge, the more they esteemed and honored them.

*Egidio* cho-  
sen Bishop.

He is perse-  
cuted.  
Imprisoned.

Hereupon there were daily Complaints made against them to the Inquisitors, especially against Dr. *Egidio*, who did more openly than the rest inveigh against the Adversaries of the Truth. But it so fell out, by Gods Providence, that just at the same time, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, in respect of his singular Learning and Integrity of Life, elected him to the Bishoprick of *Dortois*. Then did those Hypocritical Inquisitors bestir themselves on all hands, citing him to come before them, where Articles were exhibited against him; and thereupon they cast him into Prison, and examined him. But the Emperor, who had elected him to the Bishoprick, and the whole Chapter of the Cathedral Church in *Sivil*, became very earnest Sutors to the Inquisitors in his behalf.

Gods judg-  
ment on Per-  
secutors.  
Released.

It fell out also, that just at the same time, whilst *Egidio* was in Prison, three of his greatest Adversaries amongst the Inquisitors, and the prime Enemies against the Truth, sickned, and died shortly one after another, whereby he was released, and lived four or five years after. At the end whereof, he was sent upon an Ambassie, in which journey he visited the Brethren that professed the Truth in *Validolid*, and much comforted and confirmed them : But in his return home, his aged Body being sore shaken in that long journey, having not been used to travel of a long while before, he sickned, and within a few days departed out of this troublesome life, to everlasting rest.

But within three years after, the new Inquisitors thinking that the former had dealt too gently with him, digged him out of his Grave, and buried in his place a Puppet of Straw; then they brought his Corps upon the Scaffold, and used it in the same sort as they would have used himself if he had been alive.

### The Life of Doctor Constantine.

His Character

Doctor *Constantine*, of whom mention hath been made before, was a most famous Divine, and indued by God with such rare abilities, as the like were hardly found in that age. He was a Man of a very pleasant wit, and wondrous facetious, which he especially used against the Hypocritical Monks and Fryers : And though he lived in a barbarous age, wherein all good Learning was almost lost, yet by his wit and industry he attained to a great deal of skill, both in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, and was also an excellent Orator, and studied the Scriptures so hard, that he grew very exquisite therein. He was also so eloquent in his own Language, that all his Auditors were brought into a great admiration of him : He was very discreet in all his doings. Which parts he attained to, both by his study, long practice and experience, but especially by profound knowledge in the holy Scriptures.

His excellent  
Virtues;

His Humilia-  
tion and Con-  
gregation.

Whensoever he Preached, there was so great resort to his Sermons, that three or four hours before he began, there was scarce a place in the Church to be gotten. He was far from Covetousness and Ambition, insomuch, as having a good Canonship in the Church of *Toledo* proffered him, he refused it, together with divers other Preferments. In his Ministry in *Sivil* he did so plainly set forth, and



and so sharply rebuke those hucksters that sold Indulgences, Pardons, &c. That they were much incensed against him, fearing, that he would prove a plague to the whole generation of them: So that they hated him deadly, yet could find nothing whereof to accuse him, but what would redound to their own shame.

But for all this, he neglected not to Preach the Truth faithfully, though he knew that they lay at catch, waiting for an opportunity to insnare him: And it was the singular Providence of God, that that City should enjoy such Preaching, when there were so many powerful and malicious Enemies to oppose it. For at this time *Varquio* read upon the Gospel according to *Matthew*, and upon the *Psalms*. *Agidio* Preached daily, and *Constantine*, though not loofest, yet to as great fruit and edification: Thus continuing till God sent storms to try each Mans faith. In the midst of which tempest, *Varquio* died, and *Constantine* was sent for by the Emperor, to be his Household Chaplain; only *Agidio* was left alone, like a Lamb amongst Wolves, to be the object of their fury, of whose end we have heard before. After whose death, *Constantine* left the Emperors Court, and returned to *Sivil*, where he Preached the Gospel with as much zeal as ever he did before. Then was he chosen to Preach every other day in the Cathedral, which he refused, because of a great fit of sickness which had made him very weak; but he was forced to undertake it, though he was so weak a Creature, that sometimes he was fain to be carried to Church, and by reason of his faintness, was necessitated once or twice in a Sermon, to drink a draught of Wine to refresh himself. About this time there was one *Scobario*, a Man famous for Life and Learning, chosen by the Magistrates of the City to the Government of the Colledge of Children, who out of his zeal to promote the Gospel converted his stipend, to the erecting a Divinity Lecture in the Cathedral Church: And *Constantine* having recovered his health, was chosen to read it; who performed it excellently well, beginning with the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*. Which having passed through very learnedly, he began upon the Book of *Job*, and proceeded to expound more than half of it: But some evil spirit envying the Progress of the Gospel in that City, under a pretence of fervent zeal, caused him to forsake this course, and incombred him so many ways, that he was never clear of those troubles to his dying day.

For not long after he was brought before the Inquisitors, and had many things laid to his charge; yet by his quick and ready answers, he easily avoided them, and they could not by any means bring him to make an open Protestation of his Faith, by which all their hope was to circumvent him; and so he might have escaped, had not God, by a special Providence, compelled him, as it were, briefly and plainly to confess his Faith; the occasion was this.

There was one *Isabel Martin* apprehended, in whose House *Constantine* had hid some special Books for fear of the Inquisitors. This Womans Goods being sequestred, her Son conveyed divers Chests of her best Goods away to another place. This coming to the Inquisitors ears, by means of an unfaithful servant, they sent their Officer immediately to demand those Chests; the Womans Son supposing, that the Officer came for *Constantines* Books, said unto him, *I know what you come for, and therefore if you will promise me upon your honest word to depart quietly, I will bring you to them.* The Officer supposing that he meant the Chests, promised him so to do. Then did he carry him into a secret place, and plucking forth a Stone or two in the Wall, shewed him *Constantines* Jewels, of Paper indeed; but far more precious than Gold or Pearl. The Officer astonished to find that which he looked not for, told him, That he came for no such thing, but for certain Chests of his Mothers Goods, which he had purloyned from the Sequestrators: And that notwithstanding his promise, he must carry both him and his Books to the Inquisitors. Thus came *Constantines* Writings into the Inquisitors hands; out of which, they quickly found matters enough against him. Then did they send for him before them, and demanded, if he knew his own hand: He shifted it off at the first, but afterwards perceiving that it was the

Zeal.

He goes to the Emperor.

His return to *Sivil*.

His weakness.

Chosen Divinity Lecturer.

A strange Providence.

Courage.

Imprisoned.

His Death.

Will of God, that he should bear witness to the Truth, he confessed it to be his own Writing, protesting openly, That all things therein contained, were full of truth and sincerity: *Therefore*, said he, *trouble your selves no further in seeking witnesses against me, seeing you have so plain and apert a Confession of my Judgment and Faith, but deal with me as you shall please.* Then was he cast into Prison, and kept there two whole years, where partly by occasion of his corrupt diet, but chiefly of grief, to see such havock made of the poor Church of *Christ*, which himself and his Brethren had with so great pains and care planted and watered, he began first to be crazy; and then not being able to indure the extream heat of the Sun, which made his Prison like an Hot-house, he was forced to strip himself to his very shirt, wherein he lay day and night, by occasion whereof he fell into the Bloody Flux, and within fifteen days died in the stinking Prison, rendering up his Soul to *Christ*: For promoting of whose glory, he had oft-times manfully adventured it.

His Corps  
burned.

He never indeed felt those cruel torments which the Inquisitors used to inflict upon others; but it was not because they regarded such a Man of eminency as he was, but because they intended to delay his punishment by keeping him long in Prison, not expecting that he should so suddenly have been taken out of their hands. Yet did these Imps of Satan spread abroad a report, that before his death upon the Rack, he had confessed to them who were his disciples; and this they did to make men come in and accuse themselves, upon hope to find the more favor with the Inquisitors. They reported also, that he opened one of his Veins with a broken glass, whereof he died, that so he might avoid the shame and punishment of his Heresies. And against the day of their solemn triumph, his Corps was taken out of his Grave, and set in a Pulpit; with one hand resting on the Desk, and holding up the other, just as he used to do when he Preached. Then they passed Sentence upon him; and so afterwards caused him to be burned.

Thus we have seen in some few examples the rage of these Bloody Inquisitors, against the poor Saints and Servants of *Jesus Christ*, whereof a great number were cruelly murdered in a few years space in that one City of *Sivil*, whereby we may partly guess how great numbers have suffered in all other places, since the light of the glorious Gospel of *Jesus Christ* brake forth, until this day, under their cruel and bloody tyranny.

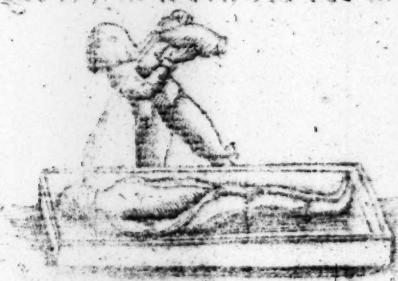
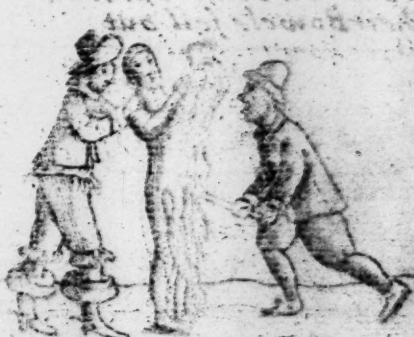
*Collected out of a Book called The Discovery of the Spanish Inquisition, &c. First written in Latin by Reynold Gonsalvius Montanus; and afterwards translated into English.*

*The Persecution of Nicholas Burton, Englishman, by the Inquisitors in Spain Anno 1560.*

Nicholas Bur-  
ton.Gods Pro-  
vidence.He is sent to  
Sivil.

**T**His Burton was a Citizen of London, who being about his merchandise at Cadiz in Spain, there came to his Lodging one of the Familiars, desiring to take Lading to London, in the Ship which Burton had fraited; and this he did, that he might learn where his Goods were. Presently after came a Serjeant who apprehended Burton, and carried him away to the Inquisitors, who, though they could charge him with nothing spoken or written against them since he came to Spain; yet they sent him to the filthy Common Prison, where he remained in Irons fourteen days amongst Thieves. In which time, he so instructed the poor Prisoners in the Word of God, that in short space he had well reclaimed many of those ignorant and superstitious Souls: Which being known to the Inquisitors, they presently removed him, laden with Irons, from thence to *Sivil*, and put him into the more cruel Prison in the Castle of *Triana*, where the Inquisitors proceeded





Som had their heads miserably torn with  
Gunpowder put in their mouthes And fired



Som had their mouthes slit up  
to their eares



Som throwne out at  
windowes upon speeres



Som their eies boared out



Som their bellies burnt till  
their Bowels fell out



A minister had hons & geese  
tyed about his body And was  
torne by dogs



Som their eares & Cheeks Cut  
of & hoales burnt in  
diverse parts of their  
bodies



Som tormented in ytrough





proceeded against him after their accustomed cruel manner, by racking, &c. Neither could he get leave to write to, or speak with any of his Countreymen. Afterwards they brought him forth with many other godly Persons upon their publick day of triumph, in his Sambito, Painted all over with ugly Devils tormenting a Soul in flames of Fire, and with a Barnack upon his Tongue, where he received Sentence of Death, and so with the rest, was carried to the place of Execution to be burnt; and he endured the flames with so much patience and chearfulness of countenance, that his Popish Adversaries said, *That the Devil had his Soul before he came to the fire, whereby his Sense of Feeling was taken away.* They also Sequestred all his Goods, which could never be recovered out of their hands, though great means were used for the same. This was in Queen Maries days.

Condeman.

There was burned with him at the same time another Englishman, and not long after two more, called John Baker and William Burgate: And about the same time William Burges, Master of an English Ship, was burned there also; and William Hooker, a youth of about sixteen, was there stoned to death for the bold Profession of his Faith.

John Baker.  
Wm. Burgate.  
Wm. Burges.  
Wm. Hooker.



Here place the Seventh Figure.

CHAP.



## CHAP. XXVIII.

*The Persecution of the Church of Christ in Italy, which began Anno Christi 1155.*



*Drian* the Fourth, an *Englishman*, being Pope, there was one *Arnald* of *Brixia*, who coming to *Rome*, Preached boldly against the corruptions which were crept into the Church, and found great favor amongst the Senators, and People, in-  
somuch, as when the Pope commanded this *Arnald* to be driven away as an Heretick, they resisted his command, and defended *Arnald*, till at last the Pope interdicting the whole City, at the importunity of the Clergy, the Senators and

Citizens were forced to send him away: And shortly after, he was apprehended by the Popes Legate, Cardinal of *S. Nicholas*, out of whose hands he was rescued by the Vicounts of *Campania*, with whom he remained, and to whom he Preached the Gospel of *Christ*, and was had in such esteem, that he was accounted a Prophet.

Shortly after, *Frederick Barbarossa*, the Emperor, coming unto *Italy* to be crowned, the Pope sent some Cardinals to him, requesting, That he would deliver *Arnald* of *Brixia* into their hands, whom the Vicounts of *Campania* had taken from his Legate at *Otricoli*, whom they held for a Prophet in their Countrey, and greatly honored him. The Emperor receiving these commands from the Pope, presently sent forth his Apparitors, and took one of the Vicounts prisoner; wherewith the other were so terrified, that they delivered up *Arnald* to the Cardinals: And this the Emperor did, to gratifie the Pope that was to set the Imperial Crown upon his Head.

Not long after the Pope being in his Ruff, marching with a brave Army into *Apulia*, commanded his Prefect at *Rome* to do execution upon *Arnald*; who accordingly most cruelly, first hanged, and then burned him for an Archheretick, at the appointment of the Pope.

This *Arnald* was born in *Italy*, and was trained up under *Peter Abailardus* in *France*. His Heresies were, That he Preached against the Pride and Covetousness of the Clergy and Monks; that he inveighed against the Corruptions which were crept into the Sacraments, &c. He first Preached in *Brixia*, and Expounded to the People the sacred Scriptures, who earnestly imbraced his Doctrine; whereupon the Bishops and Monks of that City complained of him to the Council that was held at *Rome* by Pope *Innocent*, who (to prevent the spreading of his Doctrine) enjoined him silence, and banished him *Italy*. Then did he go beyond the *Alps*, into a Town of *Germany* called *Turengin*, where, for a time he Preached the Truth, and did much good, till he heard of the death of Pope *Innocent* his old Adversary: At which time, he returned into *Italy*, and went to *Rome*, where, what his success was, we heard before. After his Body was burnt, they gathered up his Ashes, and threw them into the River *Tybur*.  
*Otho Frising.*

Anno



Anno Christi 1546. There was one *Encenas* or *Driander*, a Spaniard, born in *Bruges*, who in his youth was sent by his Superstitious Parents to be educated in *Rome*; where in process of time, through *Gods* Mercy, he came to the knowledge of the Truth: And thereupon manifesting his dislikes of the impure Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, he was betrayed by some of his own Countrymen and Household-Friends, and by them carried before the Cardinals, who committed him strait to prison; and afterwards, being called forth to declare his judgment in matters of Religion, he gave a notable testimony to the Truth, before the Cardinals and the Popes whole retinue; whereupon they cryed out upon him, *That he should be burned*; yet the Cardinals proffered him life, if he would wear the *Sambito*: But he constantly refused to wear any other badge, save the badge of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, which was, to seal his Profession with his Blood. Hereupon he was condemned to the fire, and suffered Martyrdom with great patience and constancy. His Brother *Francis Encenas*, a very learned and godly Man as any was in *Spain*, being in the Emperors Court at *Bruxels*, offered to *Charles* the Fifth the *New Testament*, translated into *Spanish*; for which, he was cast into Prison, where he remained in great misery for the space of fifteen Moneths, looking for nothing but present death. But at last, through the marvellous Providence of *God*, at eight a clock at night he found the Prison doors standing wide open, and a secret motion in his mind to make an escape: Whereupon going out of Prison, with a leisurely pace, he went without interruption, and so from thence went strait into *Germany*.

Encenas.

Treachery.

Courage.

Constancy.

French Education.

A special Providence.

Anno 1550. There was at *Ferrara*, one *Faninus*, who by reading of good Books, was through *Gods* Grace, converted to the knowledge of the Truth; wherein he found such sweetness, that by constant Reading, Meditation, and Prayer, he grew so expert in the Scriptures, That he was able to instruct others: And though he durst not go out of the bounds of his calling to Preach openly, yet by Conference and private Exhortations he did good to many. This coming to the knowledge of the Popes Clients, they apprehended and committed him to Prison, where, by the earnest solicitations of his Wife and Children, and other Friends, he was so overcome, that he renounced the Truth, and so was dismissed out of Prison. But it was not long before the Lord met with him: So that falling into horrible torture of Conscience, he was near unto utter despair for his Apostacy, and for preferring the love of his Kinred and Friends, before the Service of *Jesus Christ*; neither could he possibly by any means be free from these terrors, before he had fully resolved to adventure his life more faithfully in the service of the Lord. Wherefore being thus inflamed with an holy zeal, he went about all the Countrey, doing much good wheresoever he came: Whereupon he was again apprehended, and cast into Prison, and condemned to be burnt. But he told his Judges, that his time was not yet come, and so it fell out; for shortly after, he was removed to *Ferrara*, where he continued in Prison two years. Then was he again condemned by the Popes Inquisitors, and yet his time being not come, he remained a good while after in Prison: In which time many godly People came to visit him, which caused the Pope to command him to be kept more strictly. Then was he kept close Prisoner for eighteen Moneths, wherein he indured many and great torments: After this, he was brought into another Prison, where were many Nobles, great Lords and Captains for stirring up Sedition, who when they first heard him speak, set him at naught, and derided him, and some of the gravest of them, supposing it to be but a melancholy humor, exhorted him to leave his opinion, &c. *Faninus* gave them thanks for their friendly good will, but withal, modestly and plainly he declared to them, That the Doctrine which he professed, was no humor nor opinion of Mans brain, but the pure Truth of *God* held forth in his Word, which Truth, he was fully resolved never to deny, &c. With which Instructions they were, through the Mercy of *God*, clean altered in their carriage and judgment, highly admiring and honoring him now, whom a little before they derided and contemned.

Faninus.

Humane infirmity.

Danger of Apostacy.

Recovery after his fall.

A Prophecy.

A special Providence.

contemned. Then did he proceed still to impart the Word of Grace to them, declaring, That though he knew himself to be a miserable sinner, yet through Faith in *Jesus Christ*, and his Grace, he was fully persuaded that his sins were forgiven: Assuring them likewise, That if they did repent and believe on our Lord *Jesus Christ*, they also should have their sins remitted unto them.

There were in that prison also some that having formerly lived very delicately, could not now indure the hardship of a Prison, to whom he administered much comfort in this their distress, inasmuch, as they rejoiced in these their sufferings; by which they had learned a better kind of liberty, then ever they had before.

Tentation refused.

His Kinsfolk hearing of his imprisonment, his Wife and Sister came to him, pitifully weeping and intreating him to consider and remember his poor Family, &c. To whom he answered, *That his Lord and Master had commanded him not to deny his truth for his Families sake; and that it was too much, that once for their sakes he had fallen into that cowardise which they knew of. Therefore he desired them to leave him, and not to sollicite him any further in that kind, for he knew that his end now drew near, and so he commended them to the Lord.*

Presently after, the Pope sent a command, that *Faninus* should be executed, whereof, when an Officer brought him word, he much rejoiced at it, thanking the Messenger. Then did he begin to make a long Exhortation to his Fellow-prisoners about the felicity of the life to come.

Proffer of life refused.

Faith.

He had life proffered him, if he would recant, and he was put in mind what a sad condition he would leave his Wife and Children in: Whereupon he answered, That he had committed them to an Overseer that would sufficiently care for them. And being asked, Who that was? He answered, Even the Lord *Jesus Christ*, a faithful Keeper of all that are committed to him. The next day he was removed into the Common Prison, and delivered to the Secular Magistrate.

In all his words, gestures, and countenance, he shewed such modesty, constancy, and tranquillity of mind, that they which before extremely hated him, and thought that he had a Devil, began now favorably to hearken to him, and to commend him; yea, with such grace and sweetness he spake of the Word of God, that many of the Magistrates Wives which heard him, could not abstain from weeping; yea, the Executioner himself wept.

Comfort in Death.

Note.

As he was going to execution, one that saw him so merry and chearful, asked him, What was the reason of it, whereas *Christ* before his death, sweat Blood and Water? To whom he answered, *That Christ sustained all the sorrows and conflicts with Hell and Death that were due to us, that by his sufferings we might be freed from the sorrow and fear of them all.*

A special Providence.

At the place of Execution, after he had made his most earnest Prayers to the Lord, he meekly and patiently went to the Stake, where he was first strangled, and afterwards burned. And during the time of his burning, there came a most fragrant and odoriferous smell to the Spectators, the sweetness whereof did so delight and refresh their Senses, as his words would have done, if they had heard him speak.

Dominicus.

There was also one *Dominicus*, sometimes a Soldier under *Charles* the Fifth, in *Germany*, where he received the first taste of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*; after which, by his Conference with Learned Men, he much increased in Knowledge, inasmuch, as he was able to instruct others; whereupon he returned into *Italy*, and in the City of *Naples* he taught the Word of God to many, Anno 1550. From thence he went to *Placentia*, where he instructed the People also in many of the Fundamentals of Religion, promising, That he would in the next place, speak to them of Antichrist, whom he would paint out in his colours. But when he came the next day, he was apprehended by the Magistrate, whom he readily obeyed, saying, *That he wondered the Devil had let him alone so long.* And being asked, whether he would renounce his Doctrine, he answered, *That he maintained*

Apprehended

Constancy.



no doctrine of his own, but the Doctrine of Christ, which also he was ready to seal with his Blood; giving hearty thanks to God for accounting him worthy to suffer for his Name. Then was he committed to a filthy and stinking Prison, where he remained some Moneths, and was often solicited to revoke his opinions; or else he must suffer death: But, through Gods Mercy, nothing could remove him from his constancy. Being therefore condemned to death, he was brought into the Market-place, where he most heartily prayed for his Enemies, instructed the People, and then was hanged, resting in peace in the Lord.

Thanks for suffering.

In Saint Angelo, there was an House of Augustine Fryers, to whom there often resorted a Fryer from the City of Pavia, who was a Man very expert in the Scriptures, and of godly conversation; by whose labors, not only divers of the Fryers, but other Towns-men were brought to the knowledge and love of Gods Word; and amongst the rest, one Galeacius Trecius, a Gentleman of good quality, very wealthy, and bountiful to the Poor, was wrought upon to embrace the Truth, and was afterward much confirmed and strengthened by Calius Secundus, who being persecuted from Pavia, came to this place. After some time, Galeacius having much profited in knowledge, was inflamed with a godly zeal to promote and propagate the knowledge of the Truth unto others: But a Light shining in such darkness, could not be long hid; insomuch as Anno 1551; he was apprehended and carried before the Bishop, by whom he was kept in Bands, having only a pad of Straw to lie on; and though his Wife sent him a good Bed and Sheets, yet did the Bishops Officers keep them from him, dividing it as a booty amongst themselves.

Galeacius Trecius.

Cruelty.

Thrice he was brought before the Commissioners, where he boldly rendered a reason of his Faith, answering all their Interrogatories with such evidence of Scripture, and constancy of mind, as astonished all that heard him; yet afterwards at the importunity of his Friends and Kinred, he was by much perswasion brought to assent to certain Popish points. But, through the Mercy of God, he was after a while, brought to such repentance and bewailing of this fact, that afterwards he became more valiant in the defence of Christs quarrel; neither did he desire any thing more than to have occasion to recover again by confession that which he had lost by denial: Affirming, That as he never had felt more joy of heart, then when he constantly professed the Truth, so he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, then when he turned from the same by dissimulation, Professing to his Christian Friends, That Death was much more sweet to him with testimony to the Truth, then Life with the least denial of it, and violation of a good Conscience thereby. So that afterwards, through Gods Mercy, he was so full of comfort, that divers which talked with him, continued all day without meat or drink; and if they might, would have staid all night too, they were so delighted with him.

Humane firmity.

Recovery.

Not.

Galeacius thus waiting for some occasion to manifest his recovery, it so fell out, that the Inquisitors came into the Prison to him, supposing, that now he would have confirmed what before he had granted unto them, requiring him so to do: But Galeacius, on the contrary, retracted that, and boldly asserted the Truth with more courage than he did before: And hereby his mind was greatly refreshed, and his Adversaries went away ashamed; yet did they condemn and deliver him to the Secular Judge to be burned. Then was he brought forth in the Morning to the Market-place, and bound to a Stake, where he was left till Noon, to be a gazing stock to all the people. During which time, many came to see him, exhorting him to recant, and not so wilfully to cast away himself, and thereby to undo his loving Wife and young Children, &c. But nothing could alter the firm mind of this constant Martyr; and therefore at length fire was put to him, and so he quietly slept in the Lord.

Joy unspeakable.

Temptation resisted.

Not.

A little before his Execution, he hearing that there was a controversie between the Bishop and Major of the City, which of them should be at cost to buy

Wood for his Burning, he sent to them to end that quarrel; for, that he himself would be at the cost of it, out of his own Goods.

*The Life of John Mollius.*

His Education.

His enmity to the Truth.

Conversion.

Zeal.

His apprehension.

Constancy.

His Release.

Courage.

His appearing at Rome.

Note.

His return to Bononia.

A Special Providence.

There was at Rome, one *John Mollius*, who at twelve years old, was placed by his Parents in the House of the Gray-Fryers, where being of an excellent wit; in a short time, he so profited both in the knowledge of the Arts and Tongues, that at eighteen years old he was made a Priest: Then was he sent to study at *Ferrara*, where he so profited in six years time, that he was made Doctor and Reader of Divinity in that University, and by his Sophistry shewed himself an utter Enemy to the Gospel. From thence he went to *Brixia*, and the year following to *Milan*, where he read openly. Then by *Francis Sforce* he was brought to the University of *Papia*, to be the Philosophy Professor, where he remained four years; then was he called to the University of *Bononia*: About which time, it pleased God so to enlighten him with the knowledge of his Truth, that he began secretly to expound *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* to a few. But presently his Auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the Church, where the number of his Auditors daily increased, and withal, they shewed such fervency of mind, That most of them came with Pen and Ink to write what they heard, taking great care to come so early, that they might have room to hear him: This was *Anno 1538*. Hereupon Cardinal *Campeius* set up one *Cornelius*, an arrogant babler, to expound the same Epistle, who cried up the Pope and his Traditions, as *John*, on the contrary, commended and extolled *Christ* and his Merits to the people: But *Cornelius*, his Auditors, quickly decreased, and the others increased exceedingly. This angered *Cornelius*, inasmuch, as by Cardinal *Campeius* his advice, they came to an open disputation; and when they could not agree, as *John* was returning home in a narrow place, where his friends could not come to his rescue, he was apprehended and clapt up in prison; but this caused such stir in the City, that *Cornelius* was fain to hide himself: Then did the Bishop send word to *John* in prison, that he must either recant or be burnt. To the first he answered, That he would by no means condescend, only it grieved him, that he should be condemned, and his Cause not heard: Yet by the mediation of a Friend, he was released out of Prison, upon condition, that within three Moneths he should appear at Rome. Some of his Friends dissuaded him from going to Rome, advising him rather to go into Germany, and they would give him Money to bear his charges; but he refused, saying, *That he must Preach the Gospel at Rome also.*

When he came thither, he requested of the Pope that he might have a public hearing, but that was denied him, and he was commanded to write his opinion; which accordingly he did, About Original Sin, Justification by Faith only, Freewill, Purgatory, &c. All which he confirmed by the Authority of the Scriptures and Fathers, and so exhibited it to the Pope, who referred it to some Cardinals; and they disputed with him three days upon those points, but could not confute them: Then was he answered, That it was truth which he said, yet not meet for the times; and therefore he was commanded to abstain from Preaching, and to return to *Bononia* to be the Philosophy Professor.

When he came back, all men longed to hear how he had sped, and in the Pulpit he openly declared the whole proceedings to them, giving God thanks for his safe return.

But this so offended the Cardinal, That by order from the Pope, he was removed from *Bononia* to *Naples*. There also his doctrine was so distastful by the Viceroy, that he laid wait to take away his life; yet, through Gods Mercy, he escaped,



escaped, and wandred up and down *Italy*, Preaching the Gospel of *Christ*, whereloever he came. At last he was called back to *Bononia*, where privately he Expounded *Pauls* Epistles, which could not be long concealed; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to *Faventia*, where he was cast into a filthy stinking prison, and lay there four years, no Man being suffered to come to him; yet, at last, by the mediation of some Friends, he was again released, and went to *Ravenna*, where he Preached the Gospel of *Christ* with such affections, That he never spake of *Jesus Christ*, but tears dropped from his eyes.

He is again apprehended.

His Release.  
Love to Christ.

After a short time he was again cast into Prison; but four persons of quality proffering to be his Bail, through *Gods* Mercy, he was released: After which, so many flocked to him, that his Adversaries consulted to kill him, lest his doctrine should spread further; and apprehending him, they sent him bound to *Rome*, where again he was cast into prison for eighteen Moneths; in which time he was often assaulted, sometimes with flatteries and fair promises, sometimes with terrible threats; but his constancy could not be shaken by either. Whereupon he, with some others, were brought forth to receive the Sentence of Condemnation; at which time, with great earnestness, he confirmed his former doctrine, affirmed the Pope to be Antichrist, &c. citing them to appear before the Tribunal of *Christ*.

Manifest Afflictions.

Constancy.

Being condemned and carried to the place of Execution, he exhorted the people to have no Saviours but *Christ* alone, the only Mediator betwixt *God* and Man; and so he was first hanged, and then burned. This was *Anno Christi* 1553.

His Martyrdom.

Francis Gamba.

The year after, *Francis Gamba*, born in *Lombardy*, having, through *Gods* Grace, received the knowledge of the Gospel, went to *Geneva*, where he was much confirmed in the Truth, and received the Sacrament with them; then returning into his own Countrey, he was apprehended and cast into Prison, whither many Nobles, Doctors, and Priests resorted to him, laboring by all means to dissuade him from his opinions. But he disputing with them, constantly affirmed, That what he held was consonant to the Word of *God*, and the evident doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, and necessary for all men to believe, if they would be saved; assuring them, that rather than he would be found false to *Christ*, and his Word, he was there ready to shed his Blood. He was long assailed by the intreaties of his Friends and Threatnings of his Enemies, but could by no means be discouraged; yea, he gave thanks to *God* for accounting him worthy to suffer rebukes and death for the testimony of *Jesus Christ*; and so, by order of the Senate of *Milan*, he was had forth to execution.

Constancy.

Temptations resisted.

He went with a great deal of cheerfulness; and when a Cross was brought him by a Fryer, he said, That his mind was so replenished with joy and comfort in *Christ*, that he needed neither his Cross nor him. Then, because he declared many comfortable things to the people, his Tongue was bored through, and he was first strangled, and then burnt, undergoing Death with admirable patience and constancy.

Comfort in Death.

*Anno* 1555. There was one *Algerius*, a Student in *Pavia*, a young Man, of excellent Learning, who having attained to the knowledge of the Truth, ceased not, by instruction and example, to inform others that he might bring them to the saving knowledge of *Christ*: For this, he was accused of Heresie to the Pope; by whose command he was apprehended and cast into Prison at *Venice*, where he lay long. During which time, he wrote an excellent Letter to the afflicted Saints, wherein, amongst many other excellent Expressions, he thus writeth.

Algerius.

I Cannot but impart unto you some portion of my delectations and joys, which I feel, and find: I have found Honey in the Intrails of a Lion, who will believe, that in the dark Dungeon, I should find a Paradise of pleasure? In a place of sorrow and death, dwells tranquillity and hope of life: In an infernal Cave, I have joy of Soul, where others weep, I rejoyce; where others shake and tremble, there is strength and boldness.

Joy in Affliction.

&c. All these things the sweet hand of the Lord doth minister to me. Behold, he that was once far from me, is now present with me; whom I could scarce feel before, now I see more apparently; whom once I saw afar off, I now behold near at hand; whom once I hungered for, he now approaches and reaches his hand to me. He doth comfort me, and fills me with gladness; he drives away my sorrow, strengthens, encourageth, heals, refresheth, and advanceth me. O how good is the Lord, who suffers not his Servants to be tempted above their strength! O how easie and sweet is his Toke, &c. Learn therefore how amiable and merciful the Lord is, who visiteth his Servants to temptations and disdains, not to keep them company in such vile and stinking Dungeons, &c.

And in conclusion he subscribes his Letter, *From the delectable Orchard of the Leonine Prison, &c.*

Note.  
Temptation  
resisted.

After this, the Pope sent for him to *Rome*, where, by manifold perswasions and allurements, he was tempted to desert and deny the truth; which not prevailing, he was adjudged to be burnt alive. Which death he most constantly incurred to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

John Aloysius.

Anno 1559. John Aloysius, being sent from *Geneva* to be a Pastor in *Calabria*, was thence sent for by the Pope to *Rome*, where he suffered Martyrdom.

James Bovellus.

Also James Bovellus, a godly Minister in the same place, and at the same time was sent for by the Pope, by whom he was sent to *Messina*, and there Martyred.

Persecution  
raised by the  
Pope.

Pope Pius the Fourth raised an hot Persecution against the People of God in all the Territories of the Church of *Rome*, whereby many constant Christians suffered Martyrdom. Yea, this Persecution was so hot in the Kingdom of *Naples*, that many Noblemen with their Wives, and divers others, were there slain, Anno 1560.

Horrible  
cruelty,

A Papist writing to a Noble Lord, about the cruelty shewed to some Christians, hath these expressions. *When I think upon it, I verily quake and tremble: For their manner of putting to death, may fitly be resembled to the slaughter of Calves and Sheep; for eighty eight of them being thrust up together in one House, as in a Sheepfold, the Executioner cometh in, taketh one and blindfoldeth him, and so leads him forth to a larger place adjoining, where commanding him to kneel down, he cuts his Throat; and leaving him half dead, he takes his Butchers Knife and Muffler, all gore blood, and goeth back to the rest; and so leading one after another, he dispatches them all. How sad this spectacle was, I leave to your Lordship to judge; for my own part, I cannot but weep to think of it; neither was there any of the spectators, which seeing one to die, could indure to behold another: But truly, so humbly and patiently they went to their death, as is almost incredible to believe; all the aged persons went to death more chearfully, the younger were something more timorous. I tremble and shake to remember how the Executioner held his bloody Knife between his teeth, with the bloody muffler in his hand, and his arms all gore blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them one after another by the hand, and so dispatching them all, no otherwise than as a Butcher doth kill his Calves and Sheep.*

Patience of  
the Saints.

This was in *Calabria*, Anno Christi 1560.

#### Persecution raised by the Pope in Venice.

The City of *Venice* was a long while free from the cruel Inquisition, whereby the face of a Church was discerned there, from the Year 1530. to the year 1542. yea, and multitudes of good Christians flocked thither from other parts; which so provoked the Devil to envy, that he stirred up the Pope to send Inquisitors, which erected an Inquisition in that City; and for divers years the Pope sent them Money to distribute amongst their Flies, and such persons as would betray the faithful to them. By this means many of the worthy Servants of



of Jesus Christ were apprehended, imprisoned, and after a while sent to Rome to be there butchered.

Then was a new found manner of death inflicted upon divers others, never till then heard of, whereby they were drowned in the bottom of the Sea; the manner of it was thus. After any of them had received the sentence of death by the Inquisitors, an Iron Chain was fastned about their middle, with a very heavy stone tied thereto; then were they laid upon a Plank between two Boats; and so rowed to an appointed place in the Sea, where the Boats parting asunder, the Martyrs presently sunk into the bottom of the Sea, and were drowned. Yet notwithstanding this cruelty, many godly persons ceased not to assemble together in a place appointed for that purpose, where they talked and discoursed of Heavenly matters for their spiritual edification, and made collections for the relief of the poor amongst them. And Anno 1566. they called to them a Minister of the Gospel, and constituted a Church, where they enjoyed all the Ordinances with much comfort. But some false Brethren creeping in amongst them; after a while betrayed them; then were many apprehended, cast into the Sea and drowned: Others were sent to Rome, where they were cast into prison till they rotted and died there.

Amongst others that were condemned to be drowned at Venice, was one Mr. Anthony Ricetto: To whom, after his condemnation, his Son, a youth about twelve years old, came, beseeching him with tears to yield, that his life might be saved, and himself not left Fatherless. To whom he answered, *A good Christian is bound to forgo children; goods, yea, and life it self for the maintenance of Gods honor and glory. For which cause (said he) I am now resolved to lay down my life, the Lord assisting me.*

Anthony Ricetto.  
Temptation resisted.

The Lords of Venice offered to restore to him his Patrimony, which was partly Mortgaged, and partly sold, if he would submit to the Church of Rome; but he resolutely refused that condition. Not long after came a Captain to him; and told him of one Francis Sega, his Prison-fellow, that was resolved to recant. To whom he answered, *what tell you me of Sega? I am resolved to perform my Vows to the Lord my God.* Then was he carried forth bound to the Boats, and by the way a Priest presented him with a Wooden Cross, exhorting him to recant, &c. But he on the contrary, perswaded him and others to come out of the snares of the Devil, and to cleave to Jesus Christ; and to live, *Not according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit.* For, said he, *otherwise your unbelief will bring you into the lake of fire, that never shall be quenched.* When he came to the place where he was to suffer, the Captain fastned the Chain and Stone to him; whereupon, lifting his eyes to Heaven, he said, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do: Lord Jesus, into thy hands do I commend my spirit.* And so in the Sea he ended his life.

Confession.

A few days after, one Mr. Francis Spinola was apprehended and committed to prison, and when he was brought forth before the Inquisitors, they shewed him a Treatise about the Lords Supper, demanding whether he was the Author of it; which he acknowledged, avouching, That the doctrine that was contained therein, was agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Then was he returned to his prison, where the aforementioned Sega was, who waiting for his coming, as he passed by; saluted him by his name; after which they conferred together about the doctrine of the Gospel: And Sega having heard that Spinola had stood stoutly in the Confession of the Truth, he was much comforted, saying, *That God had reserved him for such a time as this, to make him partaker of so great consolation.* Shortly after the Gaoler told Sega, that he was to die one hour within night; at the hearing whereof, he intreated Spinola to pray with him, and after Prayer he said, *That his soul was heavy unto death.* Spinola answered, *Fear not, for it will not be long before your soul shall partake of those joys which shall endure for ever.* At the appointed time he was fetched out of the Dungeon, where he took his leave of Spinola, and the other prisoners. As he went into the Boats, a Fryer perswaded him

Francis Spinola.  
14.

Sega.

him

Sega's Martyrdom.

him to return to the Church of *Rome*. *Sega* answered, That he was already in the way to our Lord *Jesus Christ*; and so passing on, he called upon the name of *God*. He seemed to be a little amazed at the fastning of the Chain and Stone to his Body, yet presently recollecting his spirits, he took it patiently, and so commending his Soul into the hands of *God*, he quietly slept in the Lord.

*Spinola* being again called before the Inquisitors, he boldly reproved the Popes Legate, and the other Judges; for that, contrary to their Consciences, they persecuted the Truth of *God*, calling them the off-spring of the Pharisees, &c.

Humane infirmity.

Recovery.

The third time that he was called before them, they asked him, If he would not recant his errors? He answered, That the doctrine which he maintained was not erroneous, but the same Truth which *Christ* and his holy Apostles taught; and for which, all the Martyrs, both in former and later times, did willingly lay down their lives, and endured the pains of death. Yet after all this, *Spinola* by the crafty persuasions of some seeming Friends, began to strike sail and to faint: But, through *Gods* goodness, he soon recovered again, and being called before the Judges, he openly confirmed the Truth, and so had sentence passed upon him, That he should be drowned as an Heretick. To which he answered, *I am no Heretick, but the Servant of Jesus Christ*. At which words the Popes Legate commanded him silence, and told him, That he lied. The night after he was conveyed into the Sea, and there drowned, praising and blessing *God* with invincible constancy.

*Spinola's* Martyrdom.  
An Englishman at Rome.

Anno 1595. There was at *Rome* a young Englishman, who going into a Church, and seeing their gross idolatry, was so inflamed with zeal, that he could not indure the sight of those horrible impieties; and therefore he went out into the Church Porch, and as the Procession passed by him, he waited till the Bishop came that did bear the Host, and then stepping forwards, he plucked it out of his hands, threw it to the ground, saying aloud, *Ye wretched Idolaters, do ye fall down to a morsel of Bread?* This so provoked the people, that they had almost torn him in pieces, and yet they spared him and sent him to prison.

An heroic act.

His cruel torments.

Complaint being made to Pope *Clement* the Eighth, he was so incensed, that he appointed him to be burnt the same day: But some of the Cardinals advised, That he should rather be kept in prison, and examined by exquisite torments to find out his abettors and setters on. This accordingly was put in practice, yet could they draw nothing from him but these words, *Such was the Will of God*. Then was he adjudged to be led from the Capitol, naked to his middle, and to wear on his head the form of a Devil, his Breeches to be painted over with flames of fire, and so to be carried all about the City, and then to be burnt alive.

Patience.

His Martyrdom.

When he heard this sentence, he lift up his eyes to Heaven, and implored the help of Almighty *God*. As he passed through the Streets, he was mocked and derided of all the people, but he continued his fervent Prayers to *God*; at last he spake something against the filthy lives of the Cardinals, which so enraged them, that they caused him to be Gagged; which cruelty he patiently endured. When he came before the Church where he cast down the Idol, the Hangman cut off his right hand and set it on a pole in the Cart, to which he was tied. Then did two Tormentors, with flaming Torches, scorch and burn his flesh all the way as he went through the City of *Rome*; all which, he bore with admirable patience. By that he came to the place where he was to be executed, his Body was all over scorched, blistered, and bloody, having no part free but his Head: Then was he taken from the Cart, and seeing the Post to which he should be tied, he went of himself to it, and kneeling down, kissed the Chains which should bind him to it. The Fryers urged him to worship an Idol which they presented to him, but he, turning away his Face, shewed his detestation of it, holding on his Christian course unto the end: And when the flames of fire seized on him, he bowed his Head, and quietly yielded up his Soul to *God*.

The



The same year there was an old godly Man that had long lain in the Inquisitors Dungeons, who was at last brought forth and condemned; after which, the Fryers brought to him a Crucifix, importuning him to kiss and adore it. He seeing their impudence, said unto them, *If you take not this idol out of my sight, ye will constrain me to spit upon it.* The Fryers hearing this, sent him away immediately to the fire, where with great courage and constancy he resigned up his Spirit unto God.

An Aged Man.

Idolatry detested.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*The Life and Martyrdom of William Gardiner in Portugal, Anno Christi 1552.*

**W**illiam Gardiner was born at *Bristol*, and well educated, and when he was grown up, was placed with one Master *Paget*, a Merchant; by whom, when he was twenty six years old, he was sent into *Portugal* to *Lisbonne*, the Regal City of that Kingdom, to be a Factor; there he learned the Countrey Language, and became a profitable Servant, both to his Master, and others. He was careful to keep close to God, and to avoid the Superstitions of that Countrey, and there being divers good Men in that City, he associated himself with them, used good conference, and often bewailed to them his own weakness, as being neither sufficiently humbled for his sins, nor yet inflamed with a love of godliness as he ought: He had also good Books which privately he made much use of. Now whilest he was here abiding, it so fell out that a great marriage was to be solemnised betwixt the King of *Portugals* Son, and the King of *Spains* Daughter. Great preparations were made for it, and a great concourse there was of Persons of all ranks that came to it; and upon the Wedding day they went to Church in great pomp, and amongst multitudes of Spectators, *William Gardiner* made one, rather for the novelty of the business, than for any desire that he had to see their Ceremonies; and going to Church early in the Morning, he got a convenient place to hear and see in.

His going to Lisbon.

Humility.

When all were come to Church, a Cardinal began to say Mass; the people standing with great silence and devotion: The sight of these Superstitions, did wonderfully grieve the mind of *William Gardiner*, not so much to see the folly of the common people, as to see that the King himself, and so many sage Nobles should be led away with such abominable Idolatry; wherewith he was so exceedingly moved in his spirit, that he had much ado to refrain himself from doing something, whereby he might manifest his dislike: But the great throng that he was in, hindred him, that he could not come near to the Altar.

Zeal.

When all was ended, he returned home very sad, seeking out solitary places, where falling down prostrate before God, with many tears he bewailed the neglect of his duty, and studied how he might revoke that people from their impiety and superstition. At length his mind was fully settled, not to defer the matter any longer, whereupon he renounced the World, exactly made up all his accounts, both what he owed, and what was owing to him to a farthing. Then did he continue night and day in Prayer unto God, and in continual Meditation of the holy Scriptures, so that he would scarce take any meat by day, or sleep by night; as one *Pendigrace* his Bed-fellow testified.

Prayer.

The Sabbath following, Mass was to be celebrated with the like solemnity. Whereupon *William Gardiner* went early in the morning, handsomly apparelled to Church, setting himself near to the Altar; after a while the King and States came. *Gardiner* with a *New Testament* in his hand, stood near the Altar, privately reading it all the while. A Cardinal began the Mass, consecrated the Host, lifted it up on high, shewed his God to the people, they adored it:

An heroical  
act.

it: Yet *Gardiner* contained himself all this while. Then the Cardinal took the Host, tossed it to and fro about the Chalice, made divers circles, &c. With that *Gardiner* stept to him, took the Host out of his hand, and trampled it under his feet, and with his other hand overthrew the Chalice.

His danger.

His Speech to  
the King.

At first, all that were present stood amazed; then arose a great tumult, and one drawing his Dagger, wounded *Gardiner* in the Shoulder, and as he was about to have slain him, the King commanded him to forbear, whereby his life was saved for the present. The tumult being ceased, the King demanded of him what Countryman he was? He answered, *Most Noble King, I am not ashamed of my Countrey, I am an Englishman by Birth and Religion, and came hither as a Merchant; and seeing so great Idolatry committed in this famous Assembly, I neither ought, nor could any longer suffer it; neither could I forbear doing what you have seen. Which thing, most Noble Prince, was not done in contempt of your Presence, God is my witness, but to seek the Salvation of this People.*

Courage.

The King hearing that he was an *Englishman*, and considering what alteration of Religion King *Edward* had made, presently conceived that he was suborned, by some Body, to do this in scorn to their Religion: Wherefore he asked him who was the author and procurer of this act? *Gardiner* answered, *That he was not moved thereunto by any Man, but only by his own Conscience. For, saith he, there is no Man under Heaven, for whose sake I would put my self into such manifest danger, but that I owed this service, first to God, and then to your Salvation. And if I have done any thing which is displeasing to you, you ought to impute it to no Man, but to your self, who so irreverently use the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper to so great Idolatry, &c.* Whilest he thus stoutly spake to the King, by reason of the loss of much Blood by his wound, he was ready to faint. Whereupon Chirurgeons were sent for to cure him, that he might be reserved for further torments.

Then were all other *Englishmen* in the City clapped up in Prison, especially his Bed-fellow, who was grievously tormented and examined more then all the rest, and scarcely delivered after two years imprisonment; the rest got off sooner.

He is tortured.

They searched also all his Writings and Letters, to see if they could find out any confederates: Then they went to him, seeking by torments to extort the author of this fact. They also invented a new kind of torment, exceeding *Phalaris* his Brazen Bull, which was this, They made a Ball of Linnen-cloth, which with violence they thrust down his Throat, to the bottom of his Stomack, and with a string fastned to it, they pulled it up again; and this they did divers times, which caused as bitter pains, as the pains of death. But when by this means they could get no confession from him, they asked him, If he did not repent of his wicked act? Whereto he answered, That he was so far from repenting, that if it were to do again, he should do it: Yet was he somewhat sorry that it was done in the Kings presence, to his disturbance; but they were not to blame him for it, but the King was rather to be blamed, who having power, would not prohibit so great Idolatry.

His cruel  
Martyrdom.

Constancy.

When they had used all kinds of torments, and that he was so weakened thereby, that he was not like to live long, they first cut off his right hand, then carried him into the Market-place, where they cut off his other hand also; then fastning a Rope about his middle, with a Pulley they hoisted him up on high, and making a great fire under him, they let him down, so that his feet only felt the fire, and so often pulling him up and down, they burned him by degrees; and yet in all these great torments he remained constant, and the more terribly that he burnt, the more earnestly he prayed. When his feet were consumed, they asked him, Whether he yet did not repent him of his deed? exhorting him to call upon our Lady and the Saints. He answered, That what torments soever they used, the Truth was the same; that which he had confessed in his life, he would not deny

at



at his death; and that when *Christ* ceased to be our Advocate he would pray to our Lady, &c. And when they labored to stop his praying to, and praising of God, he with a loud voice rehearsed the 34th *Psalm*; which being almost ended, the Rope was burned in sunder, so that his Body fell down into the fire, where he changed his momentary pains for eternal rest.

But the Lord suffered not this cruelty to go altogether unpunished in this life; for a spark of the fire wherewith he was burned, was driven by the Wind into the Haven, where it set on fire one of the Kings great Ships, and consumed it: The new-married Prince also died within half a year, and the King himself not long after.

God's Judgment on Persecutors.

*The Martyrdom of a Christian Jew in Constantinople, Anno Christi 1528.*

**T**His Jew dwelling at *Constantinople*, through Gods grace, was there converted, Baptized, and became a good Christian; which the *Turks* understanding, were vehemently exasperated against him for it, fearing lest his conversion should prove very prejudicial to their *Mahometan* Religion, and therefore they apprehended and cruelly murdered him, and for his greater infamy they cast out his dead Body into the open streets, forbidding all strictly to bury it. Thus his dead Body lay in the streets nine days; yet, through the power of God, it corrupted not all, yea there proceeded from it a certain delectable scent or odor, which much astonished the *Turks*, so that at last they took it up, and carried it out of the City, and buried it.

A special Providence.

C H A P. XXX.

*The Persecution of the Church in Germany, which began Anno Christi 1523.*

**T**He Gospel being spread abroad in *Germany*, by the means and ministry of *Luther*, and his Fellow-laborers, the Pope having tried all other means for the suppressing of it, and finding them ineffectual, he at last provokes the Emperor *Charles* the fifth by War to destroy the Protestants; and for that end gives him Two hundred thousand Crowns in money for the maintenance of these Wars, and ties himself at his own cost to maintain Twelve thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse for six moneths; yea out of his zeal for the cause, he allows the Emperor the one half of the Revenues of the Clergy, and gives him leave to sell of Abby-Lands to the value of Five hundred thousand Crowns; whereupon great preparation was made for this War, both in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, the consideration whereof caused the confederate Protestant Princes to raise a great Army also for their own defence; upon which occasion they were proclaimed guilty of high Treason by the Emperor.

The Pope stirred up the Emperor to persecute the Protestants.

Abby-Lands sold.

The two Armies lay near together, and the Protestants offered Battel to the Emperor, but he refused, assuring himself that they could not long continue together: The Army of the Protestants was commanded by the Duke of *Saxony*, and the *Lantgrave* of *Hessen*, who did not concur very well in their counsels: Besides, they wanted both victuals and money, so as they were forced to dislodge and retire further off: The Emperor following, forced the Elector to fight with disadvantage; and God, who doth not always prosper the better cause, gave the victory to the Emperor, the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave* being taken Prisoners. Anno 1547.

Duke of Saxony and the Lantgrave taken Prisoners.

Presently after ensued a great Persecution in many places: Authority armed with laws and rigor, striving against simple verity. It was lamentable to hear

A cruel Persecution.

Henry Voes,  
John Esch.

Comfort and  
joy in death.

A miracle of  
mercy.

Henry Sutphen.

Popish malice.

Some that  
came to catch  
were conver-  
ted.

Popish subtilty  
and malice.

Courage.

how many poor Men were troubled, both Ministers and Christians; some tossed from place to place, others exiled out of their own Countries; some driven into Woods, and forced to dwell in Caves; some tormented upon the Rack, and some burned with fire and faggot: Amongst others, two young Men were burnt at *Bruxels*, viz. *Henry Voes* and *John Esch*, formerly *Augustine-Friers*; When they came before the Inquisitors, they were examined what they did believe? They answered, The Books of the *Old* and *New Testament*, wherein were contained the Articles of the Creed. Then were they asked whether they did not believe the decrees of the Councils and Fathers: They answered, such as were agreeing to the Scriptures, they believed, &c. When they were condemned, they gave thanks to God their heavenly Father, which of his great goodness had delivered them from that false and abominable Religion, making them Priests to himself, and receiving them to himself as a sacrifice of a sweet odor: They went joyfully to the place of Execution, protesting that they died for the glory of God, and the Doctrine of the Gospel as true Christians, and that it was the day which they had long desired; They joyfully embraced the stake, and endured patiently the torments of the fire, singing *Psalms*, and rehearsing the Creed in testimony of their Faith; whereupon one said to them, that they should take heed of glorifying themselves so foolishly, but one of them answered, *God forbid that we should glory in anything but in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ*; When the fire was kindled at their Feet, one of them said, *Methinks you do strow Roses under my Feet*; presently after they quietly slept in the Lord. *Henry* being before demanded if *Luther* had seduced him: He answered, *Even so as Christ seduced his Apostles*.

The year after there was one *Henry Sutphen*, who having been with *Luther*, came to *Antwerp*, from which he was driven for his Religion; From thence did he go to *Breme*, where he was requested by some godly Citizens to Preach to them, and the Citizens hearing him preach the Gospel so sincerely, they were so in love with his Doctrine, that they requested him to tarry amongst them to be their Minister: But the Popish Clergy presently complained of him to the Magistrates, accusing him of *Heresie*, and desiring that he might be banished the Town: But not prevailing there, they complained to the Arch-Bishop, and sent their Chaplains daily to his Sermons to entrap him in his words: But it pleased God so to work upon them by his Ministry, that most of them were converted, and did openly witness that he taught nothing but the truth of God.

Not long after he was sent to *Meldorp*, to preach the Gospel to them also; wherefore he thought good to try what God would work by him there: But the Citizens of *Breme* were very unwilling to part with them, because the Gospel had not as yet took much deep root amongst them, and because the Persecution was very great, &c. Yet *Sutphen* alledged, that in *Diethmarch* there was more need of his labors, the People being as Sheep amongst Wolves, and that with a safe conscience he could not deny their request, and that he did not intend utterly to forsake *Breme*, but only for a moneth or two, after which he would return to them again. So having made all things ready, he went into *Diethmarch* to *Meldorp*, where he was joyfully received. But before he began to preach, the Devil and his instruments began to fret and fume, and consulting together, they resolved to hinder him from Preaching, fearing that if the People once heard his Doctrine, it would be too late to stop it. Hereupon they grievously complained to the Magistrates, telling them that if they suffered this *Heretick* to Preach, he would infect all the Country as he had done at *Breme*, and that it would be a most grateful service if they would put him to death: This so far prevailed with these ignorant Men, that they resolved that he should be put to death unseen and unheard: They wrote also to forbid him to Preach, whereunto, he answered, That since he was come at the request of the whole Parish to Preach, he resolved to answer that call, and rather to obey God



God than Man, and that if God had determined that there he should lose his life, that there was as near a way to Heaven from thence as from any other place; assuring himself that sooner or later he must die for the Gospels sake: And accordingly the next day he preached, and the people so liked him, that they resolved to have him for their Preacher, and to defend him to their power: In the afternoon he preached again, afterwards also he preached a third time with such a spirit and grace, that all Men admired him, praying God earnestly that they might long enjoy such a Preacher: But his Enemies were not all this while idle; For going to the Rulers of the Country, they procured some of them to joyn with them, and privately raised Five hundred Men, with whom they went in the night time to *Meldorp*, brake into the House where *Surphen* lay, pulled him out of his Bed naked, and in their rage had almost pulled him to pieces: They then bound him, and asked him for what cause he came into *Diethmarch*? He gently declared it to them; yet they led him away bare-foot; so that his Feet being pitifully cut with the ice, he desired a Horse to ride on, for which they jeered him, saying, *Must we provide an Horse for an Heretic? Thou shalt go on foot whither thou wilt or no*: Afterwards they bound him with chains, and set him in the stocks: Then was he removed to another place, and shut up in a Cupboard; The next day binding him, Hands, Feet and Neck, they carried him forth to be burned. Then a certain Woman came to them, and proffered her self to suffer Two thousand stripes, and to give them a great sum of money if they would but respite his life till he had a publick hearing, but they threw her underfoot and trod upon her. They also fell upon *Surphen*, cutting and mangling him in several parts: The fire was often kindled, yet would not burn; Then they fell upon him again, cutting and flashing him, and at last bound him to a Ladder, and threw him into the fire, and when he began to pray, one of them struck him, saying, *Thou shalt first be burnt, and then pray and praise thy self*: Another trode upon his Brest, and another endeavored to strangle him: Another ran him through with an Halberd: Another struck him on the Brest with a Mace till he died: And lastly, they rosted him upon the coals, and so he finished his Martyrdom. About the same time many other godly persons were thrown into the River of *Rhine* and drowned; and in the Town of *Diethmarch*, another faithful Servant of God suffered Martyrdom.

In *Hala* a godly Preacher was slain by a company of Cut-throats, set out by the Friars. And not long after the Town of *Miltensburg* was taken, sacked, many slain, and others imprisoned for maintaining *Carlostadt*; to be their Preacher. Two other godly persons were burnt at *Vienna*.

Also a godly Minister for reproving sin in his Prince sharply, was condemned to be hanged, and a cruel Gentleman with a Troop were sent to apprehend and hang him: The Gentleman when he came to his House saluted him friendly; pretending that he came to make good cheer with him, for he was a good House-keeper, and the Gentlemen of the Country used oft to resort to him: The Minister in a short time prepared a sumptuous Banquet for them, whereof they did eat freely. Dinner being ended, the Gentleman said to his Men, *Take this Priest our Host and hang him without delay*: His Servants astonished hereat, abhorred to do the deed, saying, *God forbid that we should commit such a crime, as to hang a Man that hath used us so courteously; its a wicked act thus to render evil for good, &c.* But the Gentleman still provoked them to accomplish his command: Then did the Minister say, *I beseech you shew not such cruelty upon me, rather lead me to purge my self to my Prince, before whom I doubt not to purge my self from any thing wherewith I shall be charged, neither so violate ye the Laws of Hospitality which I have shewed to you and other Noble men, which used to resort to my House. Besides, consider what a sting this act will leave in your consciences: For I have faithfully and truly taught the Doctrine of the Gospel, and that's the principal cause that my Prince bears me this ill will, &c.* But whatsoever this good Man could say in his own behalf, the wicked Gentleman continued resolute, provoking his Servants

Implacable malice.

He is condemned unheard.

Popish cruelty.

His Martyrdom.

Many drowned.

*Miltensburg* sacked.

A Minister condemned to be hanged.

Ingratitude.

to accomplish that which he commanded them, withal saying to the Minister; *You shall gain nothing by your Preaching in this sort, for I am fully determined that the Princes will shall be fulfilled.* At last the Servants took the Minister, and with great lamentation and mourning, hanged him upon a beam in his own House, the Gentleman standing by and looking on.

He is hanged.

Also about the same time there was a godly learned Minister, called Master Peter Spengler. Peter Spengler in a Town called Schlat, who faithfully discharged the duty of his place, and was much beloved for his affable and courteous carriage: He was also a great peace-maker, and very prudent in composing differences, well studied in the Scriptures, whereby he saw that Persecution was at hand, the Enemies of the truth beginning now to rage, and proudly to lift up their Heads; yea, shortly after he saw many Bodies of the Saints cruelly tormented, beaten, exiled, drowned and burned; and to the end that he might not defile himself with fornication, he married his Maid, who was one that feared God, and by whom afterwards he had many Children. About this time there was a great commotion of the Boors, who went to Abbies and Monasteries, robbing, plundering, and spoiling what they could not carry away; one company of them came to his House, whom he entertained kindly, yet they ransacked and robbed him of all, even to his very apparel, not leaving him so much as a pair of stockings, though he labored to convince them of their wickedness: As they were going out of his House he fell a weeping, and said to them, *I tell you that this your wickedness will in the end bring much mischief upon your selves; you pretend the Gospel, but walk contrary to the rules of it, &c.* But for his good counsel they requited him with scoffs and jeers.

Peter Spengler.

The rising of the Anabaptists.

He is robbed by them.

His good counsel.

Popish cruelty.

A Christian Speech at his death.

A miracle.

It pleased God not long after, that this faithful Pastor in the night-time was taken by a company of Popish Soldiers, who bound him Hands and Feet with a great Rope, and so carried him away to *Friburg*: It would have grieved any heart to hear the barbarous and despiteful taunts and scoffs that they gave him: From thence they carried him to another place, where they cast him into Prison, cruelly tormented him in his privy members, and other parts of his Body, and at last adjudged him to death. As he was going to Execution, he said, *I shall be an acceptable sacrifice to my Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath given me a quiet conscience, as knowing my self innocent from the crimes objected against me: For my death, it is all one whether I die thus or no; For if you had let me alone, I must shortly have forsaken this skin, which already scarcely hangs to my bones. I know that I am a mortal and corruptible worm, I have long desired my last day, and have oft prayed that I might be delivered out of this mortal body, to be joyned with my Saviour Jesus Christ, &c.* Then was he cast headlong into the River; which afterwards for a certain space was as red as Blood.

Popish cruelty.

False witnesses.

Another godly Man there was, who (after the commotion raised by the Anabaptists was quieted) was apprehended under pretence that he was one of them, and cast into Prison, in which he was long detained, and at last they hoisted him up with a Cord, with a great Stone fastned to his Feet, where they kept him six hours, so that the sweat that dropped from his Body, through pain and anguish, was almost Blood. At last his strength failing, they let him down with great violence; where he lay as a stock almost dead, only they perceived him to breath: Then did they use means to recover him, and gave him some food, after which they let him down into a deep Dungeon: There he continued eighteen days, in the end whereof they took him forth, and examined him of divers things, which he denied. Then did they devise sundry kinds of torments to force him to accuse himself falsely, yet he constantly denied it. Afterwards they hired an Hangman who left no kind of cruelty unpractised upon him; yet at length he was constrained to give over his cruelty, and pronounce the Man innocent, in that he had constantly endured so many and grievous torments: Then did they again cast him into the Dungeon, and in the mean time suborned two false witnesses against him, whereupon they condemned him unheard, and



and having let down a Cord, they drew him up out of the Dungeon to his Execution: As he was going to it, a Frier perswaded him to confess his sins in his ear, and he would absolve him, and so he should go to Heaven: To whom he answered, *Thou wicked Frier, get thee from me, I have long since bewailed my sins to God, and obtained absolution at the hands of my Saviour Jesus Christ, and therefore I have no need of thy absolution, &c.* At the place of Execution, after he had made his Prayer to God, and vindicated his own innocency, his Head was cut off. *These were written by Oecolampadius.*

His constant death.

*Wolfgang Scuch* coming to *Hippolitus* in *Lorrain*, was chosen to be their Pastor, where through Gods blessing upon his Ministry, he mightily prevailed with the people to bring them from darkness to light, so that they forsook their former Idolatry, and abolished the Mass, and other superstitious practices from amongst them, which much enraged their Popish neighbors about them, so that they complained to the Duke that they had not only fallen from the Pope, but went about to cast off their obedience to him, and to shake off his authority: This so provoked the indignation of the Duke, that he threatened utterly to destroy the Town with fire and sword; *Wolfgang* being informed hereof, wrote to the Duke in humble wise, defending his Ministry and the Doctrine which he taught, and the whole cause of the Gospel: He also excused the people as innocent and guiltless, confuted the slanders of their malicious Adversaries, and professed their ready and willing subjection to that authority which God had placed over them. But this Epistle prevailed nothing, by reason of the virulent accusations of their Enemies: Whereupon, to save the Town from ruin, he went of his own accord to the Duke to render an account of his Doctrine, thereby deriving all the *Odium* and danger upon himself.

Wolfgang Scuch.

Idolatry reformed.

Popish rage.

He goeth to the Duke and is imprisoned.

As soon as he came thither he was apprehended and cast into a straight and stinking Prison, where he was most cruelly handled by the churlish Jaylor: In this plight he remained a whole year, and yet would not shrink from his constancy, though besides his hard usage, he had a Wife and five or six small Children to care for. Then was he called to justify his Faith, which he did wittily and learnedly, confuting all that did oppose him; and though they called him *Heretick*, *Judas*, *Devil*, &c. yet he regarded it not, but went on confirming his Doctrine by the Scriptures: But when his Adversaries could not make their part good against him, they took his Bible and burned it, and proceeded to condemn him to be burned; which sentence when he heard pronounced against him, he sang the 122 Psalm. When he came to the place of his Martyrdom, they asked him if he would have his pain shortned, he answered, *No*; for saith he, *God that hath been with me hitherto, I trust will not now leave me when I have most need of him.* When faggots were heaped about him, he sang the 51 Psalm, and so continued singing till the flame and smoak took away his voice and life.

He is reviled.

His Bible burned.

His Faith.

His Martyrdom.

Gods Judgments on persecutors.

Shortly after the Commendator that sat as chief Judge upon him, died suddenly: Also his fellow Judge hearing the sudden noise of some Guns that went off at the coming of the King of *Denmark* into the Town, was so overcome with fear, that he suddenly fell down and died.

One *John Huglin*, a Minister, was burned at *Mersberg* for Religion, Anno Christi 1526.

John Huglin burned.

At *Munchen* in *Bavaria*, one *George Carpenter* was apprehended and cast into Prison for his Religion, and at last was brought forth before the Judges, where he stoutly defended the truth, refusing to recant: Then came a School-master to him, saying, *My Friend, dost thou not fear death? wouldst thou not fain return to thy wife and Children?* To whom he answered, *were I at liberty, whether should I go but to my dear wife and Children?* Then said the School-master, *Recant your errors and you shall be set at liberty:* *George* answered, *My wife and my Children are so dear to me, that they cannot be bought from me with all the riches and possessions of the Duke of Bavaria: But for the love of my Lord God I willingly forsake them all.* When he went to Execution, being again perswaded to recant, he

George Carpenter.

Christ purchased redemption for us and Children.

His sign.  
His Martyr-  
dom.

Leonard Key-  
ser.

Popish malice.

His Martyr-  
dom.

he said, *I will confess Christ this day before the whole world, for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe.* When he was bound to the Ladder, some Christian Brethren desired him, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he would give them some sign of the truth of his Faith; To whom he said, *This shall be my sign, that so long as my Tongue can wag I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus.* He never changed his countenance, but chearfully went to the fire, and crying continually, *Jesus, Jesus*, he joyfully yielded up his spirit unto God.

Also one Leonard Keyser, a Bavarian, being a Student at Wittenburg, was sent for to come home, his Father lying upon his death-bed: But so soon as he was come, he was apprehended at the command of the Bishop; and though the Duke of Saxony, and his own Friends solicited very earnestly to the Bishop for his life, yet he proceeded to condemn him, and delivered him over to the secular Magistrate. As he was led to the place of Execution, he said, *O Lord Jesus, remain with me, sustain and help me, and give me strength:* When the fire was ready to be kindled, he cried out with a loud voice, *O Jesus, I am thine, have mercy upon me, and save me,* and so he quietly slept in the Lord.

#### The Martyrdom of a godly Minister in Hungary.

A Minister  
worried.

Gods Judge-  
ments on Per-  
secutors.

A Cruel Bishop in Hungary took a godly Minister for preaching the truth; and caused Hares, Geese, and Hens to be tied round about his naked Body, and then set Dogs upon him, that cruelly rent and tore whatsoever they could catch, so that he died thereof: But God left not this cruelty unrevenge; for shortly after the Bishop fell mad, and raving, died miserably.

#### C H A P. XXXI.

#### The Persecutions of the Church in the Low-Countries.

Temptation.

Ignorance.

Her Martyr-  
dom.

IN Holland there was a grave Widow called *wendelmuta*, to whom it pleased God to reveal his truth, and she became a zealous Professor of it, for which cause she was apprehended and cast into Prison, and afterwards brought forth at the Sessions, where many Monks perswaded her to recant, but could not prevail. Many also of her kindred and other Women were suffered to perswade with her, amongst which was a noble Matron, who coming to her, said, *My Wendelmuta, why dost thou not keep those things which thou believest secret in thy heart, that thou mayest prolong thy life?* To whom she answered, *Truly you know not what you say, for with the heart Man believes to righteousness, but with the tongue confession is made to salvation.* Then was she condemned to be burnt to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated, which sentence she took patiently and quietly.

At the place of her execution a Monk brought her a Cross, and bad her to kiss and worship her God, to whom she said, *I worship no wooden God, but only that God which is in Heaven;* and so with a merry and joyful countenance she went to the stake, desiring the Executioner to knock it in fast that it might not fall: Being bound to it, she ardently commended her soul into the hands of God; when she was to be strangled she modestly closed her Eyes, and bowed down her Head as one that went to sleep; after which she was burned to ashes.

Anno



Anno 1529. There were two godly and learned Men apprehended in *Colen*, and cast into Prison, where they were kept a year and an half, and the sweating sickness raging exceedingly at that time in *Germany*, the Popish Clergy preached that the way to pacifie Gods wrath, and to remove the plague, was to cut off Hereticks, whereupon these two godly Men were brought out, and condemned, and presently after burned.

Popish malice.

Two godly Men burnt.

Also *Nicholas*, a godly Man, was apprehended at *Antwerp*, bound up in a Sack, cast into the River and drowned.

*Nicholas* drowned.

Also *Pistorius*, a learned and godly Preacher, coming from *Wittenburg* into *Holland*, preached against the Mass, Popish pardons, &c. Whereupon he was cast into Prison amongst Malefactors, whom he instructed, and much comforted in their distressed condition; and one of them being half naked, he gave him his Gown. His Father visiting him in Prison, encouraged him to constancy: At last he was condemned, and carried forth to execution with a Fools Coat on his back; when he was tied to the stake he said, *O death, where is thy victory?* and so he was first strangled, and then burned.

*Pistorius*

Charity.

His Martyrdom.

Another for speaking against the Mass and Reliques, was hanged in *Suevia*.

One hanged.

Another godly Minister being commanded to go to sixteen Men that were to be beheaded, to counsel and comfort them at their death, when they were executed, was himself bidden to kneel down, and so they cut off his Head also.

A Minister beheaded.

Also *George Scherter*, a godly Minister, that took great pains in instructing his people in the knowledge of the Gospel in a Town near *Salzburg*, was apprehended and cast into Prison, where he wrote a Confession of his Faith, and afterwards was condemned, first to be beheaded, and then burned. As he went to execution, he said to the Spectators, *That you may know that I die a true Christian, I will give you a sign:* and accordingly when his Head had been cut off, so long as whilst a Man might eat an Egg, his Body all the while lying upon the Belly, it turned it self upon the back, crossing the right Foot over the left, and the right Hand over the left; by which Miracle many were induced to believe the Gospel.

*George Scherter*.

A Miracle.

Another godly Man was burned at *Dornick*.

Anno 1539. A godly Minister not far from *Basil*, was murdered in his own House by a Popish Priest, whom he had kindly entertained. Many other Ministers about that time, were, some drowned, some beheaded.

Ministers Martyrs.

Anno 1543. Notice was taken that there were divers godly Persons in *Levain*, whereupon an Inquisitor came from *Bruxels* thither, and having gotten a Company of Soldiers, in the night time he brake into their Houses, plucking Men and Women out of their Beds from their Children, and casting them into Prison. Thither the Doctors of *Levain* came, thinking either to convert them or confound them: But the Spirit of God assisting his Saints, the Doctors went away confounded themselves. Then did they cruelly torment every one of them by themselves: Amongst these an aged Minister of about sixty years old was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a dark and stinking Dungeon, where he could neither read nor write, nor might any Man come to him, and he was fed only with Bread and Water.

Popish cruelty.

Vincit vincitur.

Two were burnt alive in the fire. An aged Man was beheaded. Two aged Women were buried quick. Others for refusing to do penance were burned also: All which took their death very patiently and chearfully.

The year after in the same University of *Levain*, was one Master *Perfival*, a very learned and godly Man, cast into Prison, and because he could by no means be brought to recant, he was adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, and there to be fed only with Bread and Water; neither would they suffer the Citizens to send any relief to him: shortly after he was made away in Prison.

Mr. *Perfival*.

Cruelty.

Also

An heroic  
act.

it: Yet *Gardiner* contained himself all this while. Then the Cardinal took the Host, tossed it to and fro about the Chalice, made divers circles, &c. With that *Gardiner* stept to him, took the Host out of his hand, and trampled it under his feet, and with his other hand overthrew the Chalice.

His danger.

His Speech to  
the King.

At first, all that were present stood amazed; then arose a great tumult, and one drawing his Dagger, wounded *Gardiner* in the Shoulder, and as he was about to have slain him, the King commanded him to forbear, whereby his life was saved for the present. The tumult being ceased, the King demanded of him what Countryman he was? He answered, *Most Noble King, I am not ashamed of my Countrey, I am an Englishman by Birth and Religion, and came hither as a Merchant; and seeing so great Idolatry committed in this famous Assembly, I neither ought, nor could any longer suffer it; neither could I forbear doing what you have seen. Which thing, most Noble Prince, was not done in contempt of your Presence, God is my witness, but to seek the Salvation of this People.*

Courage.

The King hearing that he was an *Englishman*, and considering what alteration of Religion King *Edward* had made, presently conceived that he was suborned, by some Body, to do this in scorn to their Religion: Wherefore he asked him who was the author and procurer of this act? *Gardiner* answered, *That he was not moved thereunto by any Man, but only by his own Conscience. For, saith he, there is no Man under Heaven, for whose sake I would put my self into such manifest danger, but that I owed this service, first to God, and then to your Salvation. And if I have done any thing which is displeasing to you, you ought to impute it to no Man, but to your self, who so irreverently use the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper to so great Idolatry, &c.* Whilest he thus stoutly spake to the King, by reason of the loss of much Blood by his wound, he was ready to faint. Whereupon Chirurgeons were sent for to cure him, that he might be reserved for further torments.

Then were all other *Englishmen* in the City clapped up in Prison, especially his Bed-fellow, who was grievously tormented and examined more then all the rest, and scarcely delivered after two years imprisonment; the rest got off sooner.

He is tortu-  
red.

They searched also all his Writings and Letters, to see if they could find out any confederates: Then they went to him, seeking by torments to extort the author of this fact. They also invented a new kind of torment, exceeding *Phalaris* his Brazen Bull, which was this, They made a Ball of Linnen-cloth, which with violence they thrust down his Throat, to the bottom of his Stomack, and with a string fastned to it, they pulled it up again; and this they did divers times, which caused as bitter pains, as the pains of death. But when by this means they could get no confession from him, they asked him, If he did not repent of his wicked act? Whereto he answered, That he was so far from repenting, that if it were to do again, he should do it: Yet was he somewhat sorry that it was done in the Kings presence, to his disturbance; but they were not to blame him for it, but the King was rather to be blamed, who having power, would not prohibit so great Idolatry.

His cruel  
Martyrdom.

Constancy.

When they had used all kinds of torments, and that he was so weakned thereby, that he was not like to live long, they first cut off his right hand, then carried him into the Market-place, where they cut off his other hand also; then fastning a Rope about his middle, with a Pulley they hoisted him up on high, and making a great fire under him, they let him down, so that his feet only felt the fire, and so often pulling him up and down, they burned him by degrees; and yet in all these great torments he remained constant, and the more terribly that he burnt, the more earnestly he prayed. When his feet were consumed, they asked him, Whether he yet did not repent him of his deed? exhorting him to call upon our Lady and the Saints. He answered, That what torments soever they used, the Truth was the same; that which he had confessed in his life, he would not deny

at



at his death; and that when *Christ* ceased to be our Advocate he would pray to our Lady, &c. And when they labored to stop his praying to, and praising of God, he with a loud voice rehearsed the 34th *Psalm*; which being almost ended, the Rope was burned in sunder, so that his Body fell down into the fire, where he changed his momentary pains for eternal rest.

But the Lord suffered not this cruelty to go altogether unpunished in this life; for a spark of the fire wherewith he was burned, was driven by the Wind into the Haven, where it set on fire one of the Kings great Ships, and consumed it: The new-married Prince also died within half a year, and the King himself not long after.

God's Judgment on Persecutors.

*The Martyrdom of a Christian Jew in Constantinople, Anno Christi 1528.*

**T**His Jew dwelling at *Constantinople*, through Gods grace, was there converted, Baptized, and became a good Christian; which the *Turks* understanding, were vehemently exasperated against him for it, fearing lest his conversion should prove very prejudicial to their *Mahometan* Religion, and therefore they apprehended and cruelly murdered him, and for his greater infamy they cast out his dead Body into the open streets, forbidding all strictly to bury it. Thus his dead Body lay in the streets nine days; yet, through the power of God, it corrupted not all, yea there proceeded from it a certain delectable scent or odor, which much astonished the *Turks*, so that at last they took it up, and carried it out of the City, and buried it.

A special Providence.

C H A P. XXX.

*The Persecution of the Church in Germany, which began Anno Christi 1523.*

**T**He Gospel being spread abroad in *Germany*, by the means and ministry of *Luther*, and his Fellow-laborers, the Pope having tried all other means for the suppressing of it, and finding them ineffectual, he at last provokes the Emperor *Charles* the fifth by War to destroy the Protestants; and for that end gives him Two hundred thousand Crowns in money for their maintenance of these Wars, and ties himself at his own cost to maintain Twelve thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse for six moneths; yea out of his zeal for the cause, he allows the Emperor the one half of the Revenues of the Clergy, and gives him leave to sell of Abby-Lands to the value of Five hundred thousand Crowns; whereupon great preparation was made for this War, both in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, the consideration whereof caused the confederate Protestant Princes to raise a great Army also for their own defence; upon which occasion they were proclaimed guilty of high Treason by the Emperor.

The Pope stirred up the Emperor to persecute the Protestants.

Abby-Lands sold.

The two Armies lay near together, and the Protestants offered Battel to the Emperor, but he refused, assuring himself that they could not long continue together: The Army of the Protestants was commanded by the Duke of *Saxony*, and the *Lantgrave* of *Hessen*, who did not concur very well in their counsels: Besides, they wanted both victuals and money; so as they were forced to dislodge and retire further off: The Emperor following, forced the Elector to fight with disadvantage; and God, who doth not always prosper the better cause, gave the victory to the Emperor, the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave* being taken Prisoners. Anno 1547.

Duke of Saxony and the Lantgrave taken Prisoners.

Presently after ensued a great Persecution in many places: Authority armed with laws and rigor, striving against simple verity. It was lamentable to hear

A cruel Persecution.

Henry Voes,  
John Esch.

Comfort and  
joy in death.

A miracle of  
mercy.

Henry Sutphen.

Popish malice.

Some that  
came to catch  
were conver-  
ted.

Popish subtilty  
and malice.

Courage.

how many poor Men were troubled, both Ministers and Christians; some tossed from place to place, others exiled out of their own Countries; some driven into Woods, and forced to dwell in Caves; some tormented upon the Rack, and some burned with fire and faggot: Amongst others, two young Men were burnt at *Bruxels*, viz. *Henry Voes* and *John Esch*, formerly *Augustine-Friers*; When they came before the Inquisitors, they were examined what they did believe? They answered, The Books of the *Old and New Testament*, wherein were contained the Articles of the Creed. Then were they asked whether they did not believe the decrees of the Councils and Fathers: They answered, such as were agreeing to the Scriptures, they believed, &c. When they were condemned, they gave thanks to God their heavenly Father, which of his great goodness had delivered them from that false and abominable Religion, making them Priests to himself, and receiving them to himself as a sacrifice of a sweet odor: They went joyfully to the place of Execution, protesting that they died for the glory of God, and the Doctrine of the Gospel as true Christians, and that it was the day which they had long desired; They joyfully embraced the stake, and endured patiently the torments of the fire, singing *Psalms*, and rehearsing the Creed in testimony of their Faith; whereupon one said to them, that they should take heed of glorifying themselves so foolishly; but one of them answered, *God forbid that we should glory in any thing but in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ*; When the fire was kindled at their Feet, one of them said, *Methinks you do strow Roses under my Feet*; presently after they quietly slept in the Lord. *Henry* being before demanded if *Luther* had seduced him: He answered, *Even so as Christ seduced his Apostles*.

The year after there was one *Henry Sutphen*, who having been with *Luther*, came to *Antwerp*, from which he was driven for his Religion; From thence did he go to *Breme*, where he was requested by some godly Citizens to Preach to them, and the Citizens hearing him preach the Gospel so sincerely, they were so in love with his Doctrine, that they requested him to tarry amongst them to be their Minister: But the Popish Clergy presently complained of him to the Magistrates, accusing him of *Heresie*, and desiring that he might be banished the Town: But not prevailing there, they complained to the Arch-Bishop, and sent their Chaplains daily to his Sermons to entrap him in his words: But it pleased God so to work upon them by his Ministry, that most of them were converted, and did openly witness that he taught nothing but the truth of God.

Not long after he was sent to *Meldorp*, to preach the Gospel to them also; wherefore he thought good to try what God would work by him there: But the Citizens of *Breme* were very unwilling to part with them, because the Gospel had not as yet took much deep root amongst them, and because the Persecution was very great, &c. Yet *Sutphen* alledged, that in *Diethmarch* there was more need of his labors, the People being as Sheep amongst Wolves, and that with a safe conscience he could not deny their request, and that he did not intend utterly to forsake *Breme*, but only for a moneth or two, after which he would return to them again. So having made all things ready, he went into *Diethmarch* to *Meldorp*, where he was joyfully received. But before he began to preach, the Devil and his instruments began to fret and fume, and consulting together, they resolved to hinder him from Preaching, fearing that if the People once heard his Doctrine, it would be too late to stop it. Hereupon they grievously complained to the Magistrates, telling them that if they suffered this *Heretick* to Preach, he would infect all the Country as he had done at *Breme*, and that it would be a most grateful service if they would put him to death: This so far prevailed with these ignorant Men, that they resolved that he should be put to death unseen and unheard: They wrote also to forbid him to Preach, whereunto, he answered, That since he was come at the request of the whole Parish to Preach, he resolved to answer that call, and rather to obey God



## The Persecution of the Church in Germany.

God than Man, and that if God had determined that there he should lose his life, that there was as near a way to Heaven from thence as from any other place, assuring himself that sooner or later he must die for the Gospels sake: And accordingly the next day he preached, and the people so like him, that they resolved to have him for their Preacher, and to defend him to their power: In the afternoon he preached again, afterwards also he preached a third time with such a spirit and grace, that all Men admired him, praying God earnestly that they might long enjoy such a Preacher: But his Enemies were not all this while idle; For going to the Rulers of the Country, they procured some of them to joyn with them, and privately raised Five hundred Men, with whom they went in the night time to *Meldorp*, brake into the House where *surphen* lay, pulled him out of his Bed naked, and in their rage had almost pulled him to pieces: They then bound him, and asked him for what cause he came into *Diethmarch*? He gently declared it to them, yet they led him away bare-foot; so that his Feet being pitifully cut with the ice, he desired a Horse to ride on, for which they jeered him, saying, *Must we provide an Horse for an Heretick? Thou shalt go on foot whither thou wilt or no*: Afterwards they bound him with chains, and set him in the stocks: Then was he removed to another place, and shut up in a Cupboard; The next day binding him, Hands; Feet and Neck, they carried him forth to be burned. Then a certain Woman came to them, and proffered her self to suffer Two thousand stripes, and to give them a great sum of money if they would but respite his life till he had a publick hearing, but they threw her underfoot and trod upon her. They also fell upon *surphen*, cutting and mangling him in several parts: The fire was often kindled, yet would not burn; Then they fell upon him again, cutting and flashing him, and at last bound him to a Ladder, and threw him into the fire, and when he began to pray, one of them struck him, saying, *Thou shalt first be burnt, and then pray and praise thy self*: Another trode upon his Brest, and another endeavored to strangle him: Another ran him through with an Halberd: Another struck him on the Brest with a Mace till he died: And lastly, they rosted him upon the coals, and so he finished his Martyrdom. About the same time many other godly persons were thrown into the River of *Rhine* and drowned; and in the Town of *Diethmarch*, another faithful Servant of God suffered Martyrdom.

In *Hala* a godly Preacher was slain by a company of Cut-throats, set out by the Friars. And not long after the Town of *Miltzburg* was taken, sacked, many slain, and others imprisoned for maintaining *Carlostadius*, to be their Preacher. Two other godly persons were buried at *Vienna*.

Also a godly Minister for reproving sin in his Prince sharply, was condemned to be hanged, and a cruel Gentleman with a Troop were sent to apprehend and hang him: The Gentleman when he came to his House saluted him friendly; pretending that he came to make good cheer with him, for he was a good House-keeper, and the Gentlemen of the Country used oft to resort to him: The Minister in a short time prepared a sumptuous Banquet for them, whereof they did eat freely. Dinner being ended, the Gentleman said to his Men, *Take this Priest our Host and hang him without delay*: His Servants astonished hereat, abhorred to do the deed, saying, *God forbid that we should commit such a crime, as to hang a Man that hath used us so courteously; its a wicked act thus to render evil for good, &c.* But the Gentleman still provoked them to accomplish his command: Then did the Minister say, *I beseech you shew not such cruelty upon me, rather lead me to purge my self to my Prince, before whom I doubt not to purge my self from any thing wherewith I shall be charged, neither so violate ye the Laws of Hospitality which I have shewed to you and other Noble men, which used to resort to my House. Besides, consider what a sting this act will leave in your consciences: For I have faithfully and truly taught the Doctrine of the Gospel, and that's the principal cause that my Prince bears me this ill will, &c.* But whatsoever this good Man could say in his own behalf, the wicked Gentleman continued resolute, provoking his Servants

Implacable malice.

He is condemned unheard.

Popish cruelty.

His Martyrdom.

Many drowned.

Miltzburg sacked.

A Minister condemned to be hanged.

Ingratitude.

He is hanged.

to accomplish that which he commanded them, withal saying to the Minister, *You shall gain nothing by your Preaching in this sort, for I am fully determined that the Princes will shall be fulfilled.* At last the Servants took the Minister, and with great lamentation and mourning, hanged him upon a beam in his own House, the Gentleman standing by and looking on.

Peter Spengler.

Also about the same time there was a godly learned Minister, called Master Peter Spengler in a Town called *Schlat*, who faithfully discharged the duty of his place, and was much beloved for his affable and courteous carriage: He was also a great peace-maker, and very prudent in composing differences, well studied in the Scriptures, whereby he saw that Persecution was at hand, the Enemies of the truth beginning now to rage, and proudly to lift up their Heads; yea, shortly after he saw many Bodies of the Saints cruelly tormented, beaten, exiled, drowned and burned; and to the end that he might not defile himself with fornication, he married his Maid, who was one that feared God, and by whom afterwards he had many Children. About this time there was a great commotion of the Boors, who went to Abbies and Monasteries, robbing, plundering, and spoiling what they could not carry away; one company of them came to his House, whom he entertained kindly, yet they rancked and robbed him of all, even to his very apparel, not leaving him so much as a pair of stockings, though he labored to convince them of their wickedness: As they were going out of his House he fell a weeping, and said to them, *I tell you that this your wickedness will in the end bring much mischief upon your selves; you pretend the Gospel, but walk contrary to the rules of it, &c.* But for his good counsel they requited him with scoffs and jeers.

The rising of the Anabaptists.

He is robbed by them.

His good counsel.

Popish cruelty.

It pleased God not long after, that this faithful Pastor in the night-time was taken by a company of Popish Soldiers, who bound him Hands and Feet with a great Rope, and so carried him away to *Friburg*: It would have grieved any heart to hear the barbarous and despiteful taunts and scoffs that they gave him: From thence they carried him to another place, where they cast him into Prison, cruelly tormented him in his privy members, and other parts of his Body, and at last adjudged him to death. As he was going to Execution, he said, *I shall be an acceptable sacrifice to my Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath given me a quiet conscience, as knowing my self innocent from the crimes objected against me: For my death, it is all one whether I die thus or no; For if you had let me alone, I must shortly have forsaken this skin, which already scarcely hangs to my bones. I know that I am a mortal and corruptible worm, I have long desired my last day, and have oft prayed that I might be delivered out of this mortal body, to be joynd with my Saviour Jesus Christ, &c.* Then was he cast headlong into the River; which afterwards for a certain space was as red as Blood.

A Christian Speech at his death.

A miracle.

Popish cruelty.

Another godly Man there was, who (after the commotion raised by the Anabaptists was quieted) was apprehended under pretence that he was one of them, and cast into Prison, in which he was long detained, and at last they hoisted him up with a Cord, with a great Stone fastned to his Feet, where they kept him six hours, so that the sweat that dropped from his Body, through pain and anguish, was almost Blood. At last his strength failing, they let him down with great violence; where he lay as a stock almost dead, only they perceived him to breath: Then did they use means to recover him, and gave him some food, after which they let him down into a deep Dungeon: There he continued eighteen days, in the end whereof they took him forth, and examined him of divers things, which he denied. Then did they devise sundry kinds of torments to force him to accuse himself falsely, yet he constantly denied it. Afterwards they hired an Hangman who left no kind of cruelty unpractised upon him; yet at length he was constrained to give over his cruelty, and pronounce the Man innocent, in that he had constantly endured so many and grievous torments: Then did they again cast him into the Dungeon, and in the mean time suborned two false witnesses against him, whereupon they condemned him unheard,

False witnesses set.

and



and having let down a Cord, they drew him up out of the Dungeon to his Execution: As he was going to it, a Friar perswaded him to confess his sins in his ear, and he would absolve him, and so he should go to Heaven: To whom he answered, *Thou wicked Friar, get thee from me, I have long since bewailed my sins to God, and obtained absolution at the hands of my Saviour Jesus Christ, and therefore I have no need of thy absolution, &c.* At the place of Execution, after he had made his Prayer to God, and vindicated his own innocency, his Head was cut off. *These were written by Oecolampadius.*

His confessions  
death.

*Wolfgang Scuch* coming to *Hippolitus* in *Lorraine*, was chosen to be their Pastor, where through Gods blessing upon his Ministry, he mightily prevailed with the people to bring them from darkness to light, so that they forsook their former Idolatry, and abolished the Mass, and other superstitious practices from amongst them, which much enraged their Popish neighbors about them, so that they complained to the Duke that they had not only fallen from the Pope, but went about to cast off their obedience to him, and to shake off his authority: This so provoked the indignation of the Duke, that he threatened utterly to destroy the Town with fire and sword; *Wolfgang* being informed hereof, wrote to the Duke in humble wise, defending his Ministry and the Doctrine which he taught, and the whole cause of the Gospel: He also excused the people as innocent and guiltless, confuted the slanders of their malicious Adversaries, and professed their ready and willing subjection to that authority which God had placed over them. But this Epistle prevailed nothing, by reason of the virulent accusations of their Enemies: Whereupon, to save the Town from ruin, he went of his own accord to the Duke to render an account of his Doctrine, thereby deriving all the Odium and danger upon himself.

*Wolfgang*  
*scuch.*

Idolatry and  
formed.

Popish rage.

He goeth to  
the Duke and  
is imprisoned.

As soon as he came thither he was apprehended and cast into a straight and stinking Prison, where he was most cruelly handled by the churlish Jaylor: In this plight he remained a whole year, and yet would not shrink from his constancy, though besides his hard usage, he had a Wife and five or six small Children to care for. Then was he called to justify his Faith, which he did wittily and learnedly, confuting all that did oppose him; and though they called him *Heretick*, *Judas*, *Devil*, &c. yet he regarded it not, but went on confirming his Doctrine by the Scriptures: But when his Adversaries could not make their part good against him, they took his Bible and burned it, and proceeded to condemn him to be burned; which sentence when he heard pronounced against him, he sang the 122 Psalm. When he came to the place of his Martyrdom, they asked him if he would have his pain shortned, he answered, *No*; for saith he, *God that hath been with me hitherto, I trust will not now leave me when I have most need of him.* When faggots were heaped about him, he sang the 51 Psalm; and so continued singing till the flame and smoak took away his voice and life.

He is reviled.

His Bible  
burned.

His Faith.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Gods Judg-  
ments on Per-  
secutors.

Shortly after the Commendator that sat as chief Judge upon him, died suddenly: Also his fellow Judge hearing the sudden noise of some Guns that went off at the coming of the King of *Denmark* into the Town, was so overcome with fear, that he suddenly fell down and died.

One *John Huglin*, a Minister, was burned at *Mersberg* for Religion, Anno Christi 1526.

*John Huglin*  
burned.

At *Munchen* in *Bavaria*, one *George Carpenter* was apprehended and cast into Prison for his Religion, and at last was brought forth before the Judges, where he stoutly defended the truth, refusing to recant: Then came a School-master to him, saying, *My Friend, dost thou not fear death? wouldst thou not fain return to thy wife and Children?* To whom he answered, *were I at liberty, whether should I go but to my dear wife and Children?* Then said the School-master, *Recant your errors and you shall be set at liberty:* *George* answered, *My wife and my Children are so dear to me, that they cannot be bought from me with all the riches and possessions of the Duke of Bavaria: But for the love of my Lord God I willingly forsake them all.* When he went to Execution, being again perswaded to recant, he

*George Car-*  
*penters.*

Christ was  
rejoiced  
and Children  
he

His sign.  
His Martyr-  
dom.

Leonard Key-  
ser.

Popish malice.

His Martyr-  
dom.

he said, *I will confess Christ this day before the whole world, for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe.* When he was bound to the Ladder, some Christian Brethren desired him, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he would give them some sign of the truth of his Faith; To whom he said, *This shall be my sign, that so long as my Tongue can wag I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus.* He never changed his countenance, but cheerfully went to the fire, and crying continually, *Jesus, Jesus*, he joyfully yielded up his spirit unto God.

Also one Leonard Keyser, a Bavarian, being a Student at Wittenburg, was sent for to come home, his Father lying upon his death-bed: But so soon as he was come, he was apprehended at the command of the Bishop; and though the Duke of Saxony, and his own Friends solicited very earnestly to the Bishop for his life, yet he proceeded to condemn him, and delivered him over to the secular Magistrate. As he was led to the place of Execution, he said, *O Lord Jesus, remain with me, sustain and help me, and give me strength:* When the fire was ready to be kindled, he cryed out with a loud voice, *O Jesus, I am thine, have mercy upon me, and save me,* and so he quietly slept in the Lord.

#### *The Martyrdom of a godly Minister in Hungary.*

A Minister  
worried.

Gods Judg-  
ments on Per-  
secutors.

A Cruel Bishop in Hungary took a godly Minister for preaching the truth; and caused Hares, Geese, and Hens to be tied round about his naked Body, and then set Dogs upon him, that cruelly rent and tore whatsoever they could catch, so that he died thereof: But God left not this cruelty unrevenge; for shortly after the Bishop fell mad, and raving, died miserably.

### C H A P. XXXI.

#### *The Persecutions of the Church in the Low-Countries.*

Temptation.

IN Holland there was a grave Widow called *wendelmuts*, to whom it pleased God to reveal his truth, and she became a zealous Professor of it, for which cause she was apprehended and cast into Prison, and afterwards brought forth at the Sessions, where many Monks perswaded her to recant, but could not prevail. Many also of her kindred and other Women were suffered to perswade with her, amongst which was a noble Matron, who coming to her, said, *My Wendelmuts, why dost thou not keep those things which thou believest secret in thy heart, that thou mayest prolong thy life?* To whom she answered, *Truly you know not what you say; for with the heart Man believes to righteousness, but with the tongue confession is made to salvation.* Then was she condemned to be burnt to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated, which sentence she took patiently and quietly.

Ignorance.

Her Martyr-  
dom.

At the place of her execution a Monk brought her a Cross, and bad her to kiss and worship her God, to whom she said, *I worship no wooden God, but only that God which is in Heaven;* and so with a merry and joyful countenance she went to the stake, desiring the Executioner to knock it in fast that it might not fall: Being bound to it, she ardently commended her soul into the hands of God; when she was to be strangled she modestly closed her Eyes, and bowed down her Head as one that went to sleep; after which she was burnt to ashes.



Anno 1529. There were two godly and learned Men apprehended in *Colen*, and cast into Prison, where they were kept a year and an half, and the sweating sickness raging exceedingly at that time in *Germany*, the Popish Clergy preached that the way to pacifie Gods wrath, and to remove the plague, was to cut off Hereticks, whereupon these two godly Men were brought out, and condemned, and presently after burned.

Popish malice.  
Two godly Men burned.

Also one *Nicholas*, a godly Man, was apprehended at *Antwerp*, bound up in a Sack, cast into the River and drowned.

*Nicholas* drowned.

Also *Pistorius*, a learned and godly Preacher, coming from *Wittenburg* into *Holland*, preached against the Mals, Popish pardons, &c. Whereupon he was cast into Prison amongst Malefactors, whom he instructed, and much comforted in their distressed condition; and one of them being half naked, he gave him his Gown. His Father visiting him in Prison, encouraged him to constancy: At last he was condemned, and carried forth to execution with a Fools Coat on his back; when he was tied to the stake he said, *O death, where is thy victory?* and so he was first strangled, and then burned.

*Pistorius*

Charity.

His Martyrdom.

Another for speaking against the Mals and Reliques, was hanged in *Suevia*.

One hanged.

Another godly Minister being commanded to go to sixteen Men that were to be beheaded, to counsel and comfort them at their death; when they were executed, was himself bidden to kneel down, and so they cut off his Head also.

A Minister beheaded.

Also *George Scherter*, a godly Minister, that took great pains in instructing his people in the knowledge of the Gospel in a Town near *Salzburg*, was apprehended and cast into Prison, where he wrote a Confession of his Faith, and afterwards was condemned, first to be beheaded, and then burned. As he went to execution, he said to the Spectators, *That you may know that I die a true Christian, I will give you a sign:* and accordingly when his Head had been cut off, so long as whilst a Man might eat an Egg, his Body all the while lying upon the Belly, it turned it self upon the back, crossing the right Foot over the left, and the right Hand over the left; by which Miracle many were induced to believe the Gospel.

*George Scherter*.

A Miracle.

Another godly Man was burned at *Dornick*.

Anno 1539. A godly Minister not far from *Basil*, was murdered in his own House by a Popish Priest, whom he had kindly entertained. Many other Ministers about that time, were, some drowned, some beheaded.

Ministers Martyrs.

Anno 1543. Notice was taken that there were divers godly Persons in *Levain*, whereupon an Inquisitor came from *Bruxels* thither, and having gotten a Company of Soldiers, in the night time he brake into their Houses, plucking Men and Women out of their Beds from their Children, and casting them into Prison. Thither the Doctors of *Levain* came, thinking either to convert them or confound them: But the Spirit of God assisting his Saints, the Doctors went away confounded themselves. Then did they cruelly torment every one of them by themselves: Amongst these an aged Minister of about sixty years old was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a dark and stinking Dungeon, where he could neither read nor write, nor might any Man come to him, and he was fed only with Bread and Water.

Popish cruelty.

Vincis veritas.

Two were burnt alive in the fire. An aged Man was beheaded. Two aged Women were buried quick. Others for refusing to do penance were burned also: All which took their death very patiently and chearfully.

The year after in the same University of *Levain*, was one Master *Perseval*, a very learned and godly Man, cast into Prison, and because he could by no means be brought to recant, he was adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, and there to be fed only with Bread and Water; neither would they suffer the Citizens to send any relief to him: shortly after he was made away in Prison.

Mr. Perseval.

Cruelty.

Also

*Justus Insberg.*

A special Providence.

*Giles Tilleman.*  
Conversion.

Charity.

Constancy.

Earnest Prayer.

Meekness.

Flight refused.

Constancy.

Note.

His Martyrdom.

A great Persecution.

*Martin* converted in his old age.

Also one *Justus Insberg* in the same City, for having a *New Testament* and some of *Luthers* Sermons found in his House, was cast into Prison, and command given that none should speak with him. At the same time there were Prisoners in a Room under him, *Egidius* and *Encenas* mentioned before, whose door being left open accidentally, they went to this poor Man, and much confirmed and strengthened him in the Faith, insomuch as when the *Lovian* Doctors came to persuade him to recant, he before them all made a bold Confession of his Faith, from which he would not be dissuaded, whereupon he was condemned and Beheaded.

About the same time there was one *Giles Tilleman*, a Cutler at *Bruxels*, who by diligent reading of the Scriptures, through Gods grace, was converted, and became very zealous for the truth: He was also very humble, mild, and merciful; whatsoever he could spare from his own necessity, he gave it to the poor, living by his trade himself. Some he refreshed with meat, others with cloathing; to others he gave shooes, to others household-stuff; to others he ministered godly exhortations for their edification. One poor Woman being delivered of a Child, and wanting a Bed to lie on, he sent her his Bed, and himself was content to lie on the straw. At last he was discovered and cast into Prison, where much pains was taken to bring him back to Popery, but always his Adversaries went away with shame: After eight months imprisonment he was sent to *Bruxels* to be judged, in which place he comforted many that he found in Prison there, exhorting them to constancy that they might attain the Crown: Most of his food he divided amongst them, contenting himself with some few scraps. He was so ardent in Prayer, kneeling by himself in some secret place, that often he forgot himself; and being many times called to his meat, he neither heard, nor saw them that stood by him till he was lifted up by the Arms.

Divers Friars coming to reduce him, he would still request them to go their ways, for he was at a point; and when they reviled him, he would not answer them again, insomuch as they reported abroad that he had a dumb Devil in him. But when they spake of matters of Religion, he answered them freely, mightily confuting them by the Scriptures: Often he might have escaped, the Prison Doors being set open, but he would not, that he might not bring his Keeper into trouble. Afterwards he was removed to another Prison, where they sought by torments to enforce him to recant; and when all would not prevail, he was condemned to the fire; which when he heard of, he gave hearty thanks to God for that the hour was come, wherein he might glorifie his name. Seeing a great pile of Wood prepared for his burning, he desired that most of it might be taken away and given to the poor, for a little, said he, will serve to burn me; and seeing a poor Man by that lacked shooes, he gave him his. Being tied to the Stake, the Hangman would have strangled him, but he refused, saying, *It needs not, I fear not the fire*; and so in the midst of the flames he gave up the Ghost.

*Anno 1543 and 1544.* There was a great Persecution all over *Flanders*, so that there was neither Town nor City in all the Country, wherein some were not banished, beheaded, or condemned to perpetual imprisonment; neither was there any respect either of age or sex: But especially at *Gaunt*, many of the chief Men were burned for Religion.

Also at the Emperors going to *Bruxels*, there was a terrible persecution and slaughter made of Gods People in *Brabant*, *Artois*, &c. so that Two hundred Men and Women were apprehended at one time, whereof some were drowned, some buried quick, some privily made away, others sent to perpetual Prison; yea so many others were put to death, that the hands of the Hangman were tired with slaying them.

*Anno 1545.* There was one *Martin*, at *Gaunt*, a Fishmonger, who lived very dissolutely to his old age: But it pleased God by a Sermon that he heard, to bring



bring him to the knowledge of the Truth, and to repentance for his former sins; whereupon he left *Gaunt*, and sought out the company of godly Christians, who used much reading of the Scriptures, by whom he was further instructed and grounded in the Truth. Then after three Moneths he returned to the City again, where he visited the Captives in Prison, comforted them in Persecution, and confirmed them in the Truth, which were led to the fire.

The Fryers seeing this, though formerly he had been very bountiful to them, yet now they conspired against him, whereby he was laid in Bands, and by sharp and cruel torments they would have informed him to recant; but not prevailing, he was condemned, and his Goods confiscated. As he stood at the Stake, a Fryer said to him, *Martin, except thou dost turn, thou shalt go from this temporal to everlasting fire*: To whom he answered, *It is not for you to judge me*. And so he quietly slept in the Lord.

He is con-  
demned.

His Martyr-  
dom.

The next day after, two other Men were burned, and a Woman buried alive for the same cause, who joyfully and chearfully suffered Martyrdom.

At *Delden*, two Virgins of a noble stock, who frequently and diligently attended Sermons, being apprehended and examined, courageously confessed and maintained the Truth; whereupon they were condemned, and the younger was first burned. In the fire, she prayed so ardently for her Enemies, that the Judges greatly marvelled at it: Then did they exhort the elder, That if she would not recant, yet, at least, that she would Petition to have her punishment changed into beheading, instead of burning: Whereupon she answered, That she held no Error, of which she had cause to repent, but the Truth which was consonant to the Scriptures; in which, she trusted to persevere unto the end. And for the kind of her punishment, she feared not the fire, but would rather follow the example of her dear Sister; and so being put into the fire, she quietly slept in the Lord. But this was marvellous, That after their death, the Bodies of them both remained white, and unhurt by the fire; whereupon some Christians privily in the night buried them.

Two godly  
Virgins.

Burnt.

Constancy and  
courage.

A Miracle.

*Anno Christi 1545.* There was in *Mechlin*, one *Andrew Thiessen*, who had three Sons and a Daughter, whom he carefully brought up in the knowledge of the Truth. After which, he went into *England*, and there died: Two of his Sons went into *Germany* to study there, and after a time returned home again, instructing their Mother, Brother, and Sister, in the right knowledge of *Christ*; which being taken notice of, they were all carried before the Magistrate, and exhorted to return to the Church of *Rome* again. The younger Brother and Sister, being not so thoroughly grounded in the Truth, by reason of their years, yielded something, and so were sent home again. The Mother, who remained constant, was adjudged to perpetual imprisonment; the two elder Brethren defended the Truth stoutly against the Fryers, Disputation not prevailing, they proceeded to torments, endeavoring to know of them who was their Master, and what Fellows they had: They answered, *That their Master was Christ, who bare his Cross before them; and for Fellows they had innumerable, dispersed in all places*. At last they were condemned to the fire; and at the place of execution, they began to exhort the people; whereupon Balls were put into their Mouths, which through vehemency in desiring to speak, they thrust out again, intreating them for the Lords sake, that they might have leave to speak: And so singing with a loud voice, they were fastned to the Stake, where they prayed for their Persecutors, exhorted one another, and endured the fire patiently. One of them feeling the violence of the flame, said, *O what a small pain is this compared with the glory to come!* And so committing their Spirits into the Hands of *God*, they finished their race.

*Andrew Thies-*  
*sen.*

Constancy.

Popish cruelty.

Joy and com-  
fort at death.

*Anno 1545.* There was a great Persecution in *Dornick*; and amongst others, there was one *Adrian Tailor*, and his Wife, apprehended; and upon their examination, the Man being somewhat timorous, relented something, and so was beheaded: But the Woman being more constant, was put into an Iron grate, and so buried alive.

*Adrian Tailor*  
and his Wife.

Master Peter  
Bruly.

There was also one Master *Peter Bruly*, about the same time, sometimes a Preacher in *Strasburg*, but now at the request of the faithful in *Dornick*, a diligent Preacher there: He used to Preach in Houses, the door standing open. The Magistrate hearing of it, laid wait for him, shutting up the City Gates, and searching three days for him: But the Brethren in the night time let him down in a Basket over the Wall. And when he was down, one of them leaning over the Wall, to bid him farewell, unawares threw down a loose Stone, which falling upon his Leg, brake it in pieces. He complaining of his hurt, the Watchmen heard him, and apprehended him. Then did he give thanks to Almighty God, who by that providence staid him there to bear witness to his Truth. Whilest he was in Prison, he ceased not to instruct and confirm all them that came to him in the Word of Grace. After four Moneths imprisonment he was condemned to be burnt, and his Ashes to be cast into the River. The Fryers took care that he should have but a small fire, that his pain might be the more increased, yet he constantly and chearfully suffered Martyrdom.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

Popish malice  
and cruelty.

Peter Mioce.

His Conver-  
sion.

Put into a  
Dungeon  
amongst  
Toads.  
Note.

Zeal.

Popish lies.

A godly Mini-  
ster Martyred.

Christopher  
Fabri.  
A Traytor.

The People  
drive away the  
Executioner.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Two Men and  
their Wives.

God made the Ministry of this good Man very powerful to many; amongst others there was one *Peter Mioce*, who had lived long in all manner of wickedness and licentiousness; but being, through Gods Grace, converted, he excelled all the rest of the Brethren in zeal and holiness. At last he was apprehended, and being asked, *whether he was one of Peter Brulies disciples?* He said, *That he was, and that he had received much benefit by his Doctrine;* withal professing, *That his Doctrine was consonant to the holy Scriptures.* Whereupon he was let down into a deep Dungeon full of Toads and other Vermine: Afterwards he was brought forth before the Senate, who had provided some Fryers to convert him; to whom he said, *when I lived an ungodly life, in all manner of vice and wickedness, you never said word to me; but now for savoring and favoring the word of God, you seek my blood.* Then did they examine him about sundry Articles of Religion; to which, whilest he was making a full answer, they cut him off, bidding him answer in two words, *Yea or No.* Whereupon he said, *If you will not give me leave to answer fully to things of such importance, send me again to my Dungeon amongst the Toads and Frogs, who will not interrupt me whilest I talk with my Lord my God.* Shortly after, he was condemned to be burned; and having a Bag of Powder hung about his Neck; when the fire came to it, it gave a crack. Whereupon the Fryers told the People, *That the Devil came out of him, and carried away his Soul to Hell.*

A Tyrannous Prince in *Germany* apprehended a godly Minister, and for his constancy in the Truth, put out both his eyes, and kept him a long time in Prison, afflicting him with divers kinds of torments. Then did he cause him to be degraded, shaving the skin off his head, and rubbing it with Salt, till the Blood ran down his shoulders, and paring off the ends of his fingers. So that four days after, he patiently yielded up the ghost.

Not long after, there was a godly Minister in *Antwerp*, called *Christopher Fabri*, that was betrayed by a Woman, who pretended a great zeal to Religion, and was cast into Prison, where he lay for a long time, and endured much misery. At last he was brought forth and condemned to be burnt alive: And when the Margrave brought him forth to execution, the People, having first sung Psalms, fell to casting of Stones against the Executioner; so as the poor Prisoner being bound, and fire set to him, the Margrave durst stay no longer but run away, and so did the Executioner: But before he fled, by the command of the Margrave, he took a Hammer and beat out *Fabri's* Brains, and stabbed him into the back with a Dagger; so that the People running to save him from the fire, found him dead. After which, by the command of the Margrave, he had a great Stone tied about his Neck, and was thrown into the River.

Anno 1549. One *Nicholas* and *Barbara* his Wife, and one *Austin* and *Marrian* his Wife, *Germans* by birth, went to *Geneva*, where they lived for a space: Then returning through *Germany*, they intended to go into *England*, but having passed



passed through *Dornick*, they were discovered to the Lieutenant thereof, who speedily pursuing them, overtook them: Yet at that time, God delivered *Austin* out of their hands; but *Nicholas*, and the two Women, were apprehended and carried back by the Soldiers: Coming to an Inn by the way, at Table *Nicholas* gave thanks, whereat the wicked Captain swearing grievously, said, *Let us see, thou leud Heretick, if thy God can deliver thee out of my hand.* *Nicholas* replied, *Hath Christ ever offended you, that by your blasphemous swearing, you thus tear him in pieces? Pray you, if you have any thing against Christ, rather wreak your anger upon this poor body of mine, and let the Lord alone.* Then did he bind them hands and feet, and carried them to *Bruges*, and cast them into the Dungeon.

Displeas'd

Zeal

Flaccid

Divers Fryers coming to them, *Nicholas* in disputing with them, so confounded them, that they went away ashamed, saying, *That he had a Devil*, crying, *To the fire with the Lutheran.* Afterwards the Magistrate sought to pump out of *Nicholas*, what acquaintance he had in that City: But not prevailing with him, he went to his Wife, and by flattering speeches and fair promises, he wrought so upon her weakness, that he gat out all that she knew, whereupon ensued a great Persecution.

Popish subtilty

Shortly after, *Nicholas* was condemned to be burned; at the hearing of which Sentence, he blessed the Lord, who had counted him worthy to be a witness in the cause of his dear and welbeloved Son *Jesus Christ*. At the place of execution, he was commanded not to speak to the People; for, if he did, he should have a Wooden Ball thrust into his Mouth: Yet as he was binding to the Stake, forgetting the command, he cried out, *O Charles, Charles, how long shall thy heart be hardened?* With that one of the Soldiers gave him a great blow. Then he said, *Ah miserable People, who are not worthy that the word should be preached to you:* The Fryers crying out, *That he had a Devil*; he answered them in the words of *David*, *Depart from me all ye wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping.* And so commending his spirit into the hands of God, he ended his life in the midst of the flames.

Courage

Mercing the Emperor

Note

*Marrian* was condemned to be buried quick; and when some Earth was thrown upon her, the Hangman stamped upon her with his feet till she died. Afterwards *Austin* that had before escaped, was apprehended, and being examined, though by nature he was a very timorous and weak Man, yet did he stand to the defence of the truth valiantly, and answered his Adversaries very boldly. Being condemned to be burnt, as he was going to execution, a Gentleman drank to him in a Cup of Wine, exhorting him to pity himself, at least, not to destroy his Soul. *Austin* thanked him, saying, *What care I have of my Soul, you may see by this, In that I had rather give my Body to be burned, then to sin against my Conscience.* Being tied to the Stake, and fire set to him, he heartily prayed to the Lord, and so patiently departed.

Austin's courage

Temptation

Zeal

Anno 1551. The Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, having obtruded the *interim* upon *Germany*, many godly Ministers were persecuted and driven from their places, for opposing the same; as may be seen in my *First Part of Lives*. The City of *Magdenburgh* also for refusing it, had an Army sent against it, which besieged it for a whole year together, whereby many of the godly Citizens lost their lives, and others indured great miseries. But at last, Gods Providence so ordering of it, War arose betwixt the Emperor and the King of *France*, whereupon Peace was granted unto *Magdenburgh* upon good terms, and the Inhabitants enjoyed their former Religion quietly.

Magdenburgh besieged

And delivered

Anno 1555. There was one *Hottins*, born at *Gannt*, who for some time, was a member of the *French Church*, here in *London*, in King *Edwards* days; but in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, he went with his Family to *Norden* in *Friesland*: And afterwards having some business to *Gannt*, he went thither, where he instructed many of his Friends in the Truth; and hearing that a Fryer used to Preach good Doctrine, he went to hear him, but the Fryer that day defended *Transubstantiation*, which so grieved him, that he could scarce refrain

Hottins

Zeal

from speaking till the Sermon was ended. When the Fryer was come down from the Pulpit, he charged him for Preaching false doctrine, perswading the people by the Scripture, that the Bread was but the Sacrament of the Lords Body; but the people making a tumult, carried him out of the Church in a croud; and he had not gone far before he was apprehended by an Officer, and carried to prison. Then came divers Fryers to reason with him, and he would stand to the tryal of the Scriptures only, which they refused. During his imprisonment, he wrote a consolatory Letter to his Wife, exhorting her to bring up his children in the fear of God. Being condemned, he was commanded not to speak to the people; being bound to the stake, he prayed for his Enemies, and was first strangled, and then burnt.

His Letter to  
his Wife.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Bertrand.

The same year there was at *Dornick*, one *Bertrand*, who to enjoy the freedom of his Conscience went to *wesel*; but being desirous to draw his Wife and Children thither, he went thrice to *Dornick* to perswade her to go with him; yet could he by no means prevail with her. Then did he set his house in order, desiring her to pray, that God would establish him in the Work that he went about: And on *Christmas-day* he went to the great Church at *Dornick*, and the Priest being at Mass, when he was about to elevate the Host, *Bertrand* took the Cake out of his hand, and trampled it under his feet, saying, That he did it to shew the glory of that god that they worshipped, or rather, what little power he had: Laboring to perswade them, that the Cake was not their Saviour. At first the people stood amazed, but presently they raised such a tumult that *Bertrand* hardly escaped with life.

An heroicall  
act.

Courage.

Cruelty.

Barbarous  
cruelty.

Admirable  
patience.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

The Governor hearing of it, was exceedingly enraged, and sent for *Bertrand* into the Castle, asking him, Whether he was sorry for his fact, and whether he would do it, if it were to do again? *Bertrand* answered, That he would; and if he had a hundred lives to lose, he would lose them all in that quarrel. Then was he thrice put to the rack and tormented cruelly to draw from him who were his letters on; yet could they get nothing from him. Then was he condemned, and drawn from the Castle to the Market-place, with a Ball of Iron in his Mouth. There he was set upon a Stage, and had his right hand, wherewith he did the fact, crushed between two hot Irons with sharp edges, till the form of his hand was quite changed. Then did they bring other red hot Irons for his right foot, which they used as they had done his hand, which he with marvellous patience and constancy underwent, putting out his foot of his own accord to them: Then taking the Ball of Iron out of his Mouth, they cut out his Tongue; notwithstanding which, he continually called and cried unto God, which caused them to thrust in the Ball of Iron again. Then was he let down in an Iron Chain upon the fire, and pulled up again; and so they continued pulling up, and letting down, till he was burnt to ashes, which ashes they threw into the River.

Zurick.

From *Locrane* in *Helvetia* the Ministers were banished, but were entertained by the Citizens of *Zurick*.

Two other good Men born in *Dornick*, went into divers Reformed Churches, where they increased much in knowledge and godliness; and at last resolved to return to *Dornick*, to do what good they could in their own Countrey; and it so fell out, that on a day when many good people were gone to a Wood, to hear the Word of God Preached to them by a Minister of *Jesus Christ*, their Adversaries having intelligence of it, followed them thither, and took about thirty of them, amongst whom were these two Men, who fell to singing of *Psalms*, supposing, that they should be presently burned; but afterwards they were condemned to be beheaded; and so they comfortably ended their lives.

Thirty taken  
at a Sermon.

James Faber  
his excellent  
answer.

Also divers godly Men and Women suffered Martyrdom at *Valence*, amongst whom was *James Faber*, an old Man, who, when they argued with him about his Religion, said, *Though I cannot satisfy you by reasoning, yet I can constantly abide and suffer for the truth of the Gospel.*

Also



## The Persecution in the Low Countries.

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Also one *Godfrid*, being condemned at *Darnick* for an Heretick. *Nay*, said he, *not an Heretick, but an unprofitable Servant of Jesus Christ.* When the Hangman would have strangled him to ease his pain in burning, he refused, saying, That he would abide the Sentence of Death which was passed upon him.

Or, *Francis*  
*Godfrid*  
Courage.

Besides these, there were both in the *Upper* and *Lower Germany* many others secretly made away, some drowned, some buried quick, some murdered in prison, &c. A godly Minister was also poisoned by a Priest at *Erford*, for Preaching the Truth of *Christ*; besides many others.

A Minister  
poisoned,  
in *Lisle*.

In the City of *Lisle*, the Gospel was secretly Preached for three years together, sometimes in Houses, then in Woods, Fields, and Caves of the Earth, not without hazard of their dearest lives, if they had been discovered: Yet did not dangers cool the zeal of Gods People; but what was Preached, was accordingly practised amongst them: Works of Mercy and Charity were their exercise, not only towards those of the *Honbold of Faith*, but towards those which were without also: So as many by means hereof, were drawn and brought to the knowledge of *Christ*.

Christian char-  
ity.

This so enraged Satan and his instruments, that *June 1556*, the time being come, wherein God had given them power to try and exercise the Faith of his People, they neglected not to shew their cruelty upon them; and for that end, one night about ten of the clock, the Provost of the City, with his armed Sergeants, made search to see if they could find any met together: But, by Gods Providence, there was no meeting of Gods People at that time. Then went they to the House of one *Robert Ogure*, which was a little Church; for all in it, both small and great, were familiarly instructed in the knowledge and fear of God.

Robert Ogure  
and his family  
carried to pri-  
son.

Being violently entred into the House, seeking up and down for their prey, they found certain Books which they took away with them: But *Baudicon*, the Son of *Robert*, whom they principally sought after, was not then at home, being gone abroad to confer of the Word with some of the Brethren. Before the Provost was departed, *Baudicon* came home, and knocked at the door. *Martin*, his younger Brother, who watched for his coming, had him presently to be gone. But he thinking that he had mistaken him for some other, continued knocking, saying, *It is I, open the door.* Then came the Sergeants and opened the door, and laying hold on him, said, *Ah Sir, you are well met;* and with that, the Provost arrested him in the Emperors name, withal, causing the Father, Mother, and two Sons to be bound, and so carried them away towards the Prison. As they went through the Streets, *Baudicon* said aloud. *O Lord, assist us by thy Grace, not only to be Prisoners for thy Names sake, but to confess thy holy Truth in all purity before Men, so far as to seal the same with our Blood, for the edification of thy poor Church.* They were all cast into several Prisons, yet remained cheerful, praising God for accounting them worthy to suffer for his Truth: And after a few days they were all brought forth before the Magistrates, who speaking to *Robert Ogure*, said, *we hear that you never come to Mass; that you dissuade others from it; that you keep Conventicles in your House, where Erroneous Doctrine is Preached, &c.* *Robert* answered, *I indeed refuse to go to Mass, because the death and precious Blood of Christ is utterly abolished there, and trodden under foot, &c. And I cannot deny but there have met together in my House honest people fearing God: Not with intention to harm any, I assure you, but for the advancement of Gods glory, and the good of many, &c.* Then one demanded what they did when they met together; to which *Baudicon* answered, *When we meet together in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ to hear the word of God, we first, falling on our knees before God, in the humility of our Spirits, do make confession of our sins before his Divine Majesty. Then we pray, that the word of God may be rightly divided, and purely Preached. Then we pray for our Sovereign Lord the Emperor, that the Commonwealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God; yea, we forget not you whom we acknowledge our Superiours, intreating our good God, that you may maintain this City in tranquillity, &c.*

Baudicon]

Joy in tribula-  
tion.

They are dis-  
amined.

An holy pra-  
ctice.

Thou

Fervent Prayer.

Thus you hear what we do in our Assemblies; and if you will not be offended to hear the sum of our Prayers, I am ready to recite the same unto you. One of the Magistrates wished him to go on, whereupon, kneeling down, he prayed before them all with such fervency of Affection, and ardency of Zeal, that it forced the Magistrates to break forth into tears. Baudizon rising up, said, *Your Masterships may hereby take a scantling, how we are employed in our Meetings.*

They are tortured.

Being further examined, every one of them made an open Confession of his Faith, and so were returned to Prison again: And not long after they were tortured upon the Rack, to make them confess who they were that met at their House; but they would discover none, but such as they knew were at that time out of their reach.

Robert and Baudizon condemned.

Four or five days after, the Men were again convented before the Magistrates, who asked them, *If they would submit themselves to the will of the Magistrates.* Robert and Baudizon said, *They would;* but Martin, the younger Son, said, *He would not submit thereto, but would accompany his Mother;* and so he was sent back to Prison, and the Father, with his eldest Son, were presently adjudged to be burnt alive. Sentence being pronounced, one of the Judges said, *This day shall you go to dwell with all the Devils in Hell fire.* Then were they returned to Prison, praising God, and by their patience and constancy, conquered the rage and fury of their Enemies. In Prison there came some Fryers to them, telling them, *That the hour was come wherein they must finish their days.* They answered, *Blessed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our Bodies out of this vile Prison, will receive our Souls into his glorious and heavenly Kingdom.* Then said one of the Fryers, *Father Robert, thou art an old Man, I intreat thee in this thy last hour think of saving thy Soul; and if thou wilt give ear to me, I will warrant thee thou shalt do well.* Robert answered, *Poor man, how dardest thou assume that to thyself, which belongs to God alone, and so rob him of his honor? &c.* Another wishing him to pity his Soul, he said, *Dost thou not see what pity I have on it; when for the Name of Christ I am willing to give my Body to the fire, hoping to day to be with him in Paradise, &c.* Then said a Fryer, *Out Dog, thou art not worthy the name of a Christian; thou, and thy son, are resolved to damn your Souls with all the Devils in Hell.*

Popish malice.

Note.

Then would they have severed the Father from his Son, which Baudizon perceiving, said, *Pray you let my Father alone, he is an old Man, hinder him not from receiving the Crown of Martyrdom.* Another Fryer said, *Away Varlet, thou art the cause of thy Fathers perdition.* Whilest Baudizon was stripping and fitting himself to be Sacrificed, some of the Fryers had fastned a Crucifix in the old Mans hands, perswading him, *That it would please the People, and that for all that, he might lift up his heart to God, &c.* But so soon as Baudizon saw it, he said, *Alas Father, what do you now? will you play the Idolater at your last hour?* And so pulling the Idol out of his hand, he threw it away.

Zeal.

At the place of execution they were set upon a Scaffold, and Baudizon desired leave to make a Confession of his Faith: Answer was made, *That he might confess himself to a Fryer if he would, which he refusing, was readily haled to the Stake, where he began to sing the sixteenth Psalm, Then said a Fryer, Do you not hear what wicked Errors these Hereticks sing, to beguile the people withal? Baudizon hearing him, replied, Thou simple Idiot, callest thou the Psalms of David, Errors? But no marvel, for thus are ye wont to blaspheme against the Spirit of God.* Then seeing them about to chain his Father to the Stake, he said to him, *Be of good courage, Father, the worst will be past by and by.* Then did he often breathe forth: *O God, Father everlasting, accept the Sacrifice of our Bodies for thy beloved Son Jesus Christ his sake.* A Fryer cried, *Our Heretick, thou liest, God is none of thy Father, the Devil is thy Father.* Baudizon fixing his eyes upon Heaven, said to his Father, *Behold, I see the Heavens open, and millions of Angels ready to receive us; and rejoicing to see us thus bearing witness to the*

Blasphemy.

Faith and Courage.



the Truth in the view of the world. Father, let us rejoyce and be glad, for the joys of Heaven are opened to us. Then said a Fryer, I see Hell open, and millions of Devils are ready to carry you thither. A poor Man in the croud, cried out, Be of good comfort Baudizon, stand to it, thou fightest in a good quarrel, I am on thy side. Which words so soon as he had spoken, he departed, and so hastned himself from danger.

The fire being kindled, Baudizon oft said to his Father, *Yet a very little while, and we shall enter into the heavenly Mansions.* The fire increasing, the last words which they spake, were, *Jesus Christ, thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our Spirits*; and so they sweetly slept in the Lord.

After the death of these worthy Champions of Christ, many of the Popish rabble were sent, if possible; to seduce the Mother and Son, remaining in Prison; and coming to them, the first subtilty they used was to separate them a-funder; then they set upon the Woman; as the weaker vessel, and so wrought upon her, that she began to waver, and let go her first Faith. This the Adversaries much rejoyced in; and the poor Flock of Christ, in that place, hearing of it, were as much afflicted with the news: But God left them not in this mournful condition long; for a Monk one day going to her, perswaded her to draw her Son Martin to the same recantation with her self, which she promised so to do. But when they came together, Martin perceiving the grievous Apostacy of his Mother, bewailed it with many tears, saying to her, *O Mother, what have you done? have you denied him that redeemed you? Alas, what injury hath he done you, that you should requite him with so great an injury and dishonor? Now am I plunged into that wo which I most feared: Ah good God, that I should live to see this which pierceth me to the very heart?* His Mother hearing his pitiful complaints, and seeing him drowned in tears for her sake, began again to renew her strength in the Lord, and with tears cried out, *O Father of Mercies, be merciful to me miserable sinner, and cover my transgressions under the Righteousness of thy Blessed Son: Lord inable me with strength from above, to stand to my first Confession, and make me to abide steadfast therein even to my last breath.* Presently in came the Seducers, hoping to find her in the same mind that they left her; but she no sooner saw them, but cried, *Avoid Satan, get thee behind me; for henceforth thou hast neither part nor portion in me, I will, by the help of God, stand to my first Confession; and if I may not sign it with Ink, I will seal it with my Blood.* And so after this time, through Gods gracious assistance, she grew stronger and stronger. Then were they both condemned to be burnt alive, and their Ashes to be sprinkled in the Air. When the Sentence was passed, as they returned to Prison, they said. *Now blessed be God who causeth us thus to triumph over our Enemies: This is the wished hour, our gladsome day is come; let us not therefore forget to be thankful for that honor that God doth us, in thus conforming us to the Image of his Son. Let us remember those that have trodden this path before us; for this is the Highway to the Kingdom of Heaven, &c.* Hereupon some of the Fryers, being ready to burst for anger, said unto Martin that was most valiant, *we see now, Heretick, that thou art wholly possessed Body and Soul with a Devil, as were thy Father and Brother, who are now in Hell.* Martin answered, *As for your railings and curtings, God will this day turn them into Blessings, in the sight of himself, and all his holy Angels.*

When they came into Prison, there came to them two persons of great quality, of whom, one of them said to Martin, *Young Man, I have compassion on thee, if thou wilt be ruled by me, and return to the Church of Rome, thou shalt not only be freed from this shameful death, but I will also give thee an hundred pounds.* Martin presently replied, *Sir, you present before me many Temporal Commodities: But alas! Do you think me so simple, as to forsake an Eternal Kingdom, for the enjoyment of a short Temporal Life? No Sir, it is now too late to speak to me of worldly Commodities: I will hearken to no other speech, but of those Spiritual Commodities which I shall enjoy this day in Gods Kingdom, &c.* Soon after, Martin and his

Their Martyrdom.

Martin and his Mother, Popish subtilty. Humane frailty.

Recovery.

Joy in Tribulation.

Faith and Patience.

Temptation.

Refusal.

his Mother were carried to the place of their Martyrdom, and being bound to the Stake, the Woman said, *We are Christians, and that which we now suffer, is not for murther nor theft, but because we will believe no more than the Word of God teacheth us.*

The fire being kindled, the heat of it did nothing abate the fervency of their Souls, but they continued crying, *Lord Jesus into thy hands we commend our spirits*; and so they blessedly slept in the Lord.

Their Martyrdom.  
Charles Coninck.

Temptation  
refuted.

Gods judgment  
on a Persecutor.

A Fryer at Gaunt, called *Charles Coninck*, being through Gods mercy converted to the Truth, left his Fryers weed, and joyned himself to the Brethren: For which he was apprehended, and remaining constant, was condemned. Then came a special Friend perswading him to recant, and he would procure him a Canonship; To whom *Charles* answered, *Sir, I thank you for your good will and kind offer, but I cannot accept them without offending God; and that rest is no true rest and quietness, which is obtained against the Peace of a good Conscience.* Shortly after his death, one of his Adversaries which had the greatest hand in procuring of it, fell into grievous terror and horror of Conscience, whereof within a few days he died.

#### *The Persecution by the Duke de Alva in the Netherlands.*

When the Light of the Gospel was much spread abroad in the *Netherlands*, King *Philip* of *Spain*, sent the Duke *de Alva* with a great Army to root out the Professors of it, who exercised unparell'd cruelty against all sorts of persons, both of the Nobility and Commons, permitting his Soldiers to ravish honest Matrons and Virgins, many times causing their Husbands and Parents to stand by and behold it.

Barbarous  
cruelty.

A wicked  
Boast.

Don Fredericks  
cruelty to  
Zurphen.

At Naerden.

This Duke on a time boasted at his own Table, that he had been diligent to root out Heresie: For that, beside those which he had slain in War, in the space of six years he had put into the hands of the Common Hangman above Eighteen thousand persons.

His Son also *Don Frederick* being sent by him to *Zurphen*, was received by the Burghers, without any opposition; yet was he no sooner entred, but he fell to murther, hang and drown a number of the Inhabitants, with infinite cruelties shewed upon Wives and Virgins; yea, not sparing the very Infants. From thence marching to *Naerden* in *Holland*, the Inhabitants made an agreement with him, and he entred the Town peaceably. But never did *Turks* or *Scythians*, or the most Barbarous and Inhumane Nations in the World, commit more abominable cruelties than *Don Frederick* did in this Town: For when the Burghers had given the best entertainment that they could to him and his Soldiers, he caused it to be proclaimed, That they should all assemble themselves together in the Chappel of the Hospital, where they should be made acquainted with such Laws, according to which they should hereafter govern themselves. But when these poor people were thus assembled, he commanded his Soldiers to murther them all, without sparing any one: The Men were massacred; the Women were first ravished, and then murdered most cruelly; the Children and Infants had their throats cut; and in some Houses they tied the Inhabitants to Posts, and then set fire on the Houses, and burnt them alive. So that in the whole Town, neither Man, Wife, Maid, nor Child, old nor young were spared; and then the Town was wholly razed to the ground, without Pity or Mercy.

Treachery.  
Inhumane  
cruelty.]

The Siege of  
Harlem.

A Famine.

After this *Don Frederick* besieged *Harlem*, which held out against him for a long time, but at last, their Provision being spent, they made Bread of Linseed and of Turnups, and lived upon the flesh of Horses, Dogs, and Cats, and such like.  
And



and this also in the end failing them, they were enforced to surrender the Town upon composition, by which they were to pay Two hundred and forty thousand Florins to redeem themselves and Town from spoil.

The Town  
surrendered.

*Don Frederick* having thus got the Town into his hands, commanded that at the tolling of the great Bell, all the Bourgers and Soldiers should bring their Arms into the State-house; That the Townsmen should go into the Cloister of *Zyel*, the Women into the Cathedral Church, and the Soldiers into another Church, this donè, all the Ensign-bearers were singled out and imprisoned, and whilst the poor Bourgers were guarded in the Church, the perfidious *Spaniards* plundered their Houses. The next day this bloody *Don Frederick* caused Three hundred *walloons* to be hanged and beheaded. The next day Captain *Riperda* and his Lieutenant were beheaded, and a godly Minister called *Stembach*, was hanged, and Two hundred forty seven Soldiers were drowned in the Sea of *Harlem*. The next day a great number were executed, and the day following Three hundred more Soldiers and Bourgers lost their Heads; and with them a godly Minister called *Simon Simonson*. Presently after three of the principal Men lost their Heads, and shortly after all the *English* and *Scots* were beheaded, and to fill up this Sea of Blood, all the wounded and sick were beheaded before the Hospital Door.

Popish per-  
ditions.

A Minister  
hanged.

Another be-  
headed.

Barbarous  
cruelties.

In the meantime a Party of Soldiers that lay without in a scone, were all starved to death.

Not long before, the strong Town of *Valenciennes* in *Henault*, having set up the free exercise of the reformed Religion amongst them, were presently besieged by an Army under the Signior of *Noircarmes*: The siege lasted about three months, and the Citizens having no hope of relief, at last treated and surrendered the City upon good conditions. But *Noircarmes* being entred, he kept the City Gates shut for divers days, and most perfidiously and barbarously hanged up all the *French* Soldiers, with all the Ministers and Protestant Merchants, and confiscated their goods. But besides these generals, let us also view some particulars.

*Valenciennes*  
besieged.

Popish per-  
ditions and  
cruelty.

Anno 1560. There was in *Flanders* one *John Herwin*, a Soldier of a very dissolute life: But God having a purpose to shew him mercy, put it into his heart to go into *England*; and accordingly he came to *London* in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and by Gods good Providence was entertained in a Brewers Family, where both Master and Servants feared God: His Master caused him often to go to the *Dutch* Church, where, by the Ministry of the Word, he first began to tast, and afterwards more and more to increasè in the saving knowledg of *Christ*. After a while he returned back into *Flanders*, and at *Furne* he was presently laid wait for by the Popish Bailiff: This occasioned his removal to *Honfcor*; and yet there also, the Bailiff being informed of him, went in the night with his Sergeants, and apprehended him: By the way they met some drunkards in the streets; whereupon the Bailiff said, *we have, as they say, many Gospellers in this Town, but it little appears by these disorders.* *Herwin* hearing him, said, *Is drunkenness a sin, Master Bailiff?* The Bailiff answered, *what of that?* *Herwin* replied, *why then do ye not commit these Men to Prison, seeing it is your office to punish vice, and to protect them that fear God?* To this the Bailiff answered not.

*John Herwin*

A special Pro-  
vidence.

His Conver-  
sion.

*Herwin* impris-  
oned.

In the Prison *Herwin* behaved himself so vertuously, that every one admired him. Being somewhat long before he was called before the Magistrate, he was much troubled at it, his heart being inflamed with an holy zeal to confess *Jesus Christ* before his Judges. Yet many of the Brethren were very fearful of him, considering what his former life had been, and what a novice he as yet was in the Profession of the Gospel.

Zeal.

At last he had his hearts desire, being brought before the Sheriff; there a Priest was provided to dispute with him, to whose questions *Herwin* answered with such soundness of judgment and modesty, that it easily appeared that

Courage.  
Constancy.

he had profited well in *Christs* School. Being asked of *Christs* real presence in the Sacrament, he answered, *That the Highest dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, &c.* Whereupon he admonished his Judges to examine the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* by the true touchstone of Gods Word, whereby they might easily see how contrary it is to the Scriptures, &c. And having made a free Profession of his Faith, he craved Justice one way or other; but they still urged him to recant, to which he answered, *My Faith is not built upon Mans opinion, but the Lord hath taught me to eschew evil, and to do good.* Then was he returned to Prison again.

Vincit veritas.

Popish malice  
and subtilty.

Flight refused.

Thanks for  
sufferings.

Tempration  
refused.

Zeal.

During his imprisonment he was dangerously assaulted by some subtile and cunning Fryers, who alledged the saying of divers of the Fathers to prove their *Transubstantiation*: But he, through Gods mercy, holding close to the Word of *Christ*, overcome them. In Prison he used to recreate himself by singing of *Psalms*, and the People used to flock together to the Prison Door to hear him: This so angered the Popish Clergy, that they sought to hinder him from singing, and for this end they caused two desperate Malefactors to be put into the same Room with him: But within a few days, these Villains brake Prison and escaped, leaving opportunity to *Herwin* to escape also; But he, fearing that his flight might be prejudicial to other godly Persons in the City, upon whom it would be charged, resolved rather to remain there, than to flee. Presently after news was brought him that sentence of death was passed upon him, whereupon he thanked God for advancing him to so high an honor as to be accounted worthy to suffer for his name: Testifying the inward joy which he felt in his soul by a Letter that he wrote to the Brethren, wherein he exhorted them to constancy and perseverance in the Doctrine of the truth which they had received from God: Within a few days after he was carried forth to hear his sentence, at which time the Magistrate by earnest intreaties and large promises sought to bring him to a recantation, and to worship their Breaden God, promising that thereupon he should be presently released: But *Herwin* refusing their offer of life upon those terms, was bound and carried into a Chappel where they celebrated the Mass, at which time, to shew his detestation of their Idolatry, he turned his back, winked with his eyes, and stopped his eares. At the Elevation of the Host, one asked him, if *Jesus Christ* was not now between the Priests hands? To which he answered, *No, he is in heaven at the right hand of his Father.* Then was the sentence of death read against him.

Whence Per-  
secution ari-  
seth.

As he was going to execution, he said to the People, *See here how this wicked world rewards the poor Servants of Jesus Christ; whilst I was a Drunkard, a Player at Cards and Dice, living in all dissoluteness and ungodly behavior, I was never in danger of these bonds; yea, I was then counted a good Fellow, and at that time, who but I? But no sooner began I, through Gods grace, to seek after a godly life, but presently the world made war upon me, and became mine enemy, &c. yet this discourageth me not; For the Servant is not better than his Lord; seeing they persecuted him, no question but they will persecute us.* At the place of execution, one gave him his Hand, and comforted him: Then began he to sing the Thirtieth Psalm, whereupon a Fryer interrupted him, saying, *Oh John turn, there is yet time and space; The Martyr disregarding his words, turned his back upon him; and some of the company said to the Fryer, Turn thou, thou Hypocrite; and so Herwin quietly finished his Psalm, many joyning with him in singing of it; Then said the Fryer, Be not offended good People to hear this Heretick sing of God; The People answered, Hold thy peace thou Balaamite, here is no body offended.* There were present at least Four hundred that encouraged the Martyr to continue to the end, as he had well begun; To whom he answered, *Brethren, I fight under the Standard, and in the quarrel of my great Lord and Captain Jesus Christ.* Then he prayed, and so went into his Cabin made with fagots, saying to the People, *I am now going to be sacrificed; Follow you me when God of his goodness shall call you to it: and so he was first strangled, and then burnt to ashes.*

His Martyr-  
dom,



Anno 1561. There was apprehended in Antwerp one John de Boscane, who for his constancy in Religion was condemned to death: But the Magistrate fearing an uproar if he should put him to death publicly, knowing that he was a Man free of Speech, and beloved of the People, he resolved for this cause secretly to drown him in the Prison; and for this end a Tub with Water was provided, and an Executioner sent to drown him: But the Water was so shallow, and the Martyr so tall, that he could not possibly be drowned therein; whereupon the Executioner gave him many wounds and stabs with a Dagger, and so this holy Martyr ended his life.

John de Boscane.

His cruel Martyrdom.

About the same time another Servant of Jesus Christ, having made a bold Profession of his Faith, was in the same City sentenced to death; and because they durst not execute him publicly, they privately sent and beheaded him in Prison. His name was John de Buisson.

John de Buisson beheaded in Prison.

The godly in this City of Antwerp, being desirous to take all opportunities to meet together in the fear of God, on a day when the Popish party was met to behold great triumphs, they withdrew themselves out of the City, and went into a Wood, where their Minister preached the Word of God to them: The Drosart of Marksem being advertised hereof, took his Officers and went thitherward; By the way he met with some poor Boys that were Cowherds, to whom he promised new Cloaths if they would bring him to the place in the Wood where their Assembly was; which they undertaking, he sent some of his Officers along with them into the Wood, who coming to the place like Wolves, the Sheep of Christ began to flie. The Minister seeing their fear, admonished them not to stir: The Persecutors were not above Five or Six, and the persecuted Four or Five hundred, so that they might easily have resisted them, but they would not. The Officers chiefly aimed to apprehend the Minister, and having caught one of the Assembly, they thought him to be the Man, crying one to another, Hold the Priest fast, striking him with their Pistols and Staves, and so carried him to the Drosart: They caught also two or three more, which afterwards made an escape. The Man only that remained with the Drosart whose name was Bartholomew, was often set upon to be turned aside from his holy Profession; why, say they, cannot such a young Man as thou art content thy self with our Religion and glorious Church, adorned with gold, silver, precious stones, in which there is such melodious Musick, both of voices and instruments, but thou must needs joyn thy self to that Church that is hated, despised, and exposed to all manner of contempt? Bartholomew overcame all these temptations by the power of the Almighty, saying, That which is greatly esteemed amongst men, is altogether abominable in the sight of God; Then was he condemned and beheaded; by which death he glorified God.

The Church of Antwerp persecuted.

Bartholomew's Constancy.

The Church of Rome a glorious Trumpet.

Anno 1568. There were apprehended in Antwerp, one Scoblant, John de Hues, and Joris Coomans, who being cast into Prison were very joyful, confessing that nothing befel them but by Gods divine Providence, as they acknowledged in a Letter which they wrote to the Brethren, wherein they thus write, Seeing it is the will of God that we should suffer for his name, and in the quarrel of his Gospel, we certifie you, dear Brethren, that we are joyful; and however the flesh continually rebels against the spirit, counselling ever and anon according to the advice of the old Serpent: yet we are all assured that Christ, who hath bruised, will still bruise the Serpents head, and not leave us comfortless; we are indeed sometimes pricked in the heel, yet we are not discouraged, but keep our Faith close to the promises of God, &c. Be not therefore dismayed for our bonds and imprisonment; for it is the good will of God towards us, and therefore we pray that he will give us grace to persevere constantly unto the end.

Scoblant, John de Hues, Joris Coomans.

Joy in tribulation.

Faith.

Shortly after Scoblant was brought to his tryal, where he made a good Confession of his Faith, and so was condemned. Returning to Prison, he earnestly requested the Jailor that he would not suffer the Fryers to come and trouble him; For, said he, they can do me no good, seeing the Lord hath already sealed up the

His excellent Speech.

assurance

assurance of my salvation in my heart, by his holy Spirit. I am now going to my Spouse, and putting off this Earthly Mantle, to enter into his Celestial Glory, where I shall be freed from all Superstitions. Would to God that I might be the last that these Tyrants should put to death, and that their thirst might be so quenched with my Blood, that the poor Church of Christ might henceforth enjoy rest and quiet.

Scobants; Mar-  
tyrdom.

John Hues  
died in Prison.

When he was to go forth to execution, he sung the Fortieth Psalm with his Fellow-Prisoners, then said the Lords Prayer, and so kissing each other, they commended one another unto God with many tears. Being tied to the Stake, he was burned alive, calling upon the name of the Lord.

John Hues died in Prison, whereupon *Foris* wrote thus to his Friends; Brethren, I am now left alone, whereas we were three in number. John Hues is now dead in the Lord; and yet I am not altogether alone, seeing the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is with me; he is my exceeding great reward, and will not fail to reward me so soon as I shall have laid down this Earthly Tabernacle. Pray unto God that he will strengthen me to the end; For every hour I expect the dissolution of this House of clay.

Courage.  
*Foris* his Mar-  
tyrdom.

Giles, and John  
Annik.

When he was brought before the Judges, and examined of his Faith, he answered freely, and proved what he said by the holy Scriptures; and being asked, whether he was resolved to die for the Faith which he professed? He answered, I will not only venture to give my Body, but my Soul also for the confirmation of it; and so being condemned, he was shortly after burned, dying with much comfort.

The Persecution growing hot in Flanders, one Giles Annik, and John his Son removed to *Emden*: But by reason of their sudden departure they could not take their Wives with them; whereupon in the year 1568. they returned back to fetch their Wives, who were at *Renay*; yet in regard of the danger, they durst not go into the Town openly, but took up their lodging in the evening, at an honest Mans house, called *Lewis Meulin*.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

Their Martyr-  
dom.

Lewis Meulin.

A Widow.

Charity.

Her Martyr-  
dom.

Christopher  
Gauderin.

Now it so fell out that that very night the Enemies had appointed to make a secret search after such as professed the Gospel, and so passing by this House, and seeing the light of a Candle in it, expecting their prey, they forced open the Door, and took these two, together with their Host, Prisoners, God having appointed them to bear witness to his truth: After they had been in Prison a while, they were all three condemned for Hereticks; and presently after Giles the Father, was burned. John the Son, being fetched to execution, when he saw the Man that first apprehended him, he called him to him, saying, I forgive thee my death, and so he, with Lewis Meulin, were both beheaded.

About the same time there was also a godly Widow apprehended and cast into Prison, her crime was, for that about two years before she had suffered a Minister to preach in an out-house on the back side of her dwelling. She was very charitable in relieving the poor, and every way shewed forth the fruits of a true saving Faith. After seven months imprisonment she was condemned to die, and a Priest coming to her, to hear her Confession, she spake to him with such a divine grace, and with a spirit so replenished with zeal, that he went from her with tears trickling down his cheeks, saying, I came to comfort you, but I have more need to be comforted of you; when she was carried forth to execution, she went with much boldness and joy of heart, and having her Head cut off, she sweetly slept in the Lord.

There was also one Christopher Gauderin, that at first was brought up under the Abbat of Hename; But the Abbat dying, he betook himself to the weaving of Linnen, and quickly grew expert in his trade: But having been trained up in a bad School, when the Sabbath came, he spent riotously what he had gotten all the week by his labour: Now, through Gods mercy, it so fell out that a godly Man working with him, would often tell him of the danger of his present condition, exhorting him rather to distribute his gettings to the poor, assuring



assuring him that if he spent his money so wastfully, God would call him to an account for it: These with the like exhortations so wrought upon him, through the grace of God, that he began to change his course, and instead of frequenting Taverns, he became a diligent hearer of Sermons, and gave himself much to reading of the holy Scriptures; so that not long after he was called by the Church to the Office of a Deacon, which he discharged carefully and faithfully.

His Conversion.

Shortly after having occasion to go to a place called *Audenard*, to distribute some Alms to the poor there, he was apprehended; and the Bailiff that had formerly seen him in the Abbats House, asked him how he came to turn Heretick: Nay, said he, *I am no Heretick, but a right believing Christian, and what I learned of him, I am now ashamed to remember.*

His imprisonment.

In Prison he had many disputes about his Faith, which he so maintained and defended by the Word of God, that he silenced all his Adversaries. Some told him that he would cast away himself in his youth, being but thirty years old, to whom he answered, That Mans life consisted but of two days, viz. The day of his Birth, and the day of his Death, and therefore he must needs die once, And for my part, said he, *I am now willing by death to pass into Eternal life.*

His conversion.

Mans life but two days.

When news was brought him in the evening that he must die the next day, he retired himself, and poured out his Soul in Prayer unto God till ten a Clock; and after his rest, the like he did the next morning: Having ended his Prayer, he put on a clean shirt and washed himself; saying to his Fellow-Prisoners, *Brethren, I am now going to be Married, I hope ere noon to drink of the Wine of the Kingdom of Heaven:* When he came down, he found three other Prisoners that were to suffer with him. These four exhorted and encouraged one another to suffer patiently and constantly: Then came a Fryer, saying, *That he came to convert them;* To whom Christopher said, *Away from us thou seducer of Souls, for we have nothing to do with thee:* The Hangman coming to put gags in their mouths; One of them said, *what? shall we not have liberty at this our last hour to praise God without Tongues?* Christopher answered, *Let not this discourage us, the more wrong our Enemies do to us, the more assistance we shall find from God;* and so ceased not to comfort them, till himself was gagged also. Their Sentence was, That they should be hanged for hearing Sermons; and so with admirable constancy they yielded up their Souls to God: One of them being a Woman was condemned to be beheaded, because she had sung *Psalms*, and exhorted her neighbors out of the Word of God, at a Womans upfitting: Her Body was grown very feeble, so that she was caused to sit on a stool, where she received three blows with a Sword overthwart her Teeth, yet did she constantly sit till she received the Crown of Martyrdom.

Prayer.

His Zeal.

His Faith.

Martyrdom.

Admirable Constancy.

Gifts of Mercy.

About the same time there was in a Town a mile distant from *Gand*, a Minister whom it pleased the Lord to illuminate with the saving knowledge of his Gospel, whereupon he became a diligent and faithful Preacher of it; both in his Life and Doctrine; yea, he went from House to House exhorting and comforting every one as he had occasion out of the Word of God; and above all, laboring with them to beware of the abominable superstitions of the Papacy. The Popish Clergy of *Gand* having intelligence hereof, fearing lest by this means, their Doctrine and authority would come into contempt, caused him to be apprehended and cast into a deep and dark hole, where he remained bearing his affliction patiently, and calling upon God night and day, praising him for accounting him worthy to suffer for his Names sake. Whilst he lay there, many good People came to visit him, receiving such instructions and consolations from him, that they could not be drawn to leave him till necessity enforced, neither then could they depart without abundance of tears.

His imprisonment.

The

His Constancy.

Popish malice and cruelty.

His Martyrdom.

Peter Coulogue and Betkin his Maid.

Their torments.

Prayer.  
Gods Judgment on a Persecutor.

Their Martyrdom.

A great Persecution.

The Priests and Fryers sought by all means to draw him to a recantation; but to no purpose, for he still kept himself close to the Word of God, which so vexed them, that at last they procured his condemnation to be hanged. The Spanish Soldiers which carried him to execution, would needs have him burned, binding and straining him exceedingly with cords, and in the way abused him shamefully with mocks and scoffs, thrusting him forwards and striking him: The Captain also gave him a blow on the Face with his Gantlet, which much disfigured him; yea, they used him worse than a Dog, being the more enraged against him, because of his patient and meek carriage: At last they thrust him into a little Cabin piled with Faggots, and so burnt him, continually calling upon God till he resigned up his Spirit to him

Anno 1568. There was a Goldsmith dwelling in Breda, who had long been a Deacon of the Church in that place, his name was Peter Coulogue; In his House the Church often met for the service of God: The Popish Adversaries being much enraged hereby, cast him into Prison, which the faithful much grieved at, and endeavored to visit and comfort him. This the Enemies taking notice of, removed him to the Castle; during his abode there, though all others were excluded from him, yet his Maid-Servant brought him his food daily, never ceasing to confirm and comfort him out of the Word of God, as well as she was able, for which at length they imprisoned her also: This she was right glad of, thinking her self happy to suffer for righteousness sake.

Not long after Peter was put to the torment, which he endured patiently; Then did they fetch Betkin the Maid also to it, whereupon she said, *My Masters, wherefore will you put me to this torture, seeing I have no way offended you? If it be for my Faiths sake, you need not torment me; for as I was never ashamed to make a Confession thereof, no more will I now be at this present before you, but will, if you please, freely shew you my mind therein;* Yet for all this they would have her to the Rack, whereupon she again said, *If I must needs suffer this pain, I pray you give me leave to call upon my God first:* This they consented to; and whilst she was fervently pouring out her Prayers unto God, one of the Commissioners was surpris'd with such a fear and terror, that he fell into a swoon, and could not be recovered again, by which means the poor Maid escaped Racking.

Shortly after, these two innocent Persons were condemned to be burned, and as they were led to execution, there was much lamentation among the People: Peter and Betkin prayed earnestly unto God to strengthen them, and perfect the good work that he had begun in them, and to assist them till they had finished their course.

The courage and constancy of the Maid did so work upon many of the People, godly Men and Women, that not considering the danger, they brake through the multitude, embracing the Prisoners, and praising God for their constancy, saying to them, *Fight manfully for the Crown is prepared for you:* At the place of execution Betkin with a chearful and amiable countenance spake thus to the People, *Dear Brethren and Sisters, be always obedient to the word of God, and fear not them that can kill the Body, but have no power over the Soul: As for me, I am now going to my glorious Spouse the Lord Jesus Christ;* Then falling upon their knees they prayed to the Lord with great devotion; And the Executioner fastening them to the Stake, strangled Peter, Betkin encouraging him till he yielded up the Ghost, and till the fire had taken hold of her self; and in the flames she was heard to magnifie the Lord, till she yielded up her Spirit into his hands.

About this time multitudes of Persons were murdered in Flanders by the Bloody Inquisition, whose dead Bodies were cast out to be gazed upon in every place; and multitudes of Believers, both Men and Women were cast into Prisons,



Prisons, where they languished till many of them died. In the City of *Valence* there were executed Fifty seven Persons, most of them *Burgesses*, only because they clave to the true Faith of *Jesus Christ*.

The Martyrdom of William of Nassaw, Prince of Orange.

THE Estates of the *United Provinces*, having declared the King of *Spain* to be fallen from the Government of those Countries, they chose *William of Nassaw*, Prince of *Orange*, to be their Captain General, whereupon he was proscribed by the King of *Spain*, and a great sum of money promised to him that should slay him. Not long after a desperate Villain called *Joanville* was suborned to do the feat; For which end he was directed to charge his Pistol with two Bullets, and to shoot him behind in the Head: The day appointed for this execution was *March 18. 1582.* upon which day the Prince was to be at a great Feast at the Duke of *Anjou* Court; But the press being great there, *Joanville* chose rather to do it at the Prince of *Oranges* own House as he was at Dinner. The Villain being thus desperately resolved, a *Jacobin Fryer* came to confess him, fortifying him in his resolution with many sweet words, perswading him that he should go invisible, for which end he gave him some Characters in Paper, and little Frogs Bones, and other Conjurations.

The Prince proscribed.  
*Joanville* suborned to kill him.

Popish subtilty.

Being thus assured, he drunk a Cup or two of *Malmsey*, and so accompanied with his Ghostly Father, he went to the Princes Court: At the Stair-foot the Fryer gave him his blessing, encouraged him, and so left him. The Prince of *Orange* was set at Dinner, with the Earls of *Laval*, *Hohenlo*, and many other Noblemen; *Joanville* came into the Dining-room, attired like a Frenchman, so that he was taken for a Servant to some of those French Noblemen: He thrust forward twice or thrice to come behind the Prince to shoot him in the Head, as he was directed, but was still repulsed by the Princes Gentlemen that stood about him; Dinner being done, the Prince was going to his retiring Chamber, whereupon this Villain gat before a Window in the Hall, close by the Door of that Room into which the Prince was to go. As the Prince passed towards it, he was shewing the Earl of *Laval* the cruelties that the *Spaniards* had exercised in the *Low-Countries*, which were wrought in the Hangings; and having his Face turned, this Murderer discharged his Pistol at him; But the Prince, as God would have it, turning at the same instant, the Bullet entred in at his Throat under the right Chap, being so near that the fire entred with the Bullet into the wound, burning his Ruffe and Beard; It brake out one of his Teeth, pierced the jugular Vein, but hurt not his Tongue, and so came out at his left Cheek hard by his Nose: The blow being given, one with an Halberd could not contain himself, but thrust the Villain through, and slew him.

A special Providence.

The Chirurgions being sent for, found that the fire which entred the wound, had cauterized the jugular Vein, and had done him much good so that the wound was not mortal. The Fryer was afterwards apprehended and executed.

Anno 1584. The *Spaniards* thinking they had no greater Enemy in the World than the Prince of *Orange*, and that if he were dead they should quickly attain their desires in the *Netherlands*; they suborned one *Baltazar Gerard*, an high *Burguignon*, to murder him, who bought a good pair of Pistols, and on the Tenth of *July* watched when the Prince should go down into the Hall to Dinner at *Delph* in *Holland*, and as he passed by, he demanded a Passport of him: The Princes observed that he spake with an hollow and unfetled

*Baltazar Gerard* suborned to kill him.

The Prince  
his death.

unsettled voice, she asked her Husband, who he was: saying, That she did not like his countenance; The Prince answered, That he demanded a Passport, which he should presently have: After Dinner the Prince going out of the Hall, the Murtherer stood behind a Pillar in the Gallery, and as the Prince passed by, suddenly shot him from the left side to the right, through the stomach and the vital parts, who said no more, but *O my God, take pity of my Soul, I am sore wounded; my God, take pity of my Soul and of this poor People*; and presently after he gave up the Ghost.

*Collected out of Sleidens Commentaries, and the History of the Netherlands, &c.*

## CHAP. XXXII.

*The Modern Persecutions of the Church in Germany, since the year 1630.*

Abominable  
villanies.

**T**He Swedes being possessed of a Town called *Pasewalk*, the Imperialists took it by storm, beat, killed, and drove out the Swedes, and not content therewith, they fell to torturing of the Townsmen, ravishing Women and Girls in the open Streets and Church-yards, yea Women in Child-bed; Then they killed the Men, fired their Houses, and burnt many in them; Thrust straw into Cellars where Children were hidden, and so burnt and smothered them; Then they burnt the Churches, and massacred the Ministers, and at last burnt down the whole Town.

Magdenburg  
burnt.

The like cruelty was used against the City of *Magdenburg*, famous for Religion, which being taken by *Tilly* and *Pappenheim*, Anno 1631, was in twelve hours space wholly turned into cinders, except One hundred thirty nine Houses, by which fire six goodly Churches were burnt down; no mercy shewed to any age, sex, or condition: Above Twenty thousand Persons were slain, burnt, and smothered to death; Six thousand were drowned in the River *Elbe*; Ladies and Gentlewomen, like Beasts were yoked together all about the Country, and driven into Woods to be ravished; and such as resisted were stript stark naked, whipt, had their ears cropt, and so were turned up.

Cruelties used  
there.

Anno 1634. The Popish Army having taken the Town of *Hoxter*, they spared neither Man, Woman nor Child, most inhumanely butchering and hewing in pieces all, without respect of age, sex, or condition; and what the Sword could not spoil, they caused the fire to consume, and the dead corpses they cast into the *Weser*.

Cruelties at  
Hoxter.

Griphenburg.

At *Griphenburg* they kept the Senators shut up in a Chamber, massacrating and tormenting them so long with hunger and smock, that divers of them died.

Heidleberg.

In *Heidleberg* they shut up divers Reverend Ministers and Bourgers in Prison, allowing them nothing to eat but Bread and Water.

Frankendal.

*Frankendal* being surrendered upon Articles, contrary to Covenants, the grave Counsellors and other Electoral Ministers, were forced to endure such conditions, as were fitter for Dogs than Men: Some were cast into Prison, and so abused that they died there; others were forced to redeem themselves with unreasonable ransoms; The goods of such as were fled were confiscated; and though the Inhabitants were willing to have, left their Houses, and all their Goods, yet were they detained in the City, and their destruction most cruelly plotted.

Their rage was so great against the Professors of the Gospel, that neither *Turks* nor *Heathens* did ever exceed them. Princes sacred Persons were not exempted



## The Modern Persecution in Germany.

exempted from their fury, the old *Landgrave* of *Hessen*, and the old *Dutchess* Dowager of *Wirttenburgh* were taken prisoners, reviled, and abused. In *Saxony*, *Tillies* Soldiers tortured the Protestants by half strangling them, and pressing their Thumbs with Wheels. In *Pomeran* they forced the People to eat their own Excrements; and if they refused, they thrust them down their Throats, whereby some of them were choaked. If they suspected that any had hidden their Gold or Silver, they used exquisite torments to make them to confess it: They wound and tied about the Heads of some, strong Matches or Cords, and with short Truncheons twisted them, till Blood came out of their Eyes, Ears, and Noses, yea, sometimes till their Eyes started out of their Heads: To others they tied burning Matches between their Fingers, yea, to their Eyes, Ears, Noses, Tongues, Cheeks, Breasts, Legs, and Secret Parts; yea, such Parts that Nature hideth, they either stuffed with Gun-powder, or hung Bags of Powder to them; and so giving fire to it, in an horrible manner they burst their Bellies, and killed them. With Bodkins they made holes, or with Knives they cut the Skin and Flesh of many. They drew Strings and Cords through the fleshy parts of some, and through the Muscles of their Thighs, Legs, Arms, &c. or through their Noses, Ears, Lips, &c. Some they hung up in the smoak, drying them with small fires, and sometimes refreshing them with small Drink, or Water, taking care, lest in their torments they should die too soon. Some they put into hot Ovens, roasting or smothering them there: Some they roasted with fires of straw: Some they stifled, strangled, or hanged; and this was a great favor, so soon to rid them out of their pain. Of many they bound their Hands and Feet so hard, that the Blood spirted out of their Fingers and Toes end: Of some they tied their Hands and Feet backwards together, stopping their Mouths with Clouts, to hinder them from praying. Some they hung up with Ropes fastned to their Privy parts, and hearing their cries, strove by their roaring to drown their cries, as in sport.

Where they found poor Creatures troubled with Ruptures, they enlarged them by villanous means, filling them with Gun-powder, and blowing them up, as a Mine, by giving fire thereto. Many they drew up on high, hanging great Weights at their Feet to pull their Bodies out of joynt: Of some they Plained their Faces with Chisels: Some Men they openly gelded in the presence of their Wives and Children. The Mouths of some they let wide open with Gags, and then poured down their Throats stinking Water, Urine, and other liquid things, till they grew sick, and their Bellies swelled like Tuns, whereby they died less surely with greater torment.

Down the Throats of some they violently thrust knotted Clouts, and then with a string pulled them up again, whereby they displaced their Bowels, and put them to miserable torment, insomuch, as some were made dumb, others deaf, others blind, and others lame.

If the Husband intreated for his Wife, or the Wife for the Husband, they would take the Intercessor and torture him in the same manner, before the others eyes; and when any of these poor Creatures, in their torments or agonies of death, called and cried unto *God* for Mercy, they would command, and seek to force them to pray and cry unto the Devil. Yea, their Devilishness proceeded so far, that they studied to find out new and unheard of torments. Some they bound, hung up, and sawed off their Legs; of others, they rubbed off the Flesh off their Legs to the very Bones, of others, they tied the Arms backwards, and hanged them up by those distorted parts. Many they drew through the Streets of the Cities stark naked, then brake and wounded them with Axes and Hammers, and generally used them with such Barbarous cruelty, that many begged to be shot or slain instantly, rather than to live and be partakers of such miseries. In most places they took away all the Corn and Provision of Victuals, leaving the places so bare, that many of the best rank, for the space of divers days after,

saw not one bit of Bread, but were glad to live with Roots and Water. In other places they spoiled the Inhabitants of their Garments, exposing them to that nakedness, that neither Man, Woman, nor Child, had cloaths to put on. Hereby fruitful Countreys were totally ruined: Cities, Towns, and Villages, were spoiled and turned into Pillars of Fire and Smoak: Churches lay delolate, the Woods were cut down, the Ground lay waste and untilled.

A Minister  
killed with a  
Cat.

One Reverend Aged Divine they stripped, bound him backwards upon a Table, and set a big Cat upon his naked Belly, beating and pricking the Cat to make her fix her Teeth and Claws therein. So that both Man and Cat, with hunger, pain, and anguish, breathed their last.

The Crabats labored much to teach their Horses, not only to kill Men, but to eat humane Flesh; and consulted how to find out more new and exquisite torments, than ever were before used.

Magdenburg.

At the taking of *Magdenburg*, a godly Minister of great esteem, was found in one of the Churches, whom they dragged out to his own House, where they ravished his Wife and Daughters before his face; his tender Infant they snatched from the Mothers Breast, and stuck it upon the top of a Lance: And when his Eyes and Heart were glutted with this so cruel a spectacle, they brought him forth bound into the Street, and there burned him with his own Books.

Rapes and  
Ravishings.

Rapes and Ravishings were committed beyond all humane modesty: Maids and Matrons, Wives and Widows, they forced and violated without distinction, yea, and that in the presence of their Parents, Husbands, and Neighbors; yea, Women great with Child, and others in Child-Bed. Their beastliness was such that no Pen can write it, no Faith can believe it. Chappels and Churches were not freed from their filthy pollutions; yea, Hospitals and Bedlam-houses were not spared.

In *Hessen* Land they took divers poor Women, some mad, some dumb, some lame, and tying up their Coats about their Ears, so used them as a modest Pen cannot express.

In *Pomeran*, they took the fairest Maids and ravished them before their Parents faces, making them sing *Psalms* the while. One beautiful Maid being hid by her Parents in a Dunghil, they found her out, had their pleasure of her, then cut her in pieces, and hung up her quarters in the Church. Yea, very Girls of ten years old and under, they ravished till some of them died: Virtuous and chaste Women, they would threaten to kill, to throw their Children into the fire, if they would not yield to their Lusts. Divers Maids and Women to avoid the Lusts of these Hell-born Furies, have leaped into Rivers and Wells, and some have otherwise killed themselves; and that which was never before heard of. They did not only violate sickly and weak Maids and Women till they died, but committed the like filthiness with the dead corps.

Basil Mer-  
chants mur-  
thered.

The Merchants of *Basil* returning from *Straasburgh* Mart, were set upon by the Imperialists in their Lodging, and though they craved their lives upon their knees, yet they killed ten of them, saying, *They must die, for that they were Hereticks*; the rest leaving their Goods and Garments, escaped by flight stark naked in the night.

Two Noble Countesses, with their fair Daughters, were rifled in their Coaches of all that they had, nor sparing the very Garments that covered them.

A Minister  
murdered.

Near *Friburgh*, these Bloody miscreants cut in pieces a Reverend Minister, a Man of rare Learning and Piety; after whose death, the Dogs would not lick his Blood, nor touch his Flesh. For the common people, they made not so much account of them as of Dogs, murdering them upon every trifling occasion, neither pitying old nor young, Men, Women, nor innocent Babes, whom sometimes most barbarously they used to eat, even when other meat might be had; yea, such inhumane cruelty they used, that in some places they scarce left any

The Crabats  
eat Infants.

remaining



## The Prodiges before the Persecution in Germany.

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remaining alive to relate the sufferings of the dead. Many times they cut off the Noses and Ears of the living, carrying them about in bravery.

*Collected out of a Book composed by Dr. Vincent, a Divine who was an eye-witness of many of these things.*

**B**Efore this great Persecution befel the Church of God in Germany, God gave his People warning of it by many and strange Prodigies. For *Octob. 26. Anno Christi 1618.* there appeared a terrible Comet with a great Blazing Tail, at first of a Red, afterwards of a Pale-red colour, which continued for the space of Twenty seven days, and in some places it was seen longer. This fearful and ominous Link or Torch, the Lord sent to those who had long despised and slighted his Voice in his sacred Word, Preached by his vigilant and faithful Ministers, to awaken them from their dead sleep of sin; and by Repentance to bring them to the Reformation of their lives; or otherwise to assure them, that he would come suddenly upon them, and plague them with all those evils and miseries which he had denounced against them by his Messengers, and whereof he gave them warning by this dreadful sign.

*Anno 1619.* At *Groningen*, in the Dukedom of *Brunswick*, was seen a great Blazing-Star, and two Armies, one in the East, and another in the North, fighting together, till one of them was defeated and slain.

At *Wien* in *Austria*, the Water in a Ditch was seen to be like Blood for the space of eight days; and shortly after three Suns appeared in the Heavens. In the beginning of *April*, *Anno 1619.* And *Anno 1621.* in *March*, in the same Countrey of *Austria*, were two Armies seen in the Heavens by clear Day-light, fighting furiously together with great thundering of Ordnance and Cannons.

In the same Countrey, *Anno 1623.* in the Moneth of *January*, just over the City of *Lintz*, two Swords were seen one over against the other, and two great Armies fighting a pitched Battle together, which caused great terror to the Beholders.

At *Heidelbergh* in *February*, *Anno 1622.* were seen three Suns, and three Rainbows. Shortly after which, that City was besieged by the Imperialists, and at last taken, where a great slaughter was made of the Inhabitants, and in *Neck-ergemund* three miles off, all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, were put to the Sword.

In *April*, *Anno 1622.* In the Countrey of *Darmstadt*, were Trees, whose Leaves dropped Blood: And the year after, in the same Countrey, in divers Towns and Villages, were seen Bloody signs on Houses and Stone Walls. About *Meyenfeld* and *Malants*, as Men were Reaping their Corn, their Hands and Sickles were all Bloody.

In *July*, *Anno 1621.* In the Dukedom of *Wittenburgh*, it Rained so much Blood, that it fell upon the Hands and Cloaths of People in the Fields, and was seen upon Trees, Stones, and other places.

*May* the Twelfth, *Anno 1624.* in the Dukedom of *Anhalt*, there appeared a strange Prodigy in the Heavens, which continued from Six till eight a clock at Night. First, there came out of the Clouds an Ensign-Bearer; after him came forth a grave Man in the same habit: Then came forth a Chariot drawn with two particoloured Horses; then another Chariot with four Armed Horses; then suddenly there brake out of the Clouds an infinite number of People, like a swarm of Bees: After them followed a Man sitting on Horseback with a long Robe, putting the People before him. A quarter of an hour after came forth another Army consisting of many Horse and Foot, &c. The two Armies fought till one of them was routed, and presently after all, vanished away.

*Anno 1624.* In *May* a strange Tempest hapned at *Ratisbone*, the Weather being very calm, with little Rain, two dark Clouds met together, which sudden-

A Comet

A Blazing Star, and two Armies. Water turned to Blood. Three Suns

Two Armies

Two Swords and two Armies

Three Suns and three Rainbows

Trees drop Blood. Blood on Houses, Stone Walls, and Sickles

It Rained Blood

Two Armies

A strange Tempest

ly belched out a great Wind mingled with Fire, which raised such a Tempest, that near to the City, it tore up Trees by the Roots, and in a moment drave them into divers places; and thence extending it self to the City, it overturned above Two hundred Houses in the Town and Suburbs, not leaving a Chimney standing, nor a Roof to cover an House. The Church of *Emerans*, besides the shattered Windows, had one of the Steeples laid flat to the Ground, and the other broke off in the middle: Two other of the chiefest Steeples in the City were also broken down. This Tempest lasted not above a quarter of an hour, nor extended beyond the City, neither were there above four Men slain by it.

A Fight of Jackdaws.

*Anno 1625.* near *Troppasb*, a great multitude of Jackdaws met in the Air, where they fought a great Battle, and that with so great eagerness, that many of them fell down dead; so that the Countrey men gathered up whole Sackfuls of them.

Two Armies.

*Anno 1628.* in *Pomerland*, the Heavens seemed to open, and an Army came forth of the Northern part, the Avantguard consisting of Pioneers and Muskettiers; then followed great Pieces of Ordnance, and in the Rear came the Cavalry: Another Army came forth on the other side, and betwixt them there became a cruel Battle; the Victory inclining to the Northern Army: And at last a fiery Beam followed upon the Northern Conqueror, which continued for the space of some hours.

Water turned into Blood.

*Anno 1631.* at *Hall in Saxony*, the Water was turned into Blood, to the great astonishment of the Inhabitants.

A monstrous Child.

During the Siege of *Magdenburg*, a Captains Wife being in Travail, when she could not be delivered, and was near Death, she desired, That when she was dead, her Body might be opened; which being done, there was found in her Womb, a Boy almost as big as one of three years old, with an Head-piece and Breast-plate upon him, great Boots after the *French* Fashion, and a Bag by his side with two things in it like Musket-Bullets.

Two Armies.

*June the Nineteenth, Anno 1631.* In the *Lower Saxony*, two great Armies appeared in the Air, one in the North, the other in the South, which fought a great Battle together; after long fighting, the Northern Army obtained the Victory. After the Battle was ended, there appeared a Man in a long Coat, bearing a Bow, with which he shot at, and overthrew the Commander of the Southern Army.

Bloody Bread.

In the same Countrey, a Woman having bought a Loaf of Bread, when she came home, was dividing it, and in the cutting of it there came forth Blood.

A Fish-Pond turned to Blood.

*Anno 1633.* in the Countrey of *Altenburgh*, a Fish-Pond was turned into Blood, which stank so extremely, That if any Passengers did but touch it, they could not wash off the stink thereof in three days space.

It Rained Blood and Brimstone.  
A Battle of Birds and Dogs.

*Anno 1634.* at *Berlin in Brandenburg*, it Rained Blood and Brimstone.

*Anno 1635.* in *Hessen* there met two Armies of strange Birds which fought a set Battle; and not far off, about that same time, a multitude of Dogs had their Rendezvous, which fought so eagerly, that they would not be reconciled; and when the Governor of a Neighbor-Garrison sent out four Companies of Muskettiers against them; they seeing a common Enemy, joyned together, and in despite of their Guns, beat them away, and devoured nine of them.

Here place the Eighth Figure.



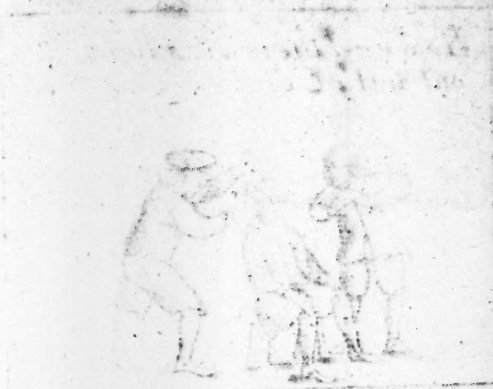


Fig: 8.

A minister tortured with  
a Catt on his belly



Som had their eies twisted  
out with Cords



Som had <sup>eyr</sup> faces plained



Som had Cords drawne  
thorow their armes & legs



Som had their  
armes Cut of



Som Cast into dungeons  
amongst froggs and toades



Som had their noses and  
eares Cut of to make  
hatbands



Som were  
a pully into  
degrees







CHAP. XXXIII.

*The Persecution of the Church in France, which began Anno Christi 1524.*



*Anno Christi 1209.* There were certain Learned Men in France, Disciples of one *Almericus* at *Paris*, whose names were, Master *William*, a Subdeacon of *Poitiers*, well studied in the Arts, and Divinity; *Bernard*, another Subdeacon; *William Goldsmith*; *Steven*, a Priest; *Steven* of the Seller; and one *John*, a Priest, who upon examination, held, That God was no otherwise present in the Sacramental Bread, than in any other Bread: That it was Idolatry to build Altars to Saints, or to cause their Images. They mocked those that kissed the Relicks: They said, That the Pope was Antichrist, and Rome Babylon: That God was not seen in himself, but by his Creatures. For which (when they could not be drawn to recant) they were condemned to be burnt at *Paris*, which accordingly was executed. *Beorinus* out of *Cesarus*. And *Almuennus* who had been their Master, had his Body digged up in the Church-yard, and was buried in the Field; and all his French Books of Divinity were for ever condemned and burned.

*Anno Christi 1524.* At *Melden*, in France, there was one *John Clark*, who set up a Bill upon the Church-door against the Popes pardons, lately come thither, wherein he called the Pope Antichrist; for which, being apprehended, he was adjudged three several days to be whipt, then to have a mark burned in his Forehead as a note of Infamy: His Mother, a good Woman, when she saw her Son so pitiously scourged and branded, encouraged him, crying with a loud voice, *Blessed be Christ, and welcome be these marks for his sake.* Afterwards he removed from thence and went to *Metz*, in *Lorraine*, where for a time he followed his Calling of a Wool-carder: But the people of the City used, once a year, all of them to go forth into the Suburbs to worship some Idols there. Whereupon *John Clark*, inflamed with an holy zeal, went the night before and brake down all those Images. The next morning when all the Clergy and People came to the place to worship them, they found all their Idols broken upon the Ground. This set all in a tumult, and great searching there was after the Author of this deed; and quickly was *John Clark* suspected and apprehended. He presently confessed the fact, and told them the Reasons why he did it.

The People hereupon cried out against him in a great rage. Before the Judges he professed the pure Doctrine of the Son of God, and thereupon was condemned to a cruel death, which he sustained with admirable patience and constancy. First, his right hand was cut off, then was his nose with sharp Beccers pulled violently from his face; then were his arms and breasts pulled off with the same instrument; yet he, through Gods Grace, endured all with great quietness, pronouncing the while, that of *Psalm 115.* *Their Idols are Silver and Gold, the work of Mens hands.* Lastly, he was cast into the fire, and there consumed.

**Mr. Castellane.** Not long after Master *John Castellane*, Doctor in Divinity, born at *Tourney*, being through *Gods* Mercy called to the knowledge of the Truth, became a zealous, fervent, and faithful Preacher of it in divers places, and at last he was taken Prisoner by the Cardinal of *Lorraines* Servants, by whom he was carried to the Castle of *Nommeny*, where he indured much cruel usage; yet still he perievered in confessing the true Doctrine of the Son of *God*. Then was he carried to the Castle of *Vik*, and after a time was condemned, degraded, and delivered over to the Secular Power, with this hypocritical Speech. *My Lord Judge, we pray you as heartily as we can for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy; and for respect to our Prayers, That you will not in any point do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable Man, or tending to his Death, or the maiming of his Body.* Then was he burnt alive, which death he underwent with much patience and comfort.

Popish Hypocrite.

His Martyrdom.

**James Panane.**  
**Dennis de Reux.**

At *Paris*, one *James Panane*, a School-master, was burnt for the Truth.

Also at *Melda*, *Dennis de Reux* was burned, for saying, *That the Mass was a plain denial of the Death and Passion of Christ.* He used often to meditate of, and to repeat those words of *Christ*. *He that denies me before men, him will I deny also before my Father.* He was burnt in a slow fire, and so abode much torment.

**John de Cadurco.**

*John de Cadurco*, Preaching to his Countreymen of *Limosine*, was apprehended and degraded. The Fryer that was to Preach at his Degradation, took that Text, *1 Tim. 4. The Spirit speaks expressly, that in the latter days men shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to lying spirits and doctrines of Errors.* Then did *John* call to him to read on, but the Fryer stood dumb, and could not speak a word more. Then did *John* read on, *Teaching false doctrine in hypocrisie, having their consciences seared with an hot iron, forbidding to marry, and to eat meats created by God to be received with thanksgiving, &c.* Presently after he was burned.

A Special Providence.

Five burnt at Paris.

About the same time, five Men for scattering about certain Papers against the *Mass*, and other Popish Superstitions, were apprehended and burnt at *Paris*. One of them for speaking freely, had his Tongue burned through, and with a wire tied fast to one of his Cheeks.

**Alexander Canus.**

*Alexander Canus*, a godly Minister, for Preaching and confessing the Truth of *Christ*, was burned at *Paris* with a small fire, whereby he indured great pain.

**John Pointer.**

Also *John Pointer*, a Chirurgeon, had his Tongue first cut out, and then was burnt about the same time.

**Peter Gaudet.**  
Popish treachery.

*Peter Gaudet*, living at *Geneva*, was by a Popish Uncle trained into *France*, apprehended, condemned, and after many and long torments sustained in Prison, was burned.

Divers others were apprehended, condemned, and burned at *Arras*.

**John Cornon.**

A godly Virgin was burned at *Fountains*, Anno 1534. As also one *John Cornon*, an Husbandman; but one indowed with such wisdom by *God*, that all his Judges were amazed at it: Yet was he condemned and burned.

**Martin Gonin.**

*Martin Gonin* was cast into the River and drowned.

**Claudius.**  
Popish treachery.

Anno 1540. One *Claudius* endeavoring to convert his Friends and Kinsfolk in *Paris*, was by them betrayed, adjudged to have his Tongue cut out, and then burned.

**Stephen Brune.**  
A Special Providence.

*Stephen Brune* at *Rutiers*, being for the constant Profession of his Faith condemned to be burned: When the fire was kindled, a great wind so drave away the flame from him, that he stood for an hours space, exhorting and instructing the People. Then did they bring Oyl Vessels, and more Faggots, yet still was the flame driven from him. Whereupon the Hangman took a Staff, and struck him on the Head, to whom he said; *I am condemned to be burned, and do you strike me with staves like a Dog?* With that the Hangman, with a Pike, thrust him through the Belly, threw him down into the fire, and afterwards scattered his ashes in the wind.

Note.

An excellent Speech.

At *Roan* four Christians were condemned to be burned, and being carried to the Stake in a Dung-cart, they said, *Blessed be God, we are here reputed as the Excrements of this world, but yet our death is a sweet savor unto God.*

John



*John de Beck*, a godly Minister, being condemned for the Doctrine of the Gospel, constantly indured the torment of the fire at *Troyes*.

*Aymond de Lavoy*, a godly Minister, Preaching the Truths of God faithfully, was complained of by the Popish Clergy to the Magistrates of *Bordeaux*, who sent to apprehend him: Hereupon some of his Friends perswaded him to flee, but he refused, saying, *That thereby he might cause the People to think that he had fed them with Dreams and Fables, and not with the pure word of God; whereas he feared not to yield up both Soul and Body, in the quarrel of the Truth which he had taught, saying, That with Paul, he was ready not only to be bound for the testimony of Christ in the City of Bordeaux, but to die also.*

After the Sumner came, he staid three days and Preached three Sermons; and whereas the People would have rescued him out of the Sumners hand, he desired them not to stop his Martyrdom: For, said he, *since it is the will of God, that I shall suffer for him, I will not resist his will.* At *Bordeaux* many witnesses came in against him, against whom he made many Exceptions, but they would not be admitted. Nine Moneths he remained in Prison, suffering great misery, much bewailing his former course of life, though yet it had been such as none could charge him with any crime. Then the Judges proceeded to his condemnation, and he had greater Fetters put upon him: He was also examined with torments, which he indured two or three hours, though but of a weakly Body, comforting himself thus. *This Body must once die, but the Spirit shall live: The Kingdom of God abideth for ever.* During his torments he favoured, and when he came to himself again, he said, *O Lord, Lord, why hast thou forsaken me?* Nay said the President, *wicked Lutheran, Thou hast forsaken God.* *Aymond* replied, *Alas, good Masters, why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord, I beseech thee forgive them, for they know not what they do.* See, said the President, *this Caitiff how he prayeth for us?* Shortly after he was condemned; and when the Fryers came to confess him, he bad them depart from him, for he would confess his sins to the Lord. He went to the place of execution with much joy, exhorting the People all the way: At the place of execution they tumbled him out of the Cart, and when he was upon the Stage he said, *O Lord, make haste to help me, carry not, despise not the work of thy hands.* And seeing some Scholars, he said to them, *My Brethren, I exhort you to study and learn the Gospel, for the word of God abideth for ever: Labor to know the will of God, and fear not them that kill the Body, but have no power over your souls.* And afterwards he said, *My Flesh doth wonderfully resist the Spirit, but presently I shall cast it away.* At the Stake he often repeated, *O Lord my God, into thy hands I commend my Soul;* and so he was first strangled by the Hangman, and then burned.

*Francis Brihard*, Secretary to the Cardinal of Bellay, being convicted for adhering to the Truth, had first his Tongue cut out, and then was burnt Anno 1544.

About the same time, *William Hufson*, an Apothecary, came from *Bloys* to *Rouen*, and in the Palace where the Council sat, he scattered sundry Books concerning the Christian Doctrine, and against Mens Traditions; and presently taking Horse rode away. The Books being found, the Council made diligent search for the Author, and at last heard, that probably this *Hufson* had scattered them there: Whereupon Posts were sent out every way to apprehend him, and by some of them he was taken riding towards *Dreux*, and brought back to *Rouen*; who being examined, professed his Faith boldly, and acknowledged that he had scattered those Books, and that he was going to *Dreux* to do the like there. For this he was condemned to be burnt alive; and as he was carried to execution, because he refused to worship an Image, his tongue was cut out; afterwards his hands and feet being bound behind him, he was pulled up with a Pully, and so let down into the fire, in which, he with a cheerful countenance held up his head, and fixed his upon Heaven, till he yielded up his Spirit unto God.

James Cobard.

Anno 1545. James Cobard, a School-master in the City of St. Michael, declared and proved, That the Mass, neither profited the quick nor dead, &c. For which he was burned.

Fourteen martyred.

Also at Melde, fourteen godly persons were cast into Prison, where they were cruelly racked to make them confess their fellows, which they stoutly refused to do, and at last were condemned to the fire; seven of them had their Tongues cut out, and so all of them were burned together, their Wives being compelled to stand by to see their torments: Many others were scourged and banished.

Peter Chapot.

Zeal.

Anno 1546. There was one Peter Chapot, who having been a while at Geneva, out of a zeal to do good to the Church of Christ, carried divers Bibles into France, and dispersed them amongst the faithful; at last he was apprehended and carried to Paris; there he readily rendered an account of his Faith, exhorting the Judges to do their office uprightly. Three Doctors of Sorbonne were appointed to dispute with him, but he made them all to go away ashamed: Then was he condemned to be burnt. At the Stake, one of the Doctors pressed him sorely to pray to our Lady; which he refused, crying only, O Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me. The Doctor bad him say only Jesus Maria, and he should not be burnt alive, but he for a while refused, yet at last through his importunity, he said Jesus Maria; but presently checking himself, he said, O God what have I done? Pardon me, O Lord, for against thee only have I sinned. And so he was presently strangled, and then burned: But upon the complaint of the Doctor, the Court made a Decree; That all which were to be burned, unless they recanted at the Stake, should have their Tongues cut out; which was diligently afterwards observed.

Vincit veritas.

Humane infirmity.

A cruel Law.

A Cripple martyred.

Zeal.

There was living at Meaux, a Lame Cripple, to whom God was pleased to reveal his Truth; and after a time he was apprehended, and examined, at which time he confessed more than they desired to hear. Then did they ask him, whether he would stand to that which he had said? To whom he answered, And I ask you again, Dare you be so bold as to deny that which is so plain and evident in the holy Scriptures? Being advised to take care of his life, he said to the Judges; For Gods sake take care of your own lives and Souls, and consider how much innocent Blood you spill daily in fighting against Jesus Christ, and his Gospel. At last he was carried to Paris, where he endured many sorts of torments, and lastly was burned.

His Martyrdom.

Stephen Polliot.

At Fera, one Stephen Polliot was apprehended, carried to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark Dungeon, where he lay long in Bonds and Fetters. At last he was brought forth and condemned to have his Tongue cut out, and to be burned with his Sachel of Books hanging about his Neck, which was accordingly executed.

John English.

Anno 1547. There was one John English condemned by the Court of Paris, for confessing the Truths of God; and so sent to Sens in Burgundy, where he was burned.

Michael Michelote.

Faith and Courage.

Also Michael Michelote, being apprehended for professing the Gospel, was put to his choice, either to recant and be beheaded, or to persevere and be burned. He answered, That he trusted, that he which had given him Grace not to deny the Truth, would also give him patience to abide the Fire: And so he was burned.

Treachery.

Another being betrayed by false Brethren, was burned at Bar in Burgundy.

Seven Martyrs.

Five Men and two Women were condemned to the fire at Langres, for adhering to the Truth; one of the Women being the youngest, was reserved to be burned last; and in the mean time she much encouraged them all, saying, This day we shall be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with him for ever. And so they all quietly slept in the Lord. Four others about the same time were condemned, and cruelly burned at Paris for the same cause.

Four Martyrs.

Blondel.

Anno 1548. There was one Blondel, a Merchant of Precious Stones, that frequented many great Fairs in France, and was well known, both in Court and Countrey. He was a Man of singular integrity, and a favorer of Gods Word; who being at an Inn in Lions, he freely reproved the filthy talk and superstitious behavior



behavior which he there heard and saw: Hereupon the Host complained of him to an Officer; withal, informing him of his rich Coller of Jewels: These two suborned one to borrow money of him, which because *Blondel* refused to lend, the Fellow caused him to be apprehended for Heresy, thinking thereby to attach his goods; But *Blondels* Friends prevented it, privily conveying them away.

Popish malice

*Blondel* being examined of his Faith, gave a plain and full Confession of it; whereupon he was sent to Prison, in which he did much good amongst the Prisoners, paying the debts of some and so loosing them, feeding others, cloathing others, &c. At length through the importunity of his Parents and Friends, he changed his Confession; yet was he sent to the High Court at *Paris*, where being examined again concerning his Faith, he adhered to his first Confession, much bewailing his former fall: Then was he condemned to be burnt; and great haste was made for his execuion, lest his Friends at Court should have his life.

Courage

Charity

Humane  
mercy.  
Recovery

Anno 1549. One *Hubert*, a young Man of Nineteen years old, was so constant in the Faith, that neither the persuasions of his Parents, nor the threats of his Adversaries could remove him from his stedfastness, for which he was burnt at *Dyon*.

Hubert

The same year there was a godly Minister, called *Florent Venote*, cast into Prison at *Paris*, where he lay above four years, in which time there was no kind of torment; which he did not endure and overcome: Amongst others he was put into so narrow a place, that he could neither stand nor lie, in which he remained seven weeks, whereas there was never any Malefactor that could endure it fifteen days, but he either grew mad or died. At last when a great shew was made at the Kings coming into the City, and divers other Martyrs in sundry places of it were put to death, *Florent* also, having his Tongue cut out, was brought forth to see their execution, and lastly was himself burnt.

Florent Venote

Cruelty

A miracle of  
mercy.

Henry the Second

His Martyrdom

About the same time one *Anne Audbert*, as she was going to *Geneva*, was apprehended and brought to *Paris*, where she was adjudged to be sent to *Orleanse* and burned there; when she was had forth to execution, a Rope being put about her, she called it her wedding girdle, wherewith she should be married to *Christ*; and being to be burned on a Saturday, she said, *On a Saturday I was first married, and on a Saturday I shall be married again*: She much rejoyced when she was put into the Dung-cart, and shewed such patience, and constancy in the fire, as made all the Spectators to wonder at it.

Anne Audbert

Courage and  
Comfort in  
Death

Not long after the Coronation of *Henry* the Second, King of *France*, at whose coming into the City of *Paris* divers godly Martyrs were burned, there was a poor Tailor, that dwelt not far from the Kings Palace, apprehended for working upon an Holy-day: Being by the Officer asked why he wrought upon that day: He answered, That he was a poor Man living only upon his labor, and that he knew no day but the Sabbath wherein he might not work, his necessity requiring it; then was he clapt up in Prison. This being noised in the Court, some would needs have the Tailor sent for, that the King might have the hearing of him: Then was the Tailor brought thither, and the King sitting in his Chair of State, commanded the Bishop of *Macon* to question with him. The Tailor being nothing amazed at the Kings presence, after he had done reverence to his Prince, gave thanks to God for honoring him so greatly, being such a Wretch, as to bring him where he might bear witness to his truth before so great a Prince: The Bishop questioned with him about the greatest matters of Religion, and he with an undaunted spirit so answered for the sincere truth, and with such pregnant proofs of Scripture, as was wonderful. And though the Nobles that were present jeered and taunted at him, yet could they not dash him out of countenance, but that still with much liberty and freedom of Speech he defended the truth of *Christ*, neither flattering their persons, nor fearing their

A Tailor

Admirable  
Courage

Popish malice

Popish subtil-  
ty.Gods Judg-  
ments on Per-  
secutors.

threats. The King seeming to muse much within himself, that so mean and simple a person should shew such audacity in such a presence, the Bishop and Popish Lords taking notice of, cryed out that he was an obstinate and impudent Heretick, and therefore remanded him back to Prison; and within a few days after he was condemned to be burnt alive. And lest the King should be affected with what he heard from the Tailor, the Bishops often suggested that the *Lutherans* were such as carried a vain smoak in their mouths, which being put to the fire would soon vanish. They also would needs have the King present at his execution: But it pleased God to give such strength and courage to the Tailor at his execution, as much more astonished the King than all his former carriages; For having espied the King in the Window where he sat, he beheld him with so stedfast a countenance, that his Eyes were never off him; yea, when the fire was kindled about him, he still kept his Eyes so fixed upon the King, that the King was constrained to leave the Window, and to withdraw himself, and was so wrought upon thereby, that he confessed that he thought the shadow of the Tailor followed him whithersoever he went, and for many nights after, he was so terrified with the apparition thereof, that he protested with an Oath, that he would never see nor hear any more of those *Lutherans*, though afterwards he brake his Oath, as it follows in the Story of *Anne Du Bourg*.

Claudius.

About the same time one *Claudius*, a godly Man was apprehended as he came from *Geneva*, and burned at *Orléance*.

Thomas.  
Zeal.

Cruelty.

*Anno 1551.* One *Thomas*, a young Man of about eighteen years old, coming from *Geneva* to *Paris*, rebuked one for swearing, whereupon he was apprehended for a *Lutheran*, and carried before the High Court; by them he was committed to Prison, and cruelly racked to confess his Companions, which he still refused to do, whereupon they continued to rack him, till one of the Bloody Inquisitors turned his back and wept, and till the Hangman was a weary; Then was he carried to be burned, and was let down with a pulley into the fire; and after a while, being pulled up again, they asked him if he would yet turn? To whom he said, *That he was in his way to God, and therefore he desired them to let him go,* and so he quietly slept in the Lord.

An excellent  
spirit.Peter Berge-  
rius.An admirable  
example.

*Anno 1553.* There was apprehended at *Lions* one *Peter Bergerius*, who for his bold and constant confession was cast into Prison, and put into a Dungeon, where was a Thief that had lain there seven or eight months, who being in great pain and torment, cryed out of God, and cursed his Parents that begat him, being almost eaten up with Lice, and fed with such Bread as Dogs and Horses had refused to eat: But it pleased Almighty God of his goodness, through the instructions and prayers of *Bergerius*, that he was converted and brought to the knowledge of the truth, after which, the very next day, his Lice which before extremely abounded, so went away, that he had not one remaining: And God so stirred up the Hearts of good Men, that he was fed plentifully, and that with white Bread, so that with much patience and joyfulness he bore his imprisonment, and had great comfort afterwards in his Soul.

Three godly  
Men.

About the same time three godly Men were apprehended at *Lions*, and being condemned for the Truth; when they were to be led forth to execution, two of them had Ropes put about their Necks: The third, having served the King in his Wars, was favored to have none; Whereupon he said to the Lieutenant, *That he also desired to have one of those precious Chains about his Neck in honor of his Lord*; the which being granted, they all went singing to the fire, where with much patience they yielded up their spirits unto God.

Note.

Matthew Di-  
monet a Perse-  
cutor convert-  
ed.

Not long after in the same place was apprehended one *Matthew Dimonet*, who formerly had lived a most wicked life, full of all filthiness and abominations; He had been also a searcher out of the Professors of the Gospel, and a great Persecutor of them; yet at last it pleased God to shew him mercy, and he was converted to the knowledge of the truth: After which, being apprehended and examined,

he



he made a stout profession of his Faith; and during his imprisonment he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his own flesh, but especially with the temptations of his Parents, Kindred, and Friends; yet the Lord did so strengthen him that he endured constant to the end: At his burning he spake much to the people, and was hearkned to with great attention.

Temptation resisted.

*Simon Laloe* coming upon some occasions from *Geneva* into *France*, was apprehended by the Bailiff of *Dyon*, by whom he was imprisoned and racked to force him to confess what Fellows he had: But that not prevailing, he was condemned to be burned. At his death the Executioner, seeing his great Faith, Patience, and Constancy, was so wrought upon thereby, that he fell into great terrors of conscience, so that he was near to utter despair, and all the promises of the Gospel could scarce comfort him; yet at last, through Gods mercy, receiving comfort, he with all his Family removed to the Church of *Geneva*, where he afterwards lived till his death.

*Simon Laloe.*

An Hangman converted.

*Nicholas Naile*, carrying some good Books to *Paris*, was there apprehended, and made a bold confession of the Faith, for which he was cruelly tormented fundry wife, and racked all his joynts asunder, and lastly being condemned, when he was carried to the Stake, they put a gag into his Mouth, which they tied in so hard with a Rope about his Head, that Blood gushed out of his Mouth: They also besmeared all his Body with Oyl and Brimstone, so that at the first taking of fire, all his skin was shrivelled together, whilst his inward parts were untouched. The Cord being burnt in sunder, and the gag falling out of his Mouth, he praised God in the midst of the fire, till he yielded up his spirit unto God.

*Nicholas Naile.*

Popish cruelty.

*Peter Serre* was at first a Priest, but God of his mercy revealing his truth to him, he went to *Geneva*, and there learned the Shoemakers craft, whereby he maintained himself: And having a Brother at *Tholouse*, out of a singular love to his Soul, he went thither to instruct him. His Brothers Wife being not well pleased herewith, revealed it to one of her Gossips, who informed the Official against him: Hereupon he was apprehended and carried before the Inquisitor, to whom he made an excellent declaration of his Faith, and so was delivered to the Judge. Who asked him of what occupation he was? He said, *That of late he was a Shoemaker*; Then did the Judge ask him of what Occupation he had formerly been? He said, *He had been of another formerly, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest Science of all others in the world*: The Judge and People supposing that he had been some Cutpurse or Thief, were more importunate to know what it was; But shame and sorrow so stopped his Mouth, that he could not declare it. At last through their importunate clamor, he told them he had been a Popish Priest: This so incensed the Judge, that he presently condemned him to be degraded, to have his Tongue cut out, and to be burned; which was accordingly executed. In the fire he stood so quiet, looking up stedfastly to Heaven at the time of his burning, as if he felt no pain at all, which caused wonderful admiration in the people; and one of the Parliament said, *That it was not the best way to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for it would do more hurt than good.*

*Peter Serre.*

Charity? Treachery?

Note.

Admirable patience. Note.

Anno 1554. There were two godly Men, with one of their Sons and a Daughter going towards *Geneva*, whom a Lieutenant overtaking by the way, like a Judas, he insinuated himself into their company, pretended great favor to them and to that Religion, which he said, he supposed them to be of: And so with fair words he circumvented them, and drew out of them that they were Protestants, and their Wives at *Geneva*, whither they were now travelling: Then did he apprehend them, and carry them to the Castle of *Niverne*. During their imprisonment, they were examined of many Articles, to which they made a full and clear answer according to their Faith: After this they were racked extremely for three hours together to force them to recant, which they bore with admirable patience: Being therefore condemned, as they went to execution, the

A Judas;

Courage. Cruelty,

Zeal.

A Miracle.

Officer bound a wooden Cross between their Hands, but they pulled it out with their Teeth, and threw it away, whereupon their Tongues were cut out, notwithstanding which God gave them utterance, so that they spake plain, saying, *we bid sin, the flesh, the world, and the devil farewell for ever, with whom we shall never have more to do hereafter*, and much more to the like purpose. When the Officer came to besmear them with Brimstone and Gunpowder, they said, *Go to, salt on, salt on the stinking and rotten flesh*; and so persisting constant in the flames, they finished their Martyrdom.

Philbert Hamlin.

Anno 1557. Philbert Hamlin, Priest, was through Gods grace brought to the knowledge of the Truth, whereupon he went to Geneva, where he exercised the Art of Printing, and sent Books abroad. Afterwards he was made a Minister, and preached at the Town of Alenart, in which and in some other places he did much good: At last he with his Host, a Priest, whom he had instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel, were apprehended and cast into Prison, at Bourdeaux; And whilst they lay there, in came a Priest with his furniture to say Mass: But Philbert, inflamed with a holy zeal, went and plucked the garments from his back, and overthrew the Chalice and Candlesticks, saying, *Is it not enough for you to Blaspheme God in the Churches, but you must also pollute the Prison with your Idolatry?* The Jailor seeing this, fell upon him, and beat him with his staff, and also removed him into a dungeon, loading him with Irons which made his Legs to swell: There he lay eight days. The Priest his Host, terrified with the Prison and fear of death, renounced Christ and his Word, and was set at liberty; whereupon Philbert said to him, *O unhappy and more than miserable Man! Is it possible that you should be so foolish, as for to save your life a few days, you should so start away from and deny the Truth? Know you therefore, that although hereby you have avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer; For you shall die before me, and yet shall not have the honor to die for the cause of God; and you shall be an example to all Apostates.* Having ended his Speech, and the Priest going out of Prison, he was presently slain by two Gentlemen, who formerly had a quarrel to him. Philbert hearing of it, professed that he knew of no such thing before, but spake as it pleased God to guide his Tongue. Philbert being condemned, and had to execution, they labored to drown his voice by sounding of Trumpets, and so in the midst of the flames, praying and exhorting the people, he rendered up his Soul unto God.

Zeal.

Apostacy.

A Prophecie.

Gods judgment on an Apostate.

Nicholas of Jonville.

Popish treachery.  
Blind zeal.

Anno 1558. Nicholas of Jonville, a young Man that had lived at Geneva, coming into France to get up some money that was owing to him, was betrayed by a Lady, apprehended and condemned, and being carried in a Cart to execution, his Father met him and would have beaten him with a staff, but the Officers not suffering it, were about to have stricken the old Man; The Son seeing it, cryed to them to let his Father alone, saying, That he had power over him to do to him what he would. At the Place of execution he had an Iron Ball put into his mouth; and so he patiently took his Martyrdom at Jonville.

Popish malice.

About the same time a company of the Faithful of about Three or Four hundred were met together at an House in Paris, in the beginning of the night, to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper: Some Priests getting intelligence of it, gathered many of that faction together, and came, and beset the House, making an outcry that the watch might come and apprehend them, so that in a short time most of the City of Paris was up in Arms, supposing that there had been some conspiracy. The people following the noise, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, they grew into a great rage, seeking to murder them, and thereupon stopped the streets and lanes with Carts, and made fires that none might escape them; But through Gods mercy, before this tumult began, the Faithful had finished their administration and prayers, with as much quiet as ever they had done. And now seeing this sudden danger, they were somewhat amazed; whereupon the Pastors of the Congregation exhorted them, and fell to prayer: After which, considering the cowardliness of the multitude, it was resolved that



that such as had weapons should adventure through the press, which being put in practice, the admirable power of God appeared, in that notwithstanding the fires, and stopping of the passages, yet they all escaped safe, only one was beaten down with stones, and slain: The rest, which wanted weapons, being about One hundred and twenty, stayed in the House with the Women and Children, some of which leaped into Gardens, where they remained till the Magistrates came: The Women, which were all Persons of good quality, save Six or Seven, perceiving their danger by reason of the fury of the people, went up into the Windows, shewed their innocency, and desired that they might be tried in an ordinary way of Justice, yet there they were inclosed by the rabble for Six or Seven hours; At last came the Kings Attorney with many Serjeants and Officers, who with much ado appeasing the people, entred into the House, and their seeing the quality of the Persons, and their innocency the Attorney much pitied them, yet carried them to Prison in the little Castle: But as they went, the furious multitude plucked and haled the Gentlewomen, tore their garments, pulled their Hoods from their Heads, and all besmeared their Faces with dust and dirt.

A special Providence.

Popish rage and cruelty.

In the Prison they were used no better; For the Villains and Thieves being let out of their holes, and stinking Caves, these Lambs of *Christ* were put into their rooms. Then followed the cruel and slanderous reports of the Fryers, who in their Sermons railed upon them, told the people that they were assembled to make a Banquet in the night, after which, putting out the Candles, they went together *Jack with Jill*; after a filthy and Beastly manner: They charged them also with sedition, as if they conspired against the King, &c. And these cursed defamations were no sooner vented, but they were spread abroad far and wide, yea in the Court it self, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* procured a certain Judge to come to the King, who testified that he found in the House divers Couches, upon which they intended to commit their Whoredoms and Adulteries, which much enflamed the King against them.

Popish lies and slanders.

Satan's subtilty.

These things made the Enemies to triumph exceedingly, and on the contrary, the Brethren which escaped, were full of perplexity, and lamentations, sorrowing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their Friends; yet they much comforted themselves in the consideration of their own wonderful deliverance. They upon debate also resolved, First, *That all of them should humble themselves before God in their own Families.* Secondly, *That they might stop the false rumors, to write two Apologies; one to the King, and another to the People.* Thirdly, *To write consolatory Letters to their Friends in Prison.*

Christian wisdom.

The Apology to the King was written and conveyed privily into his Chamber, where it was met with and read openly before the King and his Nobles; yet this prevailed little, for their Adversaries suggested to him that all was false, and a pretence to hide their wickedness; But that to the People did very much good, and so did their consolatory Letter to their Friends in Prison.

The Adversaries all this while did bestir themselves to bring them that were in Prison to execution, and procured a Commission from the King to certain Judges to hasten their trial. But it fell out by Gods Providence, that at this time the Protestant Princes of *Germany* were met at a Colloquy at *Worms*, to whom divers learned Men resorted from *Geneva*, requesting them to send their Ambassadors to the *French King*, in the behalf of these poor Christians thus imprisoned: By whose mediation, and the Kings other business, who was now in War with the King of *Spain*, many of them were delivered, yet some of them were executed before the coming of the Ambassadors.

Gods merciful Providence.

Among them were *Nicholas Clivet*, and one *Granvelle*, both of them Elders of the Congregation, who stoutly defended the Truth against the *Sabbath* Doctors, and afterwards patiently resigned up their Souls to God in the cruel flames. Also a young Gentlewoman of about Twenty three years old, which came from

Nicholas Clivet and one Granvelle.

Casseigne

Popish malice,

Gods Judgment on Persecutors,

Courage.

A Christian Speech,

Popish malice.

Gods mercy,

Temptation resisted,

Temptation.

Humane infirmity.

*Gascoigne* to joyn her self to the Church at *Paris*, was brought forth with the former, and endured many conflicts with the Judges and *Sorbonists*; who when she was urged to recant, said, *That she had learned her faith from the word of God, and therefore therein she would live and die*: Her neighbors testified against her that there was much singing of *Psalms* in her House, and that sometimes they had seen abundance of people come out of it, and that at the death of her Husband no Priest was called for, &c. But presently after, two of these witnesses fell out, and one slew the other with a Knife.

The Cardinal of *Sens* much hastened this Gentlewomans death, that he might have her estate. When she was condemned, she had her Tongue cut, as the two former also were served. Going to execution, she dressed her self like a Bride, being that day to be married to her Spouse *Jesus Christ*; she went to the fire without ever changing countenance; and so quietly yielded up her spirit to God.

Divers others of this Congregation suffered in the like sort, the rest, at the mediation of the Prince Elector *Palatine*, and the Protestant *Switzers* were released.

In other parts of *France* also sundry faithful Christians were imprisoned, cruelly racked, had their Tongues cut out, and finally were burned, concerning whom because I find nothing extraordinary, I have forbore to mention them.

*Anno 1559.* The King of *France*, *Henry* the Second, coming into the Parliament in *Paris*, there was one *Anne Du Bourg*, a noble Counsellor, a Man of singular understanding and knowledge, bred and nursed up in the bosom of the Church of *Christ*, who made a bold Speech before him, wherein he rendred thanks to Almighty God, for moving the Kings Heart to be present at the decision of so weighty a cause as that of Religion was, humbly intreating him to consider well thereof, being the cause of *Christ* himself, which of good right ought to be maintained by Princes, &c. But the King, instead of hearkening to his good advice, was so far incensed against him, that he caused him to be apprehended by the County of *Montgomery*, Constable of *France*, and to be carried to the Prison, protesting to him in these words, *These Eyes of mine shall see thee burnt*; and presently after he sent a Commission to the Judges to make his Process.

During his imprisonment there was a godly Woman, who was Prisoner also in a Chamber just over against his, who at her Window, sometimes by words, other sometimes by signs, did much encourage him to persevere constantly in the truth, whereby he was so comforted, that when some of his Friends perswaded him to recant, he said, *God forbid; For a woman hath taught me my lesson, how I ought to carry my self in this business*; He was often examined about sundry points of Religion, and being once asked whether he had conferred with any one about them, he answered, *That he had conferred with his Books, especially with the holy Scriptures*.

Having drawn up a confession of his Faith, he intended to present it to the Parliament: But some Advocates that belonged to that Court, who pretended a great love to him, labored to draw him to make another confession, not contrary to the truth, but in such ambiguous terms as might satisfy his Judges, who would not stand strictly to examine it; *Du Bourg* long resisted, but at last was prevailed with to draw up such a confession, supposing it sufficient that himself knew his own meaning: So soon as this his confession came into the hands of his Judges, great hopes were conceived of his enlargement; But when the Christian Congregation had gotten a copy of it, they were much grieved; whereupon they ordered Master *Augustine Marlorate*, a learned and godly Minister, to write a large discourse concerning the duty of such as were called to bear witness to the truth of God before Magistrates, wherein he set down Gods threatenings and judgments against such, as either directly or indirectly deny the Truth,



## The Persecution of the Church in France:

Truth, exhorting him more highly to prize the glory of God than his own liberty; the truth of his Gospel than a short and transitory Life, shewing that he ought not now to give over, having made so happy a beginning and progress in his Christian course: That the fame of his constancy was spread, not only through France, but all Christendom over: That he had been a means to confirm many weak ones, and caused others to enquire after the means of salvation: That all Mens eyes were fixed on him to enquire by what means he got out of Prison; so that, if through fear and faint-heartedness, he should enterprise ought that should contradict his first Profession, he would give much scandal and offence, and therefore he exhorted him to give glory to God, to edifie his Church; Telling him, that then he might assure himself, that God would neither leave nor forsake him.

These Letters brought *Du Bourg* to a sight of his sin, for which asking pardon of God, without any further delay he wrote to the Judges, retracting his last, and protesting to stand to his first confession; so that shortly after he was condemned.

In the mean time great Feasts were preparing in the Court, for joy of the marriages that should be of the Kings Daughter and Sister: The day whereof being come, the King imployed all the morning in examining the President, and other Counsellors of the Parliament against *Du Bourg*, and other his Companions that were charged with the same Doctrine, intending to glut his Eyes in seeing their execution, and then went to Dinner.

After Dinner the King being one of the Defendants at the Tilting, which was near the Prison where *Du Bourg* and his Fellows lay, entered the lists, and behaved himself valiantly, breaking many Spears against Count *Montgomery* and others, whereupon he was highly commended of the Spectators, and all thinking that he had done enough, desired him to give over with praise: But he being puffed up with their commendations, would needs run another course with *Montgomery*, who kneeling on his knees craved pardon, refusing to run against him; The King being eagerly set on, commanded him upon his Allegiance to run, and put the Spear into his Hands, *Montgomery* thus enforced, addrest himself to the course, and the King and he meeting together, brake their Spears, and the Kings Helmet falling down, at the same instant, one of the splinters of *Montgomerys* Spear entered just into his right Eye, and so pierced his Head that the Brains were perished; which wound, despising all means of cure, killed him within eleven days, whereby his hope of seeing *Du Bourg* burned was frustrated, and thereupon *Du Bourg* his execution was deferred for six months longer: At the end whereof, he having constantly persevered in the confession of his Faith, was first degraded, and the next day carried out to execution: The Judges appointed Six or Seven hundred Horse and Foot well armed, to guard him, He was first hanged, and then his Body was burnt to ashes.

Presently after, divers others were burnt in *Paris*, and in many other places for their Religion; many also were massacred as they passed along the streets for not doing reverence to the Images, which were then newly set up in the corner of every street; such also as refused to contribute money to buy wax Candles to burn before them, it cost them their lives. Notwithstanding which cruelties, those of the Religion increased daily, both in zeal and number in all parts of the Realm.

This much incensed the Duke *de Guise* in his Government of *Dauphine*, whereupon he sent *Mangiron*, a cruel man, and great Enemy to the Protestants, with charge wholly to root them out: This *Mangiron* first played his part very subtilly; But at last he fell upon *Valence*, sackt the Houses of the Protestants, as if he had taken the Town by assault, and the more to strengthen him in his mischief, he had many Troops of Horse, and some Lanciers sent him: *Truchet* also, President of *Grenoble*, cast sixty of the chieftest of the Protestants into Prison,

Popish cruelty.

at *Valence*, whilst *Mangiron* pillaged those of *Montelimart*, to whom he had promised and sworn to do no wrong.

Two Ministers beheaded.

*Truchon* caused two Ministers at *Valence* to be beheaded, and three of the principal Citizens to be hanged; The rest he punished with great fines, whippings, and banishments.

At *Roan* he hanged two Men; whipt one, and afterwards sent him to the Gallies.

Arms Ecclesia.

Anno 1559. In *Provence*, a godly Gentleman was traiterously massacred for his profession of Religion.

A great conversion.

Those of the Religion, seeing themselves destitute of all humane aid, resolved in all their dangers instead of seeking to Man for help, to pray to God, to hear his Word, to continue in true obedience unto it, living in great love and concord one with another, whereby abundance of Papists were so edified, that by whole Troops they left the Mass, and made open profession of the Protestant Religion.

Popish malice.

Anno 1561. There happened a great mutiny in the City of *Paris*, raised by some Priests, which rang a Bell while those of the Religion were hearing a Sermon: From which proceeded wounds, murthers, and imprisonments; Four of the Protestants were hanged to please the people, and the rest paid a fine.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*The Persecution in the time of the Civil wars.*

Christians murdered at a Sermon.

Anno 1562. The Duke de *Guise* passing towards *Paris*, and coming near to *Vassy*, understanding that the Bell rang to a Sermon, which was to be preached in a Barn, in which place there were assembled about Twelve hundred Men, Women, and Children, he presently went with all his Troops to the Barn, and entering it, they cried out, *Death of God, kill, kill these Huguenots*; Then did some of them shoot at those which were in the Galleries; others cut in pieces such as they met with. Some had their Heads cleft in twain, others had their Arms and Hands cut off, so that the Walls and Galleries of the Barn were died with the Blood of the slain: The Duke with his Sword drawn, stood amongst them, charging his Men to kill without sparing, especially the young Men: Some of these godly Persons getting upon the roof, hid themselves there; but at length some of this Bloody crew spying them, shot at them with long pieces, whereby many of them were slain, falling down from the roof like Pigeons. Then they fell to murdering of them all without distinction; The poor Saints of God made no resistance, only praying unto God; and every one running to save himself, as it pleased God to direct him, many Men and Women were slain; others being fore wounded, escaped, which died shortly after; The poor Mans Box was taken and emptied. The Minister in the beginning of the Massacre ceased not to preach still, till one discharged his Peece against the Pulpit: Then falling upon his knees, he intreated the Lord to have mercy upon him; and upon his poor persecuted flock; and so coming down from the Pulpit, attempted to escape, but by the way he received divers wounds, whereupon finding himself as he thought, mortally hurt, he cried, *Lord, into thy hand I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth*; yet before he was slain, some took him and carried him before the Duke, who said to him, *who made thee so bold thus to seduce the People?* Sir, said the Minister, *I am no seducer, but have faithfully preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ to them.* Then did the Duke curse and swear, saying, *Death of God, doth the Gospel teach sedition?* And calling the Provost,

Slanders.



Provost, he said, *Take this Varlet and hang him upon a Gibbet*; Then was the Minister delivered to two Pages, who basely abused him: The Popish Women also threw dirt at him, and could scarce be restrained from tearing him to pieces. He was kept close Prisoner, none being suffered to bring him necessaries; and he was oft threatened to be fown up in a sack and drowned; yet at last, through Gods mercy, he was released, at the earnest request of the Prince of *Portion*. The Pulpit was broken down, the flain stript stark naked, and so the Duke departed with his Bloody Troops, founding his Trumpets as if he had obtained a great Victory.

A special Providence.

Barbarous cruelty.

When he came to *Paris*, he with the Constable and Marshal of *Saint Andrews*, seized upon the King, defaced and overthrew the places where they of the Religion used to assemble, which so encouraged the Popish party, that in every place they so abused those of the Religion, as the most cruel Barbarians would have been ashamed to do the like. This caused a Civil War, wherein the Duke of *Guise*, having taken *Roan*, sacked it for three days space, and executed many of the Citizens.

Not long after he went to *Orleanse*, boasting that within Twenty-four hours he would win the Town, and neither spare Man, Woman, nor Child in it, and that he would so destroy the Town that the memory of it should be extinct for ever. But Man purposes, and God disposes; For the same night there was a young Gentleman named *John Poltro*, who watching his opportunity, shot him with his Pistol laden with three Bullets, whereof he shortly after died; And *Poltro* declared at his death, that he did it to deliver *France*, and especially the City of *Orleanse* from the violence of the Duke of *Guise*; After whose death peace was shortly after concluded between the Queen-mother and the Protestants.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

But before this peace took place, those of the Religion suffered much in sundry parts of the Realm.

In *Paris* they were persecuted cruelly, the Popish People being wholly set upon Blood, and the Parliament there sparing neither great nor small that fell into their Hands, either of that City, or such as were brought thither upon appeal, or summons.

Persecution in Paris.

At *senlis* many godly Christians suffered much, some were beheaded, some murdered in a popular tumult, some were whipt, some imprisoned, some fined, and others sent to the Gallies, not sparing the simple Women. Yet through Gods mercy, some escaped, amongst whom was one *John Gardens* and his Wife, who lived with his Wife and Child in the Fields, at length determined to go back into the City, casting themselves upon Gods providence; But when they came into the Suburbs, they met some who bad the Soldiers to put them to the Sword. The Woman kneeling down, begged of the Soldiers, that if they must needs die, they would kill her Child first, laying, that so she should die with the more comfort; which Speech of hers so wrought upon the Souldiers, that they spared all their lives.

At senlis.

A special Providence.

In *Chaalons* there was a godly Minister, called *Fournier*, apprehended and spoiled of all that he had: They stripped him also of his apparel, instead whereof they put him on a thredbare cloak, and so carried him away in a Cart, by reason of an hurt that he had gotten in one of his Feet. By the way, they did nothing but jeer and scoff at him, and every moment he was in danger of his life; the rude people also had almost pulled him in pieces; But it pleased God that he was preserved by those which had designed him to death. When he came to *Munchon* he was cast into Prison, and after a while there came a Captain to him with many Soldiers, who mixing mocks and threatnings together, sward that within three hours he should be hewen in pieces. After them came in some of the Judges, commanding the Jailor to load him with Irons, saying to him, *You are no better I am sure than Saint Peter, whom they laid in Prison: But if you have as much Faith as he, God will then deliver you as he did him, by sending an*

At Chaalons. Mr. Fournier.

Faith.

Angel to you. I will not, said Fournier, compare my self with Saint Peter, yet it is not twelve years ago, since for Preaching the same Doctrine that Peter did, I was imprisoned at Tholouie, and there was admirably delivered. And though Peter was delivered out of Prison, yet in the end he glorified God by his death; and if I should be counted worthy with him to suffer for the truth, may it not be said that I have the like precious Faith with Saint Peter? When they were gone, the Jailor forbore putting Bolts upon him, because of his fore Leg, yet did he put him into a straiter Prison.

Popish cruelty.

Afterwards the Duke of Guise being made Governor in that place, he was put to the torture, where first they strained his Thumbs so hard with a small Cord that Blood came forth: Then turning his Arms behind his Back, they hoisted him up with a Rope put between his Thumbs, twitching him up and letting him down five or six times: They tied also great Stones to both his great Toes, and let him hang till his spirits failed; then they let him fall with such violence upon his Face, that he was grievously hurt thereby. Then was he thrown into Prison, and they would not suffer him to have a Chirurgion to cure him of the gashes which the Cords had made in his flesh even to the bare Bones: so that his torment and anguish was very great, neither could he lift his Hands to his Mouth, which he was likely to lose the use of. But it so fell out by Gods providence, that after he was condemned, news coming of the Duke of Guise his death, his Enemies began to tremble, and some of his Judges coming to him in Prison, asked him, *If he did not bear them ill will?* He answered, *That Men of his Profession and Religion ought not to bear malice to any, being enjoined by God to love and pray for those that persecute them; Shewing also, That whatsoever troubles had befallen him; were none other but such as God had fore-ordained for the setting forth of his own glory, for which he esteemed himself most happy; yet he warned them to lay to heart the wrong that they had done him, lest the vengeance of God did sooner or later overtake them for it.* The next day Buisi, one of his Persecutors, having received Letters from the Constable of France to release him, swore that he should be delivered indeed, but into the Hands of the multitude.

A special Providence.

A special Providence.

His delivery.

But it pleased God that just at that time there came by, the Prince of Portion with his *Germane* Soldiers, which were for the Protestants, who sent word that they would not leave so much as a House standing except they would deliver Fournier; This so affrighted his Enemies that they released him out of Prison, protected him from the violence of the multitude, and conveyed him in safety to the Prince: There he was kindly welcomed and entertained, all grieving for the miseries which he had indured, and two days after he preached before the Prince and his followers; and the day after at the instant request of the Protestants of Virty, he went to them to Preach and Baptize their Children, and shortly after was called to Ver, where he gathered a Congregation, and spent some time amongst them with wonderful fruit; But by reason that he was so extremely weakened by his strait imprisonment and tortures, (being above fifty years old,) he soon after finished his course, and quietly resigned up his Soul unto God.

His death.

At Amiens: Bibles burnt.

At Amiens, all Bibles, New Testaments, and Psalm-Books were sought for and openly burnt, as also the Ministers Pulpit. Then did the Guisians proceed to killing some of the Protestants, and casting them into the River, some they shot to death, and others they hanged.

At Abbeville.

At Abbeville they slew the Lord of Hancort, with divers others; one Beliard they dragged along the Streets with his Face downwards, and then drowned him in the River.

At Meaux.

At Meaux the Protestants were the stronger party, and therefore continued the free exercise of their Religion for a while: But the Parliament of Paris gave judgment against them, and exposed them to the spoil of such as would undertake it: Then a Company of Soldiers entring the Town, disarmed the Citizens,



Citizens, and slew about Four hundred of the Religion. Then *Monsieur de Bois* entering with more Soldiers committed a Thousand villanies; Women and Maids were ravished in the open Market-place and Streets; some were beaten and haled to Mass, Children were re-baptized; others married again; Houses were pillaged and plundered: Some that fled into the Fields died with hunger and cold. Many Men, Women and Children, were massacred and drowned; Infants were dashed against the Walls, and some others were hanged. The Executioners running into divers places, committed a world of mischief; and divers Priests amongst them slew some of the Protestants with their own Hands.

At *Bois* villanies.

At *Troyes*, Bibles and Divinity-Books were rent and torn in pieces; They of the Religion were murdered, and their Houses sacked; Eighteen Men were hanged; Women were dragged through the Streets, and cast into the River; and Infants were pulled from their Mothers Breasts, and re-baptized.

At *Troyes* Bibles burnt.

At *Bar* the Popish Enemies entering the Town, committed such cruelties as never were seen, especially against Women and little Children; Some of their Breasts they cut open, pulled out their Hearts and gnawed them with their Teeth, rejoicing that they had tasted of an *Huguenots* Heart: A young Counsellor they hanged at the request of his own Father; with most horrible Blasphemies they ravished Women and Girls.

At *Bar*:

Popish cruelty.

A Father unnatural.

Unnatural cruelty.

*Monsieur de St. Esteen*, with his two Brothers, were cruelly stabbed by their own Cousin-germane, their Wives were spoiled of all they had, and led away Prisoners.

The *Pesants* in some places committed infinite murders and mischiefs against those of the Religion; *Monsieur de Vigney* with his Wife and Servants they massacred in his own House, which afterward they pillaged and spoiled.

In *Crant*, the *Pesants* entering the Town, murdered many; one young Child together with his Father they burnt.

At *Crant*:

In *Sens* One hundred Protestants were cruelly murdered, and their naked Bodies thrown into the River; One hundred Houses were plundered, the Church where they preached was defaced.

At *Sens*:

At *Auxerre* one *Colson* was barbarously massacred; A fair young Gentlewoman was stabbed and cast into the River; many other outrages and robberies were committed.

At *Auxerre*:

At *Nevers* the Ministers were cast into Prison, whereof one perished miserably there; Another miraculously escaped; Children were re-baptized, marriages reiterated, and many Houses plundered.

At *Nevers*:

The Popish party entering *Chastillon*, left no kind of cruelty unexercised, neither upon Women nor Children, old nor young; yea not sparing the Women with Child that were ready to be delivered.

At *Chastillon*:

At *Guyen* they used all the cruelty that possibly could be invented; and some *Italians*, in hatred of their Religion, cut an Infant in two pieces, and eat his Liver.

At *Guyen*:

At *Montargis*, there lived the Lady *Rene*, Dutchess Dowager of *Ferrara*, and Daughter to King *Lewis* the Twelfth; The Duke of *Guise* sent thither one *Malicorn*, a Knight of the Order, who entering the Town, murdered some of the Religion, and committed other outrages; Then he proceeded so far as to threaten the Lady to batter her Castle with Cannon-shot, if she would not deliver up those of the Religion which were with her; To whom the Princess bravely answered, *I charge you, look what you enterprise; For no Man in the Realm can command me but the King only; and if you proceed to your battery, I will stand in the breach, to try whether you dare kill the Daughter of a King; neither do I want means or power to be revenged on your boldness, even to the Infants of your rebellious race.* This stout answer made *Malicorn* to pull in his horns and depart.

At *Montargis*:

A brave answer of the Lady *Rene*.

At Monliu.

'At Monliu, Monsieur de Monture used all extremity against the Protestants; and without any form of Law he hanged up two Artificers, drave others out, and plundered their Houses, and murdered many.

At Mans.

At Mans Two hundred Persons were put to death, Men, Women, and Children: The Houses of the Protestants were pillaged; such as were fled, were executed by their pictures, their goods confiscated, and their Children made incapable of their offices and estates, yea of inheriting their Lands. Some they beheaded; Others they hung up; Others they massacred, and being half dead, threw them into the River: Above One hundred and twenty Men, Women, and Children were murdered in the neighboring Villages. One Captain threw above fifty persons in his Fishpond to feed his Pikes, and above as many more were thrown into Ditches,

One godly Man, a Weaver, had his Throat cut, and his Mouth stuffed with the Leaves of a *New Testament* which they found about him.

At Angers.

Bibles burnt.

Horrible blasphemies.

At Angers they murdered a godly Minister, cast many into prison, robbed the Houses of others, and slew such as they found therein: In a Merchants House, finding many Books of the holy Scriptures, they openly burnt them in the middle of the Town: One fair guilt Bible they hung upon an Halberd, and carried it in Procession, saying, *Behold truth hanged, the truth of the Huguenots, the truth of all the Devils: Behold the mighty God, behold the everlasting God will speak*; and when they came to the Bridg, they threw it into the River, crying louder, *Behold the truth of all the Devils drowned*.

Above eighty other persons were executed. An aged Gentlewoman of the age of seventy years was beaten to death with their Pistols; Then drawn through the dirty Streets, and thrown into the River, terming her, *The Mother of the Devil, that preached to the Huguenots*. A Counsellers Wife that lay Bed-ridden was murdered; Women and Maids were ravished: Two young Maids were ravished before their Fathers Face, who was forced to look on the while: All that were but suspected to be of the Religion, were massacred, and their Houses pillaged. A valiant Captain, contrary to their Faith given to him, they broke upon a Cross, and so they left him hanging in great misery till he died.

Popish perfidiousness.

A bloody Edict.

Anno 1562. A Decree was made by the Parliament of Paris, commanding all Catholicks presently to rise in Arms, to sound the Bells in every place, to destroy all those of the Religion without respect of quality, sex, or age, to spoil their Houses, and utterly to root them out. This encouraged all sorts of Rascals to rise up in Arms, forsaking their Vocations, and to march against the Protestants.

In Ligneuil.

John de Tour.

In Ligneuil they hanged up some, put out the Ministers Eyes, and then burnt him in a small fire: In other places they committed infinite villanies; One young Man they flayed alive; The Village of Aze they burnt down, and massacred thirty persons therein. A godly Minister was drowned, called John de Tour, at Seventy five years old.

At Tours.

Barbarous cruelties.

At Tours, One hundred and forty were murdered and cast into the River; divers others were drowned, sparing neither Man, Woman, nor Child. The President being suspected to favor them of the Religion, was beaten with staves, stript to his shirt, hanged up by one Foot, his Head in the Water up to the Brest, and whilst he was yet living, they ript up his Belly, pluckt out his Guts, and threw them into the River; and sticking his Heart upon the point of a Lance, they carried it about, saying, *It was the Heart of the President of the Huguenots*.

Shortly after came thither the Duke de Montpensier, who caused Gibbets, Wheels and Stakes to be set up, whereupon many more, especially of the richer sort, were murdered to the number of some Hundreds; when they put any Man or Woman to death, they entred their Houses, murdered their Children, and took all their Goods.



A poor Woman, whose Husband was a little before drowned, having a young Infant sucking at her Breasts; and a beautiful Daughter of about Sixteen years old in her hand; These bloody Villains drew them to the River: There the Woman on her knees prayed ardently unto God: Then took her Infant, and shifting it in the Sun, laid it upon the grass: In the mean while this Hellish Rabble endeavored, partly by threats; partly by fair promises to seduce the young Maid; and one of them finer than the rest, promised to marry her if she would do it, so that the poor Wench stood in a disway, which her Mother perceiving, who was now ready to be thrown into the River, she earnestly exhorted her Daughter to persist in the truth; The Daughter hereupon cryed out, *I will live and die with my Mother, whom I know to be a vertuous woman; as for your threats and promises I regard them not, do with me what you please.* The Mother was not yet dead when they threw in the Daughter after, where making towards her Mother, they mutually embraced each other, and so yielded up their Souls into the hands of God.

Popish school  
y.

The Mother  
and her daughter  
were drowned.

Also in the same City there was a godly Matron, called *Glee*, who was carried before the Captain, where she gave a reason of her Faith, and confirmed it by evident testimonies of Scripture: She disputed also with some Fryers, whom she so silenced that they had nothing to say, but *that she was in a damnable condition.* It seems so indeed, saith she, *being in your hands; But I have a God that will not fail nor forsake me, &c.* Then was she committed to Prison, where she was much solicited to recant, but all in vain; For she spake her mind freely, and comforted the Prisoners which were in the same Prison for Religion. News being brought her that she was condemned to be hanged, when the Rope was put about her Neck, she kneeled down, praising and magnifying the Name of God, in that he shewed her such mercy as by this death to deliver her out of the troubles of this wretched world, as also for that it pleased the Lord to honor her so far as to die for his Truth, and to wear his livery, meaning the Halter; Then she brake her fast with the rest of the company, and giving thanks to God, she exhorted them to be of good courage, and to trust to the end in his free mercy, &c. As she went to execution, a Kinswoman met her with her little Children, perswading her to recant, telling her that thereby she might preserve her life, and see those her Babes provided for; This meeting wrought so upon her motherly affection, as made her shed plenty of tears; But presently taking new courage, she said, *I love my Children dearly, yet neither for love to them, nor for any thing else in the world, will I renounce my God or his truth. God will be a Father to these my Children, and will provide better for them than I could have done, and therefore to his providence and protection I commend and leave them.* At the place of execution having prayed to, and praised God with a chearful heart and voice, she quietly resigned up her spirit unto God.

Glee.

Faint words.

Joy in tribulation.

Temperance  
refused.

Faith.

Her Martyr  
dom.

The Duke de *Aumale* in *Normandy*, took *Pontea de Mer* by subtilty, where he used all kinds of cruelty, especially against the Minister, Master *Briene*; Shortly after, *Roan* was besieged, and two Forts taken, wherein they put all to the Sword, the Queen-mother in an impudent manner leading the King, who was but twelve years old, to shew him the naked Bodies of the Women weltring in their own Blood; After divers assaults the City of *Roan* was taken, wherein the Kings Soldiers used all kind of monstrous cruelty, massacring all they met: Many *English* and *Scott* Soldiers were hanged; the sick and wounded were cast into the River: Divers Ministers were retreated into a strong Tower, which they yielded upon promise of safety, but contrary thereunto they were cast into Prison; *Augustine Marlorat*, with three Counsellors were condemned to be hanged, which was presently executed, with many opprobrious speeches against *Marlorat*; The sackage of this Town lasted four months together, in which space divers were executed.

Pontea de Mer.

Impudent.

Martyr  
hanged.

At Valoungnes.

Monsieur Valoungnes.

Popish profaneness and blasphemy.

At Vire.

At Agen.

At Reime.

At Blois.

Blasphemy.

A Miracle.

In Guillac.

Horrid cruelties.

Peter Domo.

Popish perfidiousness.

In *Valoungnes* divers persons of good quality were massacred, and the Houses of the Protestants were filled with Soldiers that did what they listed therein. Amongst other outrages they slew a godly Minister, called *Monsieur de Valoungnes*, whose Body they stripped naked, dragged it up and down his House with many scorns and jeers; At last bringing it into the Chamber where he used to preach to his people, they spurned his corps, saying, *Now pray to God, and preach if thou canst*; The Priests that were present stuffed his mouth and wounds with the Leaves of his Bible, saying to him, *Preach the truth of thy God, and call upon him now to help thee*.

In *Vire* as they came from a Sermon, some were slain, some stoned, and a while after many were put to the Sword.

In and about *Agen*, *Monluc* killed and massacred many, two young Children were roasted.

In the Castle of *Reime*, *Monluc* used great cruelty against those of the Religion, sparing none, but murdering young Children in their Mothers Arms, and then killing the Mothers: Some other Women they reserved for their lust, which they so abused, that (saith mine Author) I abhor to write it. Above Five hundred men were hanged upon Gibbets, amongst whom was a grave Counsellor in his long Gown and square Cap. One poor Man they cut and mangled in several parts of his Body, filling all his wounds with salt.

In the City of *Blois* there was a godly Woman called *Nichola*, at whose House some holy people used to meet to pray, and confer together for their mutual edification and comfort. The murderers hearing of it, came rushing in, thinking to have found a Minister preaching, but being disappointed in their expectations, they dragged these good Women out by the Hair of the Head, loaded them with many stripes, and then threw them into the River: But behold a singular Providence! God so endowed them with strength and skill, that they swam safely to an Island: Yet after a while some Watermen finding them there, they stript them stark naked, and threw them again into the River, yet they still sought to save themselves by swimming, and coming at last to the Suburbs of *Vienne*, they were there most cruelly knocked on the Head by the bloody Papists.

*Monluc* having defeated a party of the Protestants under *Monsieur Duras*, he took divers Prisoners, most of which he hanged, especially the Ministers. Amongst the Prisoners was a Captain called *La-mothe*, whom *Monluc* meeting with, gave him divers stabs with a Dagger, and thrust him through with a Rapier, saying, *Villain, thou shalt die in despite of God*: But he proved a liar; For the Man being carried away, though he had many mortal wounds, yet he was wonderfully cured and lived after.

In *Guillac*, the murders committed upon the Protestants were many and horrible; and amongst others this was one of their practices; There was by the City, the Abbey of *St. Michael*, built upon a very high Rock, under which ran a swift and deep River called *Tar*. Many of the Protestants they forced to go up to the top of this Rock, whom they threw headlong down into the River; By the way there was another Rock, upon which most of the Bodies falling, were dashed and broken all to pieces, and if any escaped with life into the River, they had their Cutthroats waiting upon the River in Boats to knock them on the Head; Amongst others there was one *Peter Domo*, an Apothecaries Servant, who seeing them bent to murder him, requested that he might have leave to cast himself down from the top of the Abbey, provided that if God should preserve him in the fall, they would suffer him to escape with life: This they promised; whereupon having made his Prayers to God, he fetched his leap from the top of the Abby, and flew so far, that missing the Rocks under him, he fell safely into the River, and endeavored to swim out with life; But these perfidious Villains, contrary to their promise made, knocked him on the Head and slew him.



## The Persecution in the town of the Castillon.

In *Souzaize*, there was one Captain *Durre*, who with his Soldiers going in to the House of a godly Widow, called *Castille Ragues*, he caused her to be bound with Cords, and a Rope to be put about her Neck, by which he hauled her up and down, almost strangling her; Then he asked her, how often she had played the Whore with those of her Religion? She answered, *That in their Christian meetings they had no such Villanies committed.* *Durre* fretting and fuming at this answer, took her by both the Cheeks, and often dashed her Head with such violence against the Wall, that he had almost beaten out her Brains; Then he required her to give him the Seven hundred pieces of Gold which she had hidden; she told him that she was a poor Woman, and had only one French penny: This more enraged him, whereupon he drew her again about by the Neck, and applied burning hot Eggs to her Arm-pits, till they were all blistered, bidding her in derision, to cry to her Father which was in Heaven. She answered, *I will not cry aloud for thee, and yet my God can hear me well enough, and when his pleasure is, he will deliver me out of thy hand.* This made him so to BlaspHEME that the poor Woman was more afflicted to hear his Blaphemies than with all her pain. Then did he call her *Hogswate* Whore, telling her that these were but the beginnings of her sorrows, except she fetched him out her Gold, which if she refused, he would draw her Cheeks and Breasts with Lard, and so roast her quick, and afterwards throw her headlong from the highest Steeple in the Town. well, said she, *If you throw my Body never so low, that shall not hinder my Soul from ascending into Heaven:* This her courage and constancy did still further enrage him; Then did he open her Mouth with his Dagger, and crammed lime down her Throat; After which he made her drink a Glass of Urine which himself had made before her, withal throwing the Glass with the remainder into her Face. After this he carried her to his quarters, where with strange cruelties he intended to have slain her: But some of the Neighbors pitying her sad condition, redeemed her from him with Ten Crowns, and conveyed her to her House, where shortly after she finished her days.

Some other of these Hell-hounds meeting with one *Peter Koch*, constrained him to dig his own grave, and then to try how it fitted him; which whilst he was doing, they buried him alive.

In *Saint Marjans* in *Castillon*, they took the Wife of one *Andrew Renard*, stripped her stark naked, and would have violated her chastity, which she resisting, they whipt her most cruelly, wounded her with their Swords, crowned her with Thorns, and lastly shot her to death.

They took also one *Fanetta Calvin*, whom they carried into the City of *Brignole*, stripped her, whipt her cruelly, crowned her with Thorns, and first stoned, and afterwards burned her.

In *Mont de Marfin*, Six of the principal Men had their Heads stricken off, others were executed divers ways: One was buried quick, and a young Woman being pursued to be ravished, threw her self out of a Window and died.

In *Tholouse* the Papiests fell upon the Protestants, hurt many, killed some outright, divers they threw into a Well; Then did some Counsellors proclaim, that they should not spare to kill and spoil all them of the Religion, for that they were licensed by the King and Pope. This soon ran through all the Villages, and the Papiests rang their Bells; In *Tholouse* were about Thirty thousand Protestants, so that there began one of the most horrible Massacres that was in those parts. The Prisons were presently filled, and many were knocked on the Head at the Prison doors, because they could hold no more: The River in a short space was covered with dead Bodies; many were thrown into the Streets out at the Windows; If any sought to escape out of the Water, they were presently slain with Swords or Stones.

Some of the Protestants gat into the Town-house, where they stood upon their guard, and at last it was agreed, that leaving their Arms, they should depart in safety; and so after they had received the Sacrament, commended themselves

In Souzaize.

Prodigious villanies.

Blasphemy.

Faith and patience.

Faith.

A special Providence.

Peter Koch buried quick.

Two crowned with Thorns.

Fanetta Calvin.

At Mont Marfin.

In Tholouse.

Barbarous cruelties.

Popish perfidiousness.

to God with prayers and tears, they came forth; But contrary to the Faith and promise made to them, the Popish party seized upon as many as they could, whom they cast into Prison; of such as gat out of the City, some escaped to *Montauban*, others in the way were spoiled and killed by the Soldiers and Peasants.

*Carcasson.*

At *Carcasson* those of the Religion being gone out of the Town to hear a Sermon, when they returned, the Gates were shut, and the Papists shot at them, who afterwards issuing out against them, slew some, and hurt others: One they beat down, cutting off his Nose and Ears, and pulling out his Eyes; some they took Prisoners, whom they hanged; one they beheaded, and put others to great ransoms. One they took, blacked his Face, Hands and Feet, and gave it out that he had a Devil within him, then hanged him, and threw his Body to the Dogs; Others they banished, or condemned to the Gallies.

Popish lies.

*At Limoux.*

In *Limoux* the Papists used all manner of cruelty, deflowering Women and very Girls in a most detestable manner; The Minister was slain, Two Gentlemen, and Sixty others were hanged. A Widdow of great account redeemed the virginity of her only Daughter with a great sum of money; But the Villain that promised to defend her, ravished her in her Mothers presence, and then killed them both. Yea, after peace was proclaimed, Fourteen of the Religion coming thither were all slain.

Abominable villany.

*At Nonnay.*

Blasphemy.

Barbarous cruelties.

In *Nonnay*, *Monsieur Chaumont* having surprised the Town, murdered many Protestants, spitting out infinite and horrible Blasphemies against God himself: A Locksmith being commanded to despise and Blaspheme God, because he refused to do it, was presently hewen in pieces; For the same cause another was brained with the butt end of a Musket: A Naylor, because he would not give himself to the Devil, was drawn about his shop by the Ears; Then being laid on his Anvile, they beat his Head in pieces with Hammers; yea all manner of cruelty was used that could be devised. Three of the principal in the Town were thrown down from an high Tower; many others were thrown down to make sport: Some were burnt in their Houses, others thrown out at Windows; others stabbed in the Streets: Women and Maids were most shamefully handled. A young Woman that was found hid in an House with her Husband, was first ravished before her Husbands Face, then forced to hold a Rapier; wherewith one thrusting her Arm, made her kill her own Husband.

*At Foix.*

In *Foix*, many Protestants were cast into Prison, of whom some had their Arms and Legs cut off, and then were beheaded; Some burnt, some hanged, and others sent to the Gallies.

*At Aurange.*

Horrible cruelties.

Perfidiousness.

*At Grenoble.**At Cisterne.**At Beaune.*

In *Aurange* they killed the Protestants without distinction of age, sex, or quality: Some they stabbed, others they threw upon the points of Halberds; Some they hanged, others they burnt in the Churches; Of some they cut off their privy members, sparing neither old nor bed-ridden, nor the diseased in the Hospitals. Women and Maids were killed, others hanged out at Windows were harquebused, sucking Children massacred at their Mothers Breasts; Girls of Five or Six years old ravished and spoiled; The wounds of the dead were filled with Leaves torn out of Bibles. Those in the Castle yielding upon Oath and promise of safety, were all stabbed, or thrown over the Walls, being One hundred and ninety of them.

In *Grenoble*, they slew many of the Religion, and others they cast from the Bridge into the River.

In *Cisterne*, the Men that were of the Religion being fled, the Popish party fell upon the Women and Children, wherof they slew Three or four hundred: Some Women with Child were ript up, many were buried quick; Some had their Throats cut like Sheep; others were drawn through the Streets, and beaten to death with Clubs.

In *Beaune*, they were bereaved of the exercise of Religion, their were three Ministers imprisoned; many were driven out of the Town to the number of Eight



## The History of the Massacre at Paris.

Eight hundred persons, with Women and Children: Their Houses were filled with Soldiers who made spoil of all; such as were found in their Houses, were vilely abused, and some were slain.

In *Malcon* the Bloody Persecutors having apprehended a godly and learned Minister called *Bonnet Bor*, who was of a very unblameable life, having served twenty years in the Ministry, and in that time had been put to his ranome three times. They carried him along the Streets with a thousand scoffs and scorns, smiting him with their Fists, thrusting him up and down; and then made a Proclamation, *That whosoever would hear this holy Man Preach, should come to the Slaughter-house*: At which place, they again buffeted and mocked him two hours together. Hereupon he requested them, that before his death they would permit him to pray to God; then one stepping to him, cut off half his Nose, and one of his Ears, saying, *Now pray as long as thou wilt, and then we will send thee to all the Devils*. And so this holy Man kneeling down, prayed with such fervency of spirit, that drew sighs from some of the Murtherers: And afterwards directing his Speech to him that had cut off his Nose, he said, *Friend, I am now ready to suffer what thou hast further to inflict upon me: But I intreat thee and thy companions to bethink you well of the outrages committed by you against this poor City; for there is a God in Heaven, before whose Tribunal you must shortly give an account of these your cruelties*. A Captain passing by, cried, *Send that wretched Man to the Devil*: Which one of them hearing, took him by the hand, pretending to have him to the River to wash off his Blood; but when he came thither, he threw him into it, battering him with stones till he was drowned.

As Malcon  
Bor was a  
godly Minister.

Barbarous  
cruelty.

Courage and  
Constancy.

His Martyr-  
dom.

### CHAP. XXXV.

#### *The History of the Massacre at Paris.*

**A**Nno 1571. After the end of the Third Civil War in France, great means was used to draw the chief of the Protestants to Paris, under pretence of a Marriage between the Prince of Navar, and the Lady Margaret, Sister to the King of France. But in the mean time, the Papiſts in Roan murdered divers Protestants, as they came from a Sermon, and grievously beat others: This seemed much to displease the King; and three or four were executed for the mutiny. Then were the Articles of Marriage agreed upon; the place for it, Paris, and the Admiral sent to by the King, to be present at the Wedding; and to prevent all jealousies, those of the House of Guise were sent away; whereat they seemed much discontented. The Admiral was allowed to bring with him Fifty Gentlemen armed for his greater security. When he came to Paris, he was honorably received and conducted to the King, who called him his Father, protesting, That in all his life he had not seen any day more agreeable to his mind than that; wherein he assured himself to see the end of all troubles, and the beginning of firm peace and quietness in his Realm. The Queen-Mother, and the rest of the great Courtiers, received him with greater favor than he expected. Then did the King send him One hundred thousand Franks out of his Treasury, for the losses which he had received in the Wars, &c.

See this more  
fully in the  
life of the Ad-  
miral at the  
end of this  
Book.

Devilish  
sedu-  
lation.

The Admiral had divers Advertisements of the intended Treachery; yet God so blinded him at that time, though a very prudent Man, that he gave little heed to them. Yea, such a general stupidity seized upon the Protestants, that their minds were very wavering, and few there were that shewed themselves zealously bent to Religion: But all, both great and small, thinking deeply upon worldly matters, built them goodly castles in the air.

In the  
former of  
these  
Castles.

The Queen of  
Navar dieth.

Then was the Queen of *Navar* sent for by the King of *France* to *Paris*, to prepare all things against the wedding: But presently after her coming, she fell sick of a Feavor, made her will in a most Christian manner, had much inward joy and comfort, and at five days end died, not without suspicion of poison from certain perfumes given to her: And after her death, the Chirurgions were not suffered to open her head, where the mischief lay, whereby it was the better concealed.

The Admiral was again advertised of his danger; but he, resting upon the testimony of a good Conscience, and the providence of *God*, mis-intrepreted those advices, as if they proceeded from men desirous of new troubles. Many Lords and Gentlemen of the Religion accompanied the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde* to *Paris*.

Diffimulation.

The King of *France*, the better to delude the Protestants, spake openly, That he gave not his Sister to the King of *Navar* only, but, as it were, to the whole Church of the Protestants to joyn with them in an indissoluble union, and as a tie to their peace and safety.

The King of  
Navar married.

*August 17. Anno 1572.* The King of *Navar*, and the Lady *Margaret* were married by the Cardinal of *Bourborn*, upon a Scaffold, in the sight of all the people, and that day was spent in Banquets, Dances, and Masks, with a strange mixture of Protestants and Papists together: But in the mean time the Queen-Mother with her Privadoes, as also the Duke of *Anjou*, with the *Guises*, consulted about killing the Admiral, and dividing the Protestants.

The Admiral  
shot.

Five days after, as the Admiral came from the Court, accompanied with about fifteen Gentlemen, reading a Petition as he went, one shot at him with a Caliver; the Bullet taking away his right Forefinger, hurt him in the left Arm. He that shot had a *Spanish* Jennet at the back-door of his Lodging, upon which, he immediately mounted and escaped. The door being burst open, it was found that the Caliver left behind, was brought to the House, the day before, by one *Chally*, Steward of the Kings House, and a great dealer for the Duke of *Guise*: The Admiral being conveyed to his Lodging, shewed most admirable piety, patience, and constancy.

Diffimulation.

The King complained of the mischief, swearing, and promising to execute such Justice upon the Offender, that the Admiral, and all his Friends, should think themselves well satisfied. He caused also all the Gates of *Paris* to be shut, Swearing and Blaspheming, that he would not that they which had done the Fact should escape: He also appointed many Lords and Gentlemen, of the Protestants, to lodge in the Admirals Quarter, the better, as he pretended, to secure themselves against any danger.

Good counsel  
neglected.

After noon the King went to visit the Admiral, and there, with many Oaths and Protestations, assured him of his love to him, care over him and them of the Religion, and that he would severely punish the Authors of his present hurt. Presently after the Vidame of *Chartres* (*John de Ferriers*) advised the King of *Navar*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, and other chief Lords of the Religion, presently to depart out of *Paris*, assuring them that that blow was but the beginning of the Tragedy which was soon to insue; but they trusting to the Kings word, rested secure.

Deep dissimu-  
lation.

That day also, the King wrote to the Ambassadors of Foreign Princes, and to the Governors of all his Provinces; how much he was offended at the Admirals hurt, how severely he would punish it, yea, he desired, That all the World might know how much he was offended at it; and the Queen-Mother wrote the like.

The Massacre  
suspected.

In the mean time, the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Guise*, implored some to go from House to House to take the names of all the Protestants, and to return the Catalogue to them; so that presently after, they of the Religion began to discover, that some Bloody intentions were hatching against the Admiral and his Friends. For the King set a Guard of fifty Harquebushiers at the Admirals Gate. Great store



store of Arms were carried into the  *Louvre* ; and about Evening all the people were in Arms.

The chief of the Protestants hereupon assembled again in the Admirals Lodging, where the Vidame of  *Chartres*  advised as before, that they should essay presently to carry the Admiral out of  *Paris* , and that the rest should presently dislodge; yet all the rest refused this counsel, resolving to relie upon the Kings word, who had promised them Justice.

In the Evening some Protestant Gentlemen proffered to watch with the Admiral, but he would not suffer them: At night the Duke of  *Guise*  sent for the Captain of the  *Switzers* , shewing him his Commission to kill the Admiral, and all his partakers, exhorting him and his men to be courageous in shedding of Blood: At midnight the Provost, Sheriffs, and Captains of every Ward had the same shewed them, with assurance, That through the whole Realm the like should be done to all the Protestants, and that the Watch-word for the general Massacre should be, the tolling of the Bell in the Palace to be rung at the break of day, and the Badge of the Executioners should be a white Handkerchief tied on their Arms, and a white Cross in their Hats; the Duke of  *Guise* , and his Associates, were to begin at the Admirals Lodging. Some of the Protestants being awakened with the noise in the Streets of Men running up and down in Arms, and with Torchcs, gat up to inquire what was the matter; but presently the Bell rung, and the Duke of  *Guise*  with his Cut-throats hasted to, and knocked at the Admirals Gates: He that opened them was presently stabbed; the Admiral hearing the noise, gat out of Bed, and joyned with his Minister ( *Master Merlin* ) in fervent Prayer, commending his Soul into the hands of God. Then said he,  *It is long since I disposed my self to die; save you your selves, if it be possible, for you cannot save my life. I commit my Soul into the hands and mercy of God.*  Then did  *Merlin*  his Minister, and the rest get up to the top of the house, and crept out of the Windows into the Gutters to hide themselves; yet most of them were slain in the next house. Then seven or eight men brake into the Admirals Chamber, and one of them went to him with his naked Sword, offering him the point, to whom he said,  *Young Man, thou oughtest to respect my age and infirmity, yet shalt thou not shorten my life.*  With that he thrust him into the Body; and all the rest laid at him; so that he fell to the ground, where he lay gasping. The Duke of  *Guise*  below, called to them to throw his Body out at Window, which they did: His face being all bloody, the Duke of  *Guise*  wiped it, and looking on it, said,  *Now I know him, it is he;*  and so kicked him on the face with his foot, whom all the Murtherers in  *France*  feared so much when he was alive.

Then went he out into the Streets, crying,  *Courage my fellows, we have here made a good beginning, let us now fall upon the rest, the King commands it. It is his expresse pleasure, he commands it.*  The Admirals Head was sent to the King and Queen-Mother, and by them sent to the Pope and Cardinal of  *Lorrain*  as a grateful present. The Pope when he heard the news, set apart a day of publick Thanksgiving to God, in the Church of  *St. Lewis* , and published a Bull of extraordinary Indulgences to such as should pray for the Heavenly assistance to the King and Kingdom of  *France* ,  *Strada* . The Common people cut off the Admirals hands and privy members, drawing his Body about the Streets three days, and then hung it by the feet upon the Gallows.

All the Attendants of the King of  *Navar*  and Prince of  *Conde*  which lay in the Kings Palace were Massacred; the like was done to the Lords and Gentlemen that lay about the Admirals lodging, and then through all the City were the Protestants murdered, so that that night and the two next days there were slain in  *Paris*  about ten thousand persons of all Ranks, Ages, and Sexs, yea, they spared not Children in the Cradle, nor Infants in their Mothers wombs. But to colour this their villany, they gave it out, that the  *Huguenots*  had conspired to kill the King; they boasted also that they had in one day done

The Kings Commission shewed for it

The Massacre begins

Of Merlins miraculous escape, see in my Book of the same

The Admirals fate

His head was bawled and sent to the Pope

Popish cruelty

Ten thousand slain in Paris

Popish lies

that, which Processes, sentences of Justice, and open War could not do in twelve years.

The Lords and Gentlemen were most inhumanely murdered, some in their Beds, others on the roofs of their Houses, and in all other places wheresoever they were found.

The River died red with blood.

There were at this time in *Paris* about sixty thousand men with Pistols, Pikes, Curtelaces, Poinards, Knives, and such other bloody Instruments, that ran up and down swearing and Blaspheming the sacred Majesty of God, cruelly massacring all that they met with: The Streets were covered with mangled Bodies, Gates and Doors defiled with Blood; shoutings and howlings of the Murtherers, mixed with the cries and groans of the dying; the breaking open of Doors and Windows, with the noise of Guns and Pistols, all which made an Hellish noise; multitudes of dead Bodies were thrown into the *Seine*, which was died red with their Blood.

Prince of Conde's zeal, and courage,

The King certified the King of *Navar* and the Prince of *Conde* of all that was done, saying, *that he saved their lives upon condition that they should renounce their Religion, and turn Papists.* The King of *Navar* desired him not to force his conscience, but to remember the Alliance so lately contracted betwixt them: The Prince of *Conde* with more zeal told him, that his Body and estate were in his power to do with them what he pleased; but for his Religion he was fully purposed not to forsake it, but to remain constant therein to the loss of his life; he put the King in mind also that he had given his Faith to him, and to those of the Religion, and therefore he hoped he would not falsifie his oath, &c. This so enraged the King that he called him Rebel, and the Son of a Rebellious person, with horrible threatnings that he should lose his Head, if within three days he altered not his mind.

Divellish dissimulation,

The King and his Confidants perceiving that this Massacre would not quench the Fire, but rather stir up the Protestants in other parts of the Kingdom to defend themselves; they presently dispatched away Letters to the Governors of Towns, with expresse commands to Massacre all the Protestants: yet at the same time the King wrote other Letters, wherein he laid the fault of the Murther of the Admiral upon the Duke of *Guise*; pretending that he had quieted all things in *Paris*, and intended that his Edicts of pacification should hold inviolably.

Above thirty thousand massacred in three months,

Upon the receipt of the first Letters, the Papists fell upon the Protestants at *Meaux*, *Trois*, *Orleanse*, and other places, and murdered them without all pity, besides such as were massacred in Villages and Fields, where they thought to save themselves, so that in a few weeks there were above thirty thousand persons massacred in *France*. But besides this general account, some particulars deserve remembrance, which are these that follow.

The Lord de la Place his holy zeal,

*Monsieur de la Place*, President of the Court of Requests, had a Captain armed that came into his House, telling him that the Duke of *Guise*, had slain the Admiral at the Kings appointment, with many other *Huguenots*, and that he was come to protect him in that common destruction; only he desired a sight of the Gold and Silver that was in his House: The Lord *de la Place* amazed at his audaciousness asked him whether he thought there was a King or no? The Captain Blaspheming, willed him to go with him to know the Kings pleasure; hereupon the Lord went from him to secure himself; then did the Captain rifle his House, taking above one thousand Crowns out of it: The Lord would have secured himself in three several Houses, all which refused to entertain him, which caused him to go back to his own House again, where he found his Wife very heavy, whom he rebuked, discoursed to her of the promises, told her that we must through many afflictions enter into the Kingdom of God, &c. which much comforted her: Then calling his Family together, he made an exhortation to them, went to Prayer, and began to read a Chapter in *Job*, with *Calvins* Exposition upon it. Then went he to Prayer again, resolving to suffer all torments



of death, rather than to do any thing that might be dishonorable to God: Then came the Provost-Marshal with many Archers to his House, pretending to secure him, and safely to convey him to the King, who would speak with him; *De la Place* told him that he was most willing to do it, but saw it impossible (in regard of the horrible Massacres committed every where) without apparent danger of his life; In brief, presently after came the Provost of Merchants, who would needs also have him to the King, yet he would have excused it as before, but the Provost would have no nay, wherefore resolving upon death, which he saw he could not avoid, he embraced his Wife, wishing her above all things, to continue in the fear of God, and so went on his way boldly, but in the Street some Murtherers that attended there for his coming, with their Daggers stabbed him, and then pillaged him, carrying his Body into a Stable, and covering his Face over with Dung, and the next day they threw him into the River.

The Lord de la Place murdered.

*Peter Ramus* also, the Kings Professor in Logick was not forgotten; the murtherers breaking into the Colledge of Priests where he was, massacred him; and then cast him out of the Chamber Window, so that his Bowels issued out on the Stones: Then was his Body trailed through the Streets, and whipt by certain young Scholars, who were set on by their Popish Tutors to do it.

Peter Ramus murdered.

A Godly young man going early abroad on the Sabbath Morning, and hearing of the death of the Admiral, and seeing the insurrection, out of a singular Child-like affection to his Mother, he hasted home, informed her of the danger, secured her in a place of great secrecie; after which he shut himself up in his Study, by Prayer to fit himself for death, into which the murtherers breaking with Battle-axes and Staves, so loaded him with blows on the Head, that he received his blood into his own hands; and when they had killed him, they threw him into the River.

A dutiful and loving Son.

Two Ministers belonging to the King of Navar were also murdered, and thrown into the River: God miraculously preserving all the other Ministers in the City.

Two Ministers murdered.

A Jeweller being in Bed with his Wife, who at that time had the Midwife with her, being near the time of her Delivery, these bloody Villains came knocking at the Door, and in the Kings name demanded entrance; the woman as ill as she was, opened the Door, whereupon rushing in, they stabbed her Husband in his Bed; the Midwife seeing that they were bent to murder the woman also, earnestly intreated them to tarry at least so long till the Infant (which would be the twentieth Child that God had given her) was Born, but notwithstanding her request, they took the woman, and thrust a Dagger into her Fundament up to the Hilt; the woman finding her self mortally wounded, yet desirous to bring forth her Fruit, fled into a Corn loft, whither these Tygers pursuing her, gave her another stab into the Belly, and so cast her out of the Window into the Street, and upon the fall, the Child came forth of her Body, the head foremost, gaping and yawning in a pitiful manner.

Helthless cruelty.

One of these murtherers snatching up a little Child in his Arms, the poor babe began to play with his Beard, and to smile upon him, but instead of being moved to compassion, this Villain, whose heart was harder than the Rocks, wounded it with his Dagger, and cast it all gore Blood into the River.

An Infant murdered.

The Kings Letters being come to *Meaux* upon the same Sabbath, to *Coffet* the Kings Attorney there, upon the sight of them, he presently went about to his Cut-throats, warning them to come to him armed at seven a'clock at night, withal causing the Gates of the City to be shut up, the hour being come, he with his Partisans went up and down, cruelly murthering the innocent Servants of *Jesus Christ*, in which Bloody employment they spent all that night: The next day they pillaged their houses, and took above two hundred Protestants more, and shut them up in prison; the day after towards evening, *Coffet* with his companions went to the prison, where having a Catalogue of the prisoners names,

At Meaux.

Two hundred  
Protestants  
martyred.

names, *Coffet* called them out one by one, and then they murdered them, till they were weary : Then they went to Supper, that so they might breath and refresh themselves ; and then filling themselves with Wine, they went back to glut themselves with Blood also : They took with them Butchers Axes, that they might dispatch them the more easily, with which, as they called them forth, they knocked them down and murdered them. Amongst those that were thus Butchered, was an Elder of the Reformed Church, who praying for his Enemies, they laughed him to scorn ; and because he had a Buff-coat on, which they were loth to spoil, they opened it before, and stabbed him into the Brest.

Another was an ancient Man that had been Sheriff of the City, him they were not content to kill out-right, but first cut off his Nose, Ears, and Privy Members ; then they gave him several small thrusts into the Body, tossing him up and down, till through loss of Blood he fell down, calling upon the name of the Lord : And so with many wounds he was slain.

At Troyes.

The Kings Letters being come to *Troyes*, the Protestants were all shut up in Prison : Then did the Bailiff send for the Common Hangman to murder them ; but he refused, saying, *That his Office was only to execute such as were legally condemned* ; and so went his way. Then was the Keeper of the Prison sent for, who being sick, he sent one *Martin* to know what the business was, to whom the Bailiff imparted the matter, wishing him to murder all the Prisoners ; and that their Blood might not run out into the Street, he bad him to make a great trench in the midst of the Prison, and to cause certain Vessels to be set into it to receive the Blood. This *Martin* going back with abhorrency of the Fact, concealed it from the Jailor ; the next day the Bailiff came to the Prison, and smiling, asked the Jailor, *If it was done ?* But he, being ignorant of his meaning, asked him, *what should be done ?* Hereupon the Bailiff was so enraged, that he was ready to strike him with his Dagger, till he promised to perform his will : Then did the Jailor go to the Prisoners, who were in the Court recreating themselves, and shut them up one by one in their several Cells, which made them suspect that they were destined to slaughter ; and therefore they betook themselves to Prayer. The Jailor called his companions about him, acquainted them what was given him in charge, and caused them to swear to execute it : But when they approached to the Prisoners, they were so surpris'd with fear, that they stood gazing one upon another, having not hearts to act so horrid a deed. Whereupon they returned to the Jailors Lodge, and sent for eight quarts of the strongest Wine, with other things, to intoxicate their Brains. Then they took a Catalogue of all their Prisoners, and gave it to one *Martin* to call them forth in order. The first Prisoner being called for, presented himself with a chearful countenance, calling upon the name of the Lord ; then opened his Brest to them, receiving the mortal stroke, whereof he died.

Gods Providence.

Prodigious  
wickedness  
and cruelty.

Courage and  
constancy of  
Gods People.

Another being called forth, one of them thrust at him several times with the point of his Halbard, wounding, but not killing him : Whereupon the Prisoner took the point of the Halbard, and set it against his heart, saying with a stedfast voice, *Here Soldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart* ; and so finished his life.

The rest were all murdered in the like manner ; after which, the murderers made a great Pit in the backside of the Prison, into which they cast the Bodies one upon another, some of them yet breathing ; yea, one of them raised up himself above his fellows, whereupon they threw in Earth, and so smothered him. But the Bailiffs order of making a trench being not observed, the Blood of the slain ran so abundantly out of the Prison door, that thence, through the channel, it ran into the River, and turned it into the colour of Blood, which bred an horror in the very Papists themselves which saw it.

The Massacre  
at Orleans.

At *Orleans* the Kings Edict for observing the Treaty of Peace was solemnly published, which made those of the Religion very secure, whereupon above Three hundred of them, Men, Women, and Children, met together at a Sermon ; but



but the same night came the Kings Letters for the massacring of them all: Then did the Major and Sheriffs raise the Companies in Arms to put it in execution. One of these murtherers, with some of his Companions, went to a Noble Counsellors house, bidding themselves to Supper: The Counsellor ignorant of their intents, made them good cheer; but when Supper was ended, with horrible Blasphemies they murthered him, and then plundered his house.

A Noble  
Counsellor/  
Monstrous in-  
gratitude.

About the Ramparts of the Wall, inhabited many of the Religion, amongst whom, all night was heard nothing but shooting of Guns and Pistols, breaking open of doors, fearful out-cries of the Men, Women, and Children, that were massacred, trampling of Horses, rumbling of Carts, that carried the dead Bodies away, and the cryings out of the murtherers that went up and down, howling out, *Kill, kill them all, and then take the spoil.*

This Massacre continued all the week long, the Bloody Beasts crying out to those whom they murthered, *where is now your God? what is become of all your Prayers and Psalms now? Let your God whom you called upon, save you if he can.* Others sang in scorn to them the forty third Psalm, *Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord.* Others, *Have mercy on me, O God, &c.* Yet notwithstanding all these taunts, the faithful died couragiously. In this Massacre the Papists boasted, that they had slain above Twelve thousand Men, besides Women and Children; some of them said Eighteen thousand.

Blasphemy?

On Tuesday night some of these murtherers came and knocked at the door of a Doctor of the Civil Law, and when he opened it to them, they told him, *That he must die*, whereupon he fell to Prayer with such ardency and affection, that they being amazed and over-ruled by a Divine Power, only robbed him and went away. The next day came some Schollars to his house, desiring to see his Library, which he shewed them: Then they asked, some one Book, some another, which he gave them; yet they told him they were not satisfied, but they must kill him. Whereupon betaking himself to Prayer, when he had done, he desired them to kill him there, which they refused, forcing him out into the Streets, leading him by the Schools; and there he again desired them to kill him in that place, where he had taught so long, but they still refused: And when they had led him a little farther, they knocked him on the head.

A Doctor of  
the Law.

Others meeting with an Apothecary who had brought Physick to a Patient, cut off one of his Arms, and then had him forth into the Market place, where they murthered him.

An Apothe-  
cary.

A Cook that had hid himself three days, was at last through hunger forced to come forth, and so was slain.

A Cook.

And to fulfil the measure of their cruelty, such Protestants as through fear revolted to them, they placed them in the fore-front of their companies, putting Weapons in their hands, compelling them to give the first onset, crying, *Smite them, smite them; are they not your holy Brethren and Sisters?* And if any refused, they presently slew him.

The revolt of  
Protestants.

In Lions, Mandolet Governor thereof, hearing of the Massacre at Paris, presently caused the City Gates to be shut, raised Forces, commanding them, That if any of the Protestants came out of their Houses, though but with Swords, they should presently kill them: But the Protestants seeing a storm coming, which they knew could not arise without the special Providence of God, set themselves to bear it with invincible patience. The day following, if any of them did but go abroad about their necessary occasions, they were presently clapt in Prison; and when night came, the murtherers entred their houses, which they rifled and plundered, and pretending to carry the Protestants to Prison, some they stabbed in the Streets, others they threw into the River, whereof some were carried down the stream half a mile below the City, by which means they escaped. The day after, Proclamation was made by sound of Trumpet, That all of the Religion should appear at such a place to know the Kings pleasure concerning them: Many went, but so soon as they came, they were

The patience  
of the Saints,  
Gods Provi-  
dence.

Papists malice  
and cruelty.

were sent to several Prisons, and the night following every corner and part of the City was full of lamentable cries and shriekings, partly of such as were but massacred in their Houses, partly of such as were but half murdered, and so haled to be thrown into the River; and from that time there were such horrible murders committed in the City, as if the Devils in the likeness of men, ran roaring about to do mischief; the Sabbath Morning following, those that had hitherto escaped massacring, were then dispatched.

Three hundred  
and fifty mur-  
dered.

In the Arch-Bishops House there were three hundred and fifty Prisoners shut up, and a bloody crew of Cut-throats were appointed to murder them, to whom the Keys were delivered, and they rushing into the great Court, gave notice to the Prisoners with a loud voice that they must die; then having first taken all the Prisoners Purse, they fell upon them with Barbarous cruelty, hacking and hewing them in a furious manner, so that within an hour and an half, they were every one cut in pieces; the Prisoners were all slain, with their eyes and hands lift up to Heaven, whilst their hands and fingers were cut off.

Francis de Bos-  
su and his two  
Sons.  
The Father en-  
courageth his  
Sons to die.

There was a Merchant called *Francis de Bossu* that had two Sons; the Father seeing the horrible Massacres, said to his Sons, *Children, we are not how to learn that it hath always been the Portion of believers to be hated, Persecuted, and devour- ed by unbelievers, as Christs Sheep of ravening wolves; if we suffer with Christ, we shall also Reign with him: Let not therefore these drawn Swords terrifie us, they will be but as a Bridge whereby we shall pass to Eternal life; we have lived long enough a- mongst the Wicked: Let us now go and live with our God, let us joyfully go after this great Company that is gone before us, &c.* When he saw the murderers come, he clasped his arms about his two Sons, and they theirs about him, as if they strove mutually to ward off the blows each from other, who were afterwards found dead in their mutual embraces.

Prodigious  
cruelty.

The murderers went up and down the City boasting that they had died their White Doublets Red in the Blood of the *Huguenots*; one bragging that he had killed an Hundred, and some more, and some less: When the people went into the Arch-Bishops House, and saw the slaughter that had been made there, though they were Papists, yet they said, *that surely they were not men, but Devils in the Habit of men that had done this.* The dead Corps were carried out, and lay spread like Dung upon the face of the earth, and when they were about to throw them into the River, an Apothecary told them that much money might be made of their Grease, whereupon all the Fat bodies were sought out, ripped up, and their Grease sold for Three shillings a pound; which being done after many years bestowed upon the dead Carcasses, some were tumbled into a great Pit, others thrown into the River. The Countries which lay below upon the River, were amazed to see such multitudes of dead bodies to come down the stream, some with their eyes pulled out, others their noses, ears, and hands cut off; and stabbed into every part of their Bodies, so that some had no part of humane shape remaining.

Their Grease  
is sold.

Shortly after the Popes Legat came thither, and as he came out of the great Church from Mass, all the chief Massacres kneeled down for to have his absolution, and when he was told who they were, and why they kneeled there, he absolved them all by making the sign of the Cross.

The murder-  
ers absolved.

A Gentleman at *Paris*, as soon as the Massacre was ended there, went to *Angiers*, and coming to the House of a Reverend, Godly, and Learned Minister called Master *John Mason*, meeting his Wife at the Door, he saluted her, asking where her Husband was? She said, *That he was walking in his Garden*, directing him the way to him; when he came to him, he lovingly embraced him, and then said, *Do you know wherefore I am come to you? The King hath Commanded me presently to kill you;* and therewithal he presented a Pistol to his Breast; the Minister replied, that he knew not wherein he had offended the King; *But seeing,* said he, *you will have my life, pray you give me leave to pray to God, and to beg*

At *Angiers*.

Hypocrisie.  
A Minister  
murdered.

mercy



mercy at his hands; which being granted; he made a short Prayer, and then willingly presented his Body to the Murtherer, who pistolled him, and so departed.

A godly Minister pistolled.

And his Wife murdered.

Presently after the King sent one *Puzilliard*, who drowned Nine or Ten more in that place, and amongst the rest, the Wife of this *Mt. Mason*, who shewed an admirable constancy of Faith, even to her last Breath.

At Roan Six thousand murdered.

In *Roan* in a few days they murdered above Six thousand Men, besides Women, upon whom they exercised no less cruelty than upon the Men; their dead Bodies they carried out in Tumbrels, and threw them by heaps into great pits digged for that purpose.

At Tholouse.

The news of the Massacre of *Paris* coming to *Tholouse*, the great Gates of the City were presently shut up; But it pleased God, that that Morning most of the Protestants were gone out of the City to hear a Sermon; The report of the shutting up of the Gates coming to them, some thought it not fit to return, others would needs go back to take order about their affairs: These were suffered to enter peaceably, leaving their Swords at the Gates, the rather to draw in the rest, amongst whom were divers Counsellors; and great means were used to entrap them, and indeed some of them were enticed to come back; but when they saw they could get in no more, the Wednesday morning following Soldiers were sent to break into all the Houses of those of the Religion, and to carry them to sundry Prisons; and the Gates were watched that none should escape; command also was given that none should conceal any of the Protestants: Amongst the Prisoners were Five or Six Counsellors, who much comforted and encouraged the rest. Then were all the Prisoners brought together into one place, and Letters procured from the King to massacre them all: And accordingly some leud persons, armed with Axes and Butchers Knives, were sent to effect it, who calling them out one by one, murdered them all, not permitting them so much as to speak, much less to pray. The number of the slain was above Three hundred, who were all stript stark naked, and their Bodies left to the common view of all for two days together: Then were they, thus naked, thrown into pits one upon another, only the Counsellors were hung up in their long Gowns upon an Elm in the Palace-yard; All their Houses were also sacked and plundered.

Popish fury.

And cruelty.

Three hundred murdered.

At *Bordeaux* when the news of the Massacre of *Paris* came thither, the Protestants were taking Boats to go into a meadow to hear a Sermon; But the Governor sent and stayed them, yet under pretence of securing them against the multitude; Then were the Gates guarded that none might escape, yet it pleased God that the Ministers were conveyed away, who afterwards took Ship and came into *England*.

At Bordeaux.

A special Providence.

A bloody Jesuite.

There was a Jesuite that daily preached in that City, to stir up the Governor and People to massacre the Protestants; proposing the example of the *Persians* to them. The Governor could not well tell what to do, but the Lord of *Montpessat* assured him that it was the Kings mind that they should all be murdered; and that he could not do a more acceptable service to him; whereupon he, gathering the scum of the Citizens together, commanded them to kill all the Protestants without sparing one, and to give them an example, himself went to the Lord of *Obiers* House, and murdered him in his own Court; Then did they murder a Country Minister also that was come thither for shelter, together with the rest of the Protestants, and afterwards pillaged their Houses: An old Man that was a Deacon of the Reformed Church, being at this time sick in Bed, they dragged him forth into the Streets, asking him whether he would go to Mass, to whom he answered; *I hope I shall not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soul, as for fear of death to prolong my life for a few days; For thereby, I should buy a short time of life at too dear a rate;* whereupon they instantly murdered him. It was lamentable to see the poor Protestants wandring up and down, not knowing where to hide themselves; some were rejected of their own Parents

The Lord of Obiers murdered and a Minister.

An holy Speech.

Gods Providence.

and Kinsfolk, who would not open their Doors to them; others were betrayed by their Friends, and delivered into the Hands of their murtherers; yet some were hidden by their very Enemies; whose Hearts abhorred such detestable outrages.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*The Siege of Sancerre, Anno Christi 1573.*

Gods care of his people.

**Y**ET in the midst of these Massacres and dangers, God provided some *Pella's* [places of refuge] for his people; as *Rochel, Montalbon, Nismes, Sancerre, Privas, &c.*

A special Providence.

*Anno 1573.* Sancerre was besieged by the Lord of *Chastre*, with an Army, who planting his Cannons, played incessantly upon the Town, so that the Stones of the Wall, the pavement in the Streets, and the shivers of Timber flew about continually, yet the mighty power and providence of God herein appeared, that none within the City were slain, but only one Maid that was slain with the Breath of a Cannon-bullet; yet were the stocks of Musquets sometimes broken in the Hands and on the Shoulders of the Townsmen, and themselves not hurt; yea some had their Coats, Breeches and Hats shot through, and their Bodies not hurt; yea some Stones that were beaten off the Wall, flew violently between a Ministers Legs, and hurt him not. Many were the assaults given to this Town, yet still the Assailants were beaten back with great loss.

A terrible Famine.

The siege continuing long, the Townsmen began to be in want, so that they were forced to eat their Horses, Asses, and Mules, which food lasted but a moneth; Then they did eat all the Dogs, Cats, Rats, Mice, and Moles that they could get; and those also being spent, they lived upon hides of Beasts, Calves and Sheep-skins: Then did they eat Parchment, Horse and Beasts hoofs, Hornes, Lanthorns, Halters, and Furniture for Horses, Girdles of Leather, Herbs and Wild-roots; and these being all spent, and no Bread left in the City, such as could get Linseed, or any other Seed, ground it, or beat it in a Morter, and made Bread thereof, as also of Herbs mixed with Bran if they could get it: This being spent they did eat Bread made of Straw-meal, Powder of Nut-shells, yea of Slates, Suet, old Ointments, and other old Grease served to make Pottage, and with it also they fryed the excrements of Horses and Men, which they did eat, yea the filth in the Streets was not spared.

Two executed for eating part of their own Daughter.

In this extremity a poor Laborer and his Wife were taken and executed for eating the Head, Intrals, and Brains of their Daughter of Three years old, that died of Famine; They had dressed also the rest of her Body to eat at other times; and that which aggravated their fault was, that it was proved that that day there was given to them a little Pottage made with Herbs and Wine, which might have satisfied them in that necessity: Such as went forth of the Walls to seek relief, were either slain by the Enemy, or lived upon sprigs of Vines, Blackberries, red Snails, and Herbs. Amongst other sad and lamentable spectacles, one was of a Laborer and his Wife found dead amongst the Vines, and two of their Children crying by them, the lesser being but Six Weeks old, which a charitable Widow took home to her House and sustained: Many died in this Famine, some in their Houses, others fell down in the Streets, and gave up the ghost; most of the Children under Twelve Years old died: Lamentable it was to hear the poor Fathers and Mothers mourning and weeping to see their misery, and yet they could not relieve them: Nevertheless most of them did wonderfully encourage themselves with the assurance of the grace of God, whereof there is this notable example.



A Boy of five years old, languishing divers Weeks, ran along the Streets, till nature failing him, he fell down in the presence of his Father and Mother, who wept and lamented over him; and feeling upon his Arms and Legs, they were as dry as a stick; whereupon the Child said; *why do you thus weep to see me die of hunger? I ask you no Bread, Mother, for I know you have none; But seeing it is the will of God that I should die in this sort, I must take it thankfully: Had not the holy Man Lazarus hunger? Have not I read it in my Bible?* and saying so, he yielded up his spirit unto God. A remarkable Story.

That which preserved all from being famished, was this; There were yet Six Kine kept to give Milk for some Infants, and certain Horses of service which were reserved for an extremity; These were killed, and their flesh sold to comfort those that lived. Also some little Corn was brought into the Town by stealth, which was sold for Two Shillings Six Pence a Pound.

The War killed but Eighty four persons, but the Famue killed above Five hundred, besides those which were brought so low that they hardly recovered.

During these miseries, divers Soldiers, and some Townsmen gat out, chusing rather to die by the Sword of the Enemy, than by Famine, of whom some were slain, others imprisoned, and executed.

So all hope of being saved in Mans judgment failed to those of *Sancerre*: For the King had sworn that he would make them devour each other. But *Mans misery is Gods opportunity*; The King of Kings found out a strange means to deliver his people that put their trust in him: Just at this time, by the solicitations of the Bishop of *Valence*, the *Polonians* had chosen the Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to the *French King*, King of *Poland*, and Ambassadors were come to fetch him into that Country, who hearing of this siege, solicited the Bishop of *Valence* to perform the promise, which he had sworn to them in the name of his Master, *viz.* To set at liberty all the Towns of *France* that were molested for Religion: By this means the poor *Sancerreans*, half dead for hunger, were delivered at the request of these good Men who came from a far Country to be their deliverers, though their Enemies had oft-times threatned them with a general Massacre; They were suffered to depart with their Arms and Goods, and such as would stay, not to be questioned for any thing past; They had a promise also that the honor of Women and Maids should be preserved; and such Ministers and others, as had fled thither for safety, had Passports given them, and they were suffered peaceably to depart. A wicked Oath.

### The Siege of Rochel, Anno 1573.

**A**Bout the beginning of the same year *Rochel* was also besieged; The Townsmen often sallied out, and there were very hot skirmishes betwixt them and the Besiegers; in one of which there came a young Gentleman, who with horrible Blasphemy boasted that he was one of the Admirals murderers, shewing his Courtelace, which he said, he brought from that conflict, with it threatning to slash the *Rochellers*; yet, when it came to trial, his heart failed, and he ran away; But one of the City Soldiers pursuing him, slew him, stript him, and left his naked Body in the Field, the Dogs rearing his Face before next morning. Gods Justice meted out a bloody Pay for such.

In one moneths space, the Enemy discharged above Thirteen thousand Cannon shot against the *Rochellers*; and made many assaults, wherein they still went away with the worst. Then came the Duke of *Anjou* to the Army to be the General: The siege having continued some moneths, the *Rochellers* began

An extraordinary Providence.

Rochel delivered.

Gods Judgments on Persecutors.

Gods Judgment on the Duke of Anjou see in my book of Examples.

The Kings sickness and death.

Anger implacable.

Rochel besieged. Anno 1628.

A terrible famine.

Margaret Pierron.

Temptation.

to want Victuals, which Famine, after a while, much encreased upon them; But behold the admirable Providence of God! when all other Provision failed them, there came an infinite number of small Fishes never before seen in that Haven, as it were yielding themselves to the mercy of the poor People, which gathered them every day so long as the siege lasted, but presently after the publishing of the Edict for peace, they went away, and were never seen afterwards.

During this siege came the Ambassadors from Poland to fetch their new King; by whose means a truce was granted to the Rochellers, and lastly Articles of peace were agreed upon, whereby the Army was withdrawn, and Rochel enjoyed her Priviledges: Yet this is further very remarkable, That all the chief persons that were employed in the Massacre of Paris and other places, were drawn forth to this siege, by God, there to receive the reward of all their impieties, some of them being slain, and others receiving there those wounds whereof they shortly after died; Amongst whom were the Duke de Aumale, and Cossens Marshal of the Field, that first entred the Admirals Lodging; Three Masters of the Camp; divers great Lords and Gentlemen; above Sixty Captains; as many Lieutenants and Ensigns, and above Twenty thousand common Soldiers.

Anno 1574. King Charles himself, that was at least the countenancer of all these horrible Massacres, being in the prime of his youth, about Twenty four years old, fell sick of a languishing disease; His Physicians let him Blood and purged him, but to no purpose; For by degrees he so faded away, as caused great astonishment to many. He long struggled against his disease, but at last was fain to betake himself to his Bed, and the two last weeks of his sickness, much Blood issued from divers parts of his Body, and once he rolled himself in his own Blood, and a little before he died, he desired his Mother to pursue his Enemies to the uttermost, with great vehemency reiterating his Speeches; saying, *Madam, I pray you heartily to do it*; and so he breathed forth his Soul, May the Thirtieth, Anno Christi 1574.

I shall here add a few words also of the great miseries which the people of God endured in Rochel, Anno Christi 1628. expecting help from England, which proved but a staff of Reed, which whilst they leaned upon, it ran into their Hands: The City being besieged by the King of France his Army, the Inhabitants were brought to such extremity, that for want of other meat, the Citizens and Soldiers, having eaten up all the Horses, Dogs, Cats, Rats and Mice, lived two months with nothing but Cow-hides and Goat-skins boiled; Then did they eat up all the old Gloves, and whatsoever was made of Leather; yea, the poor People cut off the Buttocks of the dead, and did eat them. Young Maids of Fourteen or Sixteen years old, did look like old Women of One hundred years old. All the English that came out after the surrender of the City, looked like Anatomies: The prizes of things were as followeth, A bushel of Wheat, twenty pounds: A pound of Bread, twenty shillings: A quarter of Mutton, above six pounds: A pound of Butter, thirty shillings: An Egg, eight shillings: An ounce of Sugar, two shillings and six pence: A dried Fish, twenty shillings: A pint of French wine twenty shillings: A pint of Milk, thirty shillings: A pound of Grapes, 3 shillings, &c.

Anno 1593. There was one Margaret Pierron of the Town of Sansay in France, who by her Maid-Servant was accused to the Jesuites, for not going to Mass, and for keeping a Bible in her House, in reading whereof was her whole delight: The Jesuits, complaining hereof to the Magistrate, caused her to be apprehended, yet had she some notice of it before-hand from her Friends that advised her to flie from the danger: But God had a purpose that she should bear witness to his truth, so that she was taken and cast into Prison; After a while the Judges sent for her, saying, Margaret, *Are you not willing to return home to your House, and there to enjoy your Husband and Children?* Yes, said she, *if it may stand with the good Will of God*: Then, said they, *if thou wilt do but a small matter*



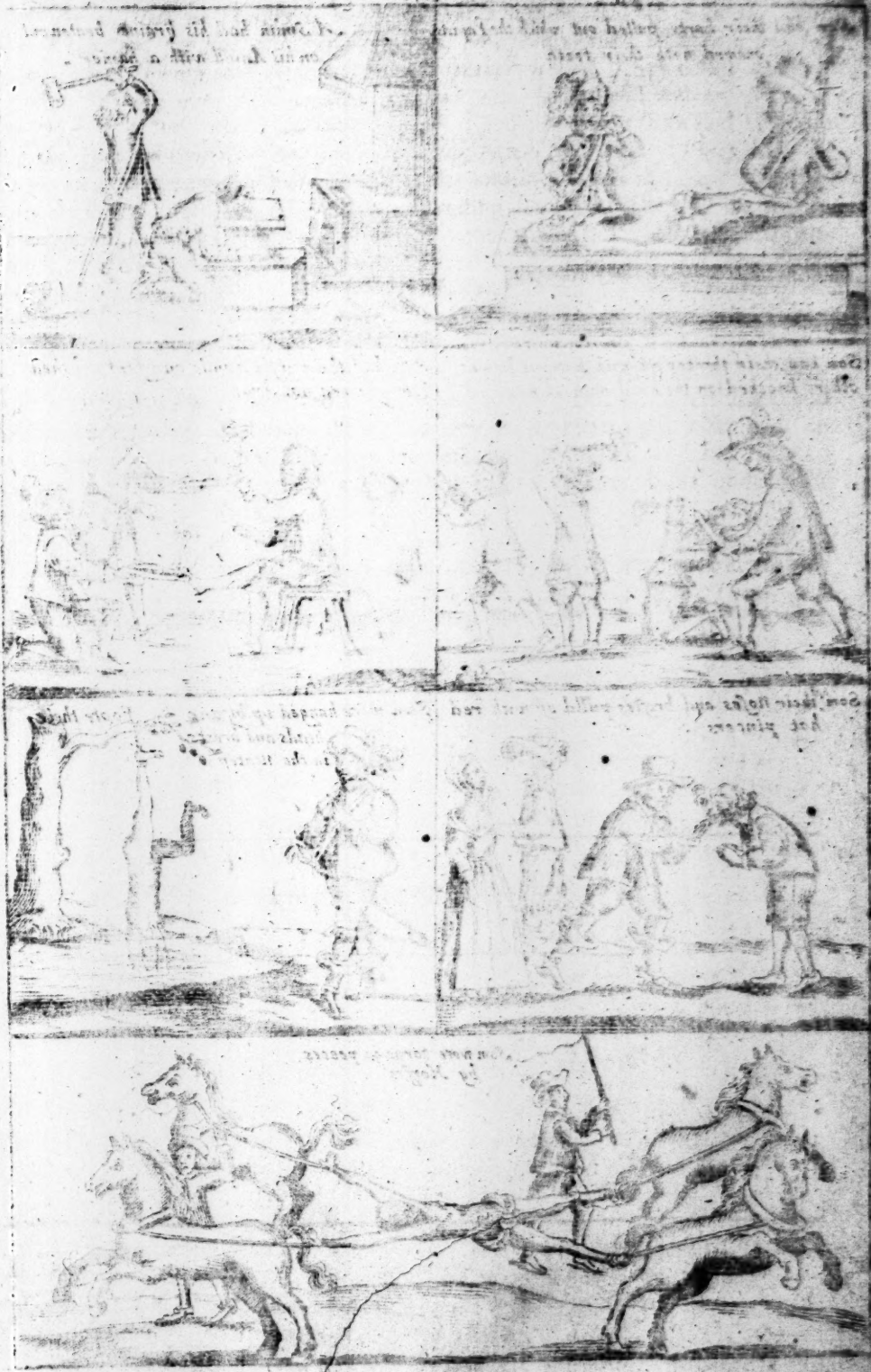


Fig: 9

Som had their harts pulled out which the Papists gnawed with their teeth



A Smith had his braines beaten out on his Anvill with a hammer.



Som had their throtes cut with Butchers knives, others knocked on the head with Axes.



Som had their right hands and feet crushed betweene red hot Irons



Som had their noses and brestes pulled of with red hot pincers.



Som were hanged up by one head and breast in the water



Som were torne in peeces by Horses





matter thou shalt be set at liberty; If, said she, it be not contrary to Gods glory and mine own salvation, you shall hear what I will say to you. No such thing, said they, for all that we require is but this, that a Scaffold being set up in the chief part of the City, you shall there crave pardon, for offending the Law, and a fire being by, you shall burn your Bible in it without speaking a word. I pray you my Masters, said she, Tell me, is my Bible a good Book or no? Yea, said they, we confess it is: why then, said she, would you have me cast it into the fire? Only said they, to give the Jesuites content: Imagine it to be your Paper, and when you have burnt it, and you may buy you another Bible at any time, and have it as good as new. Thus they spent above two Hours in perswading her, that thereby she might do a less evil, and a greater good would come of it: But she confidently answered, That by the help of God she would never do it: What will the People say, (said she) will they not say, Yonder is a wretched woman indeed, that burns the Bible wherein all the Articles of Christian Religion are contained? I will certainly burn my Body rather than my Bible.

The church to be burnt rather than her Bible.

Then did they commit her close Prisoner, fed her only with Bread and Water, and her Friends were debarr'd from coming to her; But when nothing could remove her from her constancy, she was condemn'd to be set upon a Scaffold, to have her Bible burnt before her Face; Her self to be strangled, and her Body to be dragged through the streets to a Dunghill, which Sentence she underwent chearfully, and so slept in the Lord.

Collected out of the History of the Tragical Massacres of France under Henry the Second, Francis the Second, Charles the Ninth, Henry the Third, and Henry the Fourth. Translated out of French:

Here place the Ninth Figure.

CHAR



## C H A P. XXXVII.

*The Persecution of the Church of Christ in the Valtoline, Anno Christi 1620.*



Popish treachery.

Cruelty.

A Noble Gentleman murdered;

Christ preferred before all.

Popish cruelty.

Protestants murdered at Church.

**T**He *Grison* Lords, who were the Sovereign Magistrates of this Country, had by sundry Decrees granted liberty to the Protestants to exercise their Religion freely: But when as the Minister of *Tell*, with his Congregation, were met together about the service of God, the Bloody Papists rising in Arms, set upon them, slew one, and beat others so cruelly with Staves, that they were forced to desist from their purpose: Shortly after they murdered some others, and conspiring with some other bloody Villains, they set guards upon all the passages of the Valley, that so none of the Protestants should escape them; Then ringing their Bells, they raised all the Country, and if any Protestants stirred out of their Houses, they murdered them in the Streets: They also brake into the Houses of others, drew them out of their Beds, and murdered them. Some of the Protestants retired to the Houses of Papists that were near of kin, or otherwise engaged to them, to secure themselves, but there they were betrayed and murdered: Some they strangled; some they shot: Of some they beat out their Brains, and others they drowned in the River *Alba*.

A Noble Gentleman that had hid himself in the River, was found by them, who requested them to spare his life, for his dear Childrens sake: But they told him that this was no time for pity, except he would abjure his Faith, and swear by the Popes Bull: *Nay*, said he, *God forbid, that to save this temporal life, I should deny my Lord Jesus Christ, who with his precious Blood upon the Cross redeemed me at so dear a rate; And having through his grace so long freely and publicly professed him, that I should now hazard the loss of eternal life, to which I was elected before the foundation of the world; I say God forbid.* Hereupon in a barbarous and savage manner they murdered him. They brake also into the Palace of the Governor, and murdered him; Women and Maids they deflowered; and of all the Protestants in that part of the Countrey, there were only three that escaped over the horrid and vast Mountains of the *Alps* into *Rhetia*.

These wicked Villains having thus dispatched the Protestants in this place, they marched to another, coming just at the time when the Protestants were at Church hearing a Sermon: They were guided to the place by two Fryers; The Protestants seeing them coming, shut the Church Doors, barricadoing them up with Benches: These Villains labored to break open the Door, but when they could not readily do it, they clambered up into the Windows, through which they shot with their Musquets at the people, whereby they wounded and killed many: The Minister being a Man rarely endued with learning and piety, according to the shortness of time, exhorted them with lively reasons to persevere in the truth, notwithstanding all the danger: But in the mean time these barbarous Papists had forced open the Door, where they fell to murdering of all without respect of quality, sex, or age: Some Lords and Gentlemen were here slain, the Minister was shot to death; divers Ladies and Children gat into the Belfree



to save themselves; But these Hell-hounds set fire to the place, and miserably burnt them all.

These savage Wretches having thus glutted themselves with innocent Blood in this place; marched to *Sondress*: The Papists in that place hearing of their coming, went to the Justice, protesting that they would guard him from danger, and that they would not suffer such villanies to be committed amongst them: Then did they beat their Drums, ring their Bells, and arm themselves under pretence of securing the Protestants, who trusting to their promises, mixed themselves amongst them to stand for their own defence: These Popelings concealing their mischievous intent, killed now one, then another, as if it had been by accident, so that though divers of them were slain, yet they found not out the mystery of the practice; yet some, both Men and Gentlewomen sought to escape, but all passages being shut up, they were met with and cruelly murdered. Then did they more openly discover their malice, killing the Protestants wherever they met them: Hereupon some Eighteen of the Protestants, together with some Ladies and young Children gat together; And the Men being well armed, they marched close together, repulsing their Enemies, and at last came to a Church in the Mountain of *Sondress*, unto which place a Minister, and some others, in all about Seventy three Men were gathered together, and after their Prayers made unto God, they passed the Valley of *Malen*, which was beset by the Enemy on two sides; But such as kept the passages, were by Gods special Providence, so astonished that they fled away; and the Protestants, though they were pursued to the tops of the Mountains, yet did miraculously escape with safety.

Then did the Pefants joyne with these Villains to rob and plunder the Houses of the Protestants, and amongst them, divers Noblemens Houses richly furnished with great abundance; They ran up and down also through Fields, Woods and Mountains, searching every bush for the Protestants; and as they found any of them, they presently murdered them.

There was an honorable Lady that not long before came out of *Italy* to enjoy her liberty of Conscience, whom they exhorted to change her Religion, which she refusing, they advised her that yet at least she would do it out of a care of her young Infant which she held in her Arms, which otherwise, together with her self should presently be slain: But she with an undaunted courage answered; *I have not departed out of Italy, my native Country, nor forsaken all the Estate that I had there, to renounce now the Faith which I had wrought in me by the Lord Jesus Christ; yea I will rather suffer, if it were possible, a Thousand deaths: And how shall I have regard in this case to my Infant, since God my heavenly Father spared not his own Son my Lord Jesus Christ, but delivered him up to death for his love to me, and such sinners as I am? And so giving her Child to one, she said, Behold my Child, the Lord God, who hath care of the Birds of the air, is much more able to save this poor Creature, although by you it should be left to these wild Mountains: Then unlacing her Gown, she opened her Brest, saying, Here is the Body which you have power to kill; but my Soul, on which you have no power to lay your hands, that I commend to my God; and so she was presently slain, and hewen in pieces: The Infant being a lovely and sweet Child, they spared, and delivered it to a Popish Nurse to be brought up.*

These miscreants finding such sweetness by the plunder of the Protestants, they spared none, plundering their Houses twice or thrice over: Some noble Matrons had their Rings pulled off their Fingers; and if they refused presently to draw them off, they would cut off either their Hands or Fingers from them. Some Women with their Children were dragged to the tops of high Mountains, and threatned to be thrown down headlong with their Children, if they would not promise to go to Mass; and though one amongst them was found, that through terror, promised them to do it, yet did they throw her down with the rest without all pity.

At Sondress.

Popish treachery.

A special Providence.

A noble Lady.

Courage and Constancy.

Faith.

A special Providence.

Horrid cruelties.

One

## The Persecution in the Massoline.

*Dominico Berto.*  
Barbarous  
cruelties.

One *Dominico Berto* of Sixteen years old, they set upon an Ass with his Face to the Tail, and the Tail in his Hands for the Bridle, and thus with many jeers they led him to the Market-place: Then they cut off his Nose, Ears, and Cheeks; Then burned many holes in several parts of his Body with hot Irons, continuing these torments till in that barbarous manner they had killed him. Yet through the wonderful goodness of God; some Ministers with their Wives and Children, by great travel, dangers, and difficulties amongst the craggy and high Mountains, were delivered out of the Hands of these bloody Persecutors,

A special Providence.

*Theophilus Messino.*

*Theophilus Messino* was shot with a Musquet, but being not slain, they set open his Mouth with a gag, filled it with Gunpowder, and giving fire to it, tore his Head miserably; His Son was slain with many wounds.

Constancy.

Another being wounded and stripped naked, was carried out and thrown into the Woods; yet afterwards he gat up and went home to his own House, where he had Mountains of Gold profered him if he would turn Papist; yet, through Gods mercy, he continued faithful to the death.

Temptation resisted.

A young Gentleman, too much addicted to the vanities of the world, being earnestly solicited to forsake the Protestant Religion, stoutly refused, whereupon they shot him with a Musket, and having lain a while, and then raising himself up, he besought them to dispatch him, that he might render his Soul to his Creator.

Prodigious  
cruelties.

Divers Men and Women were thrown down from Bridges into the River *Adda*, and drowned for their constancy in the truth.

A noble Virgin.

Some had their Mouths slit up to their Ears; others had the flesh cut from their Faces; others were slashed in other parts of their Body till they died; and others were often put to the strappado, and then hewen in pieces.

An excellent  
Speech.

A noble Virgin that was come to *Sondres* for Religion sake, these Villains took and carried her through the Streets with the greatest shame and disgrace that could be: They put a Mitre of Paper on her Head, besmeared her Face with dirt, buffeted her on the Cheeks, then exhorted her to call upon the Saints; But she smiling thereat, said, *My trust and my salvation is only in my Saviour Jesus Christ, and upon him only will I rest; as for the Virgin Mary, though she be blessed above all women, yet is she not omniscient, and therefore knows not our requests; yea, she her self had need of the merits of her own Son, without which she could not have been saved, &c.* They still continuing to scorn and deride her, she manfully said, *I willingly endure all this as it becomes me to do, desiring no better usage, seeing the same was done to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and to his Apostles, and to Thousands of the holy Martyrs.* Then was she carried away and murdered in the Fields.

A wicked Edict.

Some Ministers and many other godly Christians, Men and Women, noble and ignoble were murdered sundry ways. Many hid themselves in holes, and Caves, and Woods, out of which they durst not come, but by night only to get them food; yet were they so watched, that many times they were murdered: Others in those places were famished for want of food; Others living upon Roots, Herbs, Grains, &c. contracted diseases whereof they died, so that the Mountains and Woods lay scattered with dead Carcasses everywhere.

Papish perfidiousness.

Then came there a Letter to these Blood-suckers from a Governor, that they should with all their power, murder, strangle, and massacre without all pity and mercy all the *Lutherans* wheresoever they were; whereupon these murderers having slain all in *Tyrane*, *Bruse*, *Tell*, *Sondres*, and *Malenco*, they went to *Berbenno*, where they presently murdered sundry Persons of good rank and quality, and that with great cruelty, contrary to their Faith and promise given them; The like they did in *Cassano* and *Traben*, and divers other places, shewing neither pity nor favor to any: In one House they flew a Man and his Wife; and seeing an Infant of three years old lying in a Cradle, the Child being a Girl of



of a sweet and amiable countenance, and seeming to smile upon them, they took her by the heels, and dashed out her Brains. Then did these Villains march to *Bruse*, where also they murdered many; shooting some, drowning others, stoning others, burning others, and grinding their very Bones to powder: Amongst others, finding an aged Matron of eighty years old, they much solicited her to hear Mass, wishing her to have respect to her age, To whom she answered with a noble resolution; *God forbid that I, who now of a long time have had one foot in the grave, should forsake my Lord Jesus Christ, who hath so long time preserved me in the knowledg and profession of his truth, and to put my trust in Creatures, and instead of his holy word to receive the traditions of Men; whereupon they instantly slew her.*

Courage and  
Constancy.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

*The Persecution of the Church in Scotland, which began Anno Christi 1527.*

**M**After *Patrick Hamilton* of an ancient and honorable Family, called *Abbot* of *Fern*, as one hating the world, and the vanity thereof, left *Scotland*, and went into *Germany*, and the fame of the University of *Wittenberg* being greatly divulged, thither he went, and became familiar with those great lights and notable Servants of *Jesus Christ*, *Martin Luther*, and *Phil. Melancthon*, whereby he greatly encreased in godly knowledg and learning; From thence he went to the University of *Marpurg*, which was then newly erected by *Philip Lantgrave* of *Hessen*, where he was intimate with other learned Men, especially with *Francis Lambert*, by whose instigation he was the first that there publicly set up conclusions to be disputed of concerning Faith and good Works, By reason of his learning and integrity of life he was had in admiration by Many: But the zeal of Gods glory did so eat him up, that he could not rest till he returned into his own Country, where the bright Beams of the true light, which by Gods grace was planted in his Heart, began most abundantly to break forth, as well in publick as in secret.

*Patrick Hamilton*

Zeal

In proceſs of time the fame of his Doctrine troubled the Clergy, and came to the Ears of *James Beton*, Arch-Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, who grew impatient that by this means the kingdom of darkness was disturbed; and therefore he so labored with *Patrick Hamilton*, that he gat him to *Saint Andrews*, where, after divers days conference, he had his freedom and liberty, the Bishop seeming to approve his Doctrine, acknowledging that in many things there needed a reformation in the Church; But withall, fearing that their Kingdom should be endamaged, they labored with the King, who was then young and much led by them, to go on Pilgrimage to *Saint Dotheſſe* in *Rosse*, that so by reason of his absence no intercession might be made to him, for the saving the life of this innocent Servant of *Jesus Christ*, who not suspecting the malice that lodged in their hearts, remained as a Lamb amongst Wolves.

*Popish*

The King being gone, upon a night, Master *Hamilton* was seized upon by the Bishops officers and carried to the Castle, and the morrow after he was brought forth unto judgment, and was condemned to be burnt for the testimony of Gods truth; The Articles for which he suffered, were about *Pilgrimages*, *Purgatory*, *Prayer to Saints*, and for the Dead, &c. And that his condemnation might have the greater Authority, they caused it to be subscribed by all those of esteem that were there present, and to make their number great, they took the subscription of very Children if they were of the Nobility.

*His condemnation*

Immediately after Dinner the fire was prepared, and he was led to execution, yet most Men thought that it was only to terrifie him, and to cause him to

Constancy.

recant. But God, for his own glory, the good of his Servants, and for the manifestation of their Beastly Tyranny, had otherwise decreed: For he so strengthened him, that neither the love of life, nor fear of that cruel death could once move him to swerve from the truth which he had professed. At the place of execution he gave to his Servant that had long attended him, his Gown, Coat, Cap, and his other Garments, saying, *These will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee; After this of me thou canst receive no commodity except the example of my death, which I pray thee to bear in mind; For though it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before Men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess which denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation:* And so being tyed to the Stake in the midst of coals and timber, they gave fire to some powder, which with the blast scorched his left Hand and the side of his Face, but neither killed him, nor kindled the wood and coals; till they ran to the Castle for more powder, and more combustible matter, which being at last kindled, with a loud voice he cried, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit; How long shall darkness overwhelm this Realm? and how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these Men?* The fire was slow, and therefore put him to the greater torment; But that which most grieved him was the clamor of some wicked Men set on by the Fryers, who continually cried, *Turn thou Heretick; call upon our Lady; say, Salve Regina, &c.* To whom he answered, *Depart from me and trouble me not thou Messenger of Satan;* And speaking to one *Campbell*, a Fryer that was the Ringleader, who still roared on him with great vehemency, he said to him, *wicked Man, thou knowest the contrary, and hast confessed the contrary to me; I appeal thee before the Tribunal Seat of Jesus Christ;* After which words he resigned up his spirit unto God, *Anno Christi 1527.* And within a few days after the said Fryer died in a phrensie, and as one that despaired.

His Martyrdom.

Gods Judgment on a Persecutor.

David Straton, Norman Gourlay.

Straton's Conversion.

His Prayer.

Temptations resisted.

Thomas Forret.

*Anno 1534.* The said Arch-Bishop of Saint Andrews, convented before him *David Straton*, a Gentleman, and Master *Norman Gourlay*; The first of these having a Fisher-boat that went to Sea, the Bishop of *Murray* demanded tithe Fish of him, to whom he answered, That if they would have tithe of that which his Servants caught in the Sea, they should take it in the place where it was caught, and so caused his Servants to throw the tenth Fish into the Sea again; All this while he had nothing in him for Religion. But when hereupon he was summoned to answer for *Heresie*, it troubled him exceedingly, and then he began to frequent the company of such as were godly, and there appeared a wonderful change in him; so that whereas before he despised the Word of God, now all his delight was in hearing of it read to him, and he was a vehement exhorter of all Men to peace and concord, and contempt of the world. He much frequented the company of the Laird of *Dun Areskin*, whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated: Hearing that Text read (for he could not read himself) *He that denieth me before Men, or is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him before my Father and his holy Angels:* At those words, being suddenly as one revived, he fell upon his knees, and steadfastly lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, at length he burst forth into these words, *O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayst thou withdraw thy grace from me; But Lord, for thy mercy sake, let me never deny thee nor thy truth for fear of death or any corporal pain.* Being afterwards, together with Master *Norman* brought to judgment in *Holy Rood-house*; the King himself being present, much means was used to draw this *David Straton* to make a recantation; But he persevered in his constancy, still denying that he had offended, and so they were both condemned to the fire, and after Dinner *Anno 1534.* they were both first hanged, and afterwards burnt.

Not long after the burning of these two holy Men; There was one Dean *Thomas Forret*, who used to preach every Lords day to his Parishioners, out of the Epistles and Gospels as they fell in order: This was counted a great novelty, for none used to preach but the Fryers, and therefore they envying him, accused



accused him to the Bishop of *Dunkeld* for an *Heretick*, and one that shewed the mysteries of Scripture to the vulgar people.

The Bishop instigated by the complaint of the Fryers called the said Dean Thomas before him, to whom he said, *My joy Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you counsel how to govern your self*; The Dean thanked him, and then he proceeded, *My joy Dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the Epistle and Gospel every Sunday to your People; and that you take not your dues from them, which is very prejudicial to the Churchmen; and therefore my joy Dean Thomas, I would have you take your dues, or else its too much to Preach every Sunday; for by so doing, you make the People think that we should do so also; Its enough for you when you find a good Epistle or Gospel, to set forth and preach the liberty of holy Church; and let the rest alone.*

Thomas answered, *My Lord, I presume none of my Parishoners complain for my not taking my dues; and whereas you say its too much to Preach every Sunday, I think it is too little, and wish that your Lordship would do the like.* Nay, nay, Dean Thomas, said the Bishop, let that be, for we are not ordained to Preach; Then said Thomas, *whereas you bid me Preach when I meet with a good Epistle and Gospel; I have read them all over, and I know no bad ones amongst them, but when your Lordship shews me such, I will pass by them.* Then, said the Bishop, *I thank God I never knew what the Old and New Testament was; and Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my Portuise and Pontifical.* Go your ways; and let all these fancies be; For if you persevere herein, you will repent you when tis too late.

Gross Ignorance.

I trust, said Thomas, my cause is good and just in the presence of God, and therefore I care not what follows thereupon; and so he went his way: But shortly after he was summoned to appear before the Cardinal, by whom he was condemned and burned for a chief *Heretick* and teacher of *Heresie*.

His Martyrdom.

But notwithstanding all their Bloody tyranny, the knowledg of God did wonderfully encrease in that Kingdom, partly by reading, partly by Brotherly conference, which in those dangerous days was much used to the comfort of many, which so enraged the Popish party, that Anno 1538. there were burned in one fire four Persons of good quality.

The year after there were apprehended *Ferome Russel*, a Man of a meek and quiet nature, and *Alexander Kennedy* of about eighteen years old; These two poor Servants of *Jesus Christ* being brought before the Arch-Bishop and his Associates to judgment, *Kennedy* at first was faine, and would fain have recanted; But when all place of repentance was denied him, the Spirit of God (which seasonably comes in with comfort,) began to refresh him; yea the inward comfort began to burst forth, as well in his visage, as in his tongue and words: For with a chearful countenance and joyful voice, falling on his knees, he said, *O eternal God, how wonderful is that love and mercy that thou bearest unto Mankind; and to me a vile Caitiffe and miserable wretch above all others! For even now when I would have denied thee, and thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have cast my self into everlasting damnation, thou by thine own hand hast pulled me from the very bottom of Hell, and made me to feel that Heavenly comfort which takes from me that ungodly fear wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I desie death, do with me what you please, I praise God I am ready.* Then did they rail upon him and *Ferome*, who also said unto them, *This is your thair and power of darknes; Now sit ye as Judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; But the day will come when our innocency will appear, and ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion.* Go forward and fulfil the measure of your iniquity. Shortly after they were condemned to die, and as they went to execution, *Ferome* comforted *Kennedy*, saying to him, *Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world; The pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us therefore strive to enter into our Master and Saviours joy, by the same straight way which he hath*

*Ferome Russel*  
*Alexander Kennedy.*

Human frailty.

John a Baptist.

Their  
demonstration  
and martyrdom.

taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him for whose sake we now suffer. And thus passing chearfully on, they constantly triumphed over Death and Satan, in the midst of the flaming fire where they gave up their spirits to God.

**Popish cruelty.** Anno 1543. Cardinal Beton coming to *Edenburg*, caused many godly persons to be called before him, and when he could prove nothing else against them, he caused four Men to be hanged upon suspicion that they had eaten a Goose upon a Friday: And a Woman with her Child sucking on her Breast to be drowned for refusing to pray to the *Virgin Mary*.

**John Rogers.** Many others he caused to be banished, others to be imprisoned at *Saint Johnstons*, amongst whom was one *John Rogers*, a godly and learned Man, that had fruitfully preached *Christ Jesus* to the comfort of many in *Angus* and *Meannes*, whom he caused to be murdered in Prison, and then thrown over the Wals, giving it out that by attempting to escape, he had broken his Neck.

### CHAP. XXXIX.

*The Life of Master George Wisheheart, or Wischard, who died, Anno Christi 1546.*

**His Character.** George wisheheart was born in *Scotland*, and brought up first at School, from whence he went to the University; After which he travelled into several countries, and at last came to *Cambridge*, where he was admitted into *Bennet College*; He was tall of stature, and of a melancholy constitution; He had black Hair, a long Beard, comely of personage, and well-spoken, courteous, lowly, lovely, willing to teach, desirous to learn. For his habit, he wore a Frize Gown, a black fustian Doublet, plain Hose, coarse Canvas for his Shirts, falling Bands, &c. All which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly; having a *French Cap* that he wore, which he kept a twelve month. He was modest, temperate, fearing God, having covertness. His Charity was extraordinary, he forbore his food one meal in three, one day in four, that he might the better relieve the poor. His lodging was upon straw, and he had coarse new Canvas Sheets, which when once foul, he gave away; He had by his Bed-side a Tub of water, in which, in the dark night, he bathed himself; He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some about him thought him severe, and would have slain him; But the Lord was his deliverer, and he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them; His learning was no less sufficient than his desire of it; He was always ready to do good to his ability; both in his private Chamber and publick Schools, he read divers Authors, yea he always studied how to do good to all.

**His Charity.**

**A special Providence.**

**Popish malice.** Anno 1544. Some of the Nobility of *Scotland*, coming to treat with King *Henry* the Eighth, about the marriage between his Son Prince *Edward*, and their young Queen *Mary*, at their return, Master *Wischard* went with them into *Scotland*, being a Man of admirable graces, and singularly learned both in Divine and Humane Sciences; He first preached in *Rosse*, and then in *Dundee*, where with great admiration of all that heard him, he went over the Epistle to the *Romans*, till at the instigation of the Cardinal, one *Robert Misle*, a principal Man there, and formerly a Professor of Religion, inhibited him from preaching, requiring him that he should trouble their Town no more, for he would not suffer it; And this was spoken to him in the publick place; whereupon he mused a space, with his Eyes bent unto Heaven, and afterwards looking sorrowfully upon the Speaker and People, he said, *God is my witness*



## The Life of Walter George Wischard.

witness that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort; for your trouble is more dolorous to me then it is to your selves: But I am assured that to refuse Gods word, and to chase from you his Messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it: For God shall send you Ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation; with the hazard of my life I have remained amongst you: Now ye your selves refuse me; and I must leave my innocency to be declared by my God; If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the Spirit of truth: But if unlookt for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful; But if you turn not at the first warning; he will visit you with fire and sword; and so he came down from the Pulpit. Some Noblemen being present, would have perswaded him to stay, or to have gone with them into the Countrey, but by no means would he stay till he had past the River Tay.

A Prophecy.

He goeth into the West.

He is opposed by the Bishop.

Then went he into the West-Countrey, where he made offers of Gods Word, which was gladly received by many, till the Bishop of Glasgow, by the instigation of the Cardinal, came with his Train to the Town of Ayre to resist Wischard: The Earl of Glencarne and some other Gentlemen hearing of it, came thither also with their retinue, and when they were all come together, the Bishop would needs have the Church himself to preach in. Some opposed, but Wischard said, Let him alone, his Sermon will not do much hurt, let us go to the Market-Cross, and so they did, where he made so notable a Sermon, that his very Enemies themselves were confounded.

Wischard remained with the Gentlemen in Kyle, preaching sometime in one place, sometimes in another, but coming to Machlenc, he was perforce kept out of the Church; Some would have broken in, but he said to one of them, Brother, Jesus Christ is as mighty in the Fields as in the Church, and himself often preached in the Desert; At the Sea-side, and other places. In the word of Peace God sends by me: The Blood of none shall be shed this day for the preaching of it; and so going into the Fields, he stood upon a bank, where he continued in preaching to the people above three hours; and God wrought so wonderfully by that Sermon, that one of the most wickedst Men in all the Countrey, the Laird of Sheld was converted by it, and his Eyes ran down with such abundance of tears, that all Men wondred at it. Presently news was brought to Wischard that the plague was broke out in Dundee, which began within four days after he was prohibited for preaching there, and raged so extremely, that its almost beyond credit how many died in Twenty four hours space; This being related to him, notwithstanding the importunity of his Friends, he would needs go thither, saying, They are now in trouble, and need comfort; Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnifie and reverence the word of God, which before they lightly esteemed.

The power of the Word.

His Prophecy accomplished.

His second coming to Dundee.

Coming to Dundee, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great, and without delay he signified that the next day he would preach; And because most of the Inhabitants were either sick, or employed about the sick, he chose the East Gate for the place of his preaching, so that the whole were within, and the sick without the Gate; His Text was Psal. 107. He sent his word and healed them, &c. wherein he comfortably intreated of the profit and comfort of Gods Word, the punishment that comes by the contempt of it, the readiness of Gods mercy to such as truly turn to him, and the happiness of those whom God takes from this misery, &c. By which Sermon he so raised up the Hearts of those that heard him, that they regarded no death, but judged them more happy that should then depart, rather than such as should remain behind; considering that they knew not whether they should have such a Comforter with them, yea or no. He spared not to visit them that lay in the greatest extremity, and to comfort them. He provided all things necessary for such as could take food, the Town being very bountiful to them, through his instigation. But whilst

Clarke;

He is in danger of being murdered.

Gods Providence.

He preserves the murderer.

He goes to Montrosse.

Meditation.

Popish malice.

A Prophecie.

His fervent Prayer in the night.

A Prophecie.

he was thus busying himself for the comfort of the afflicted, the Devil stirred up the Cardinal, who corrupted a desperate Popish-Priest, called *John Weighron*, to slay him. And on a day, the Sermon being ended, and the People departed, suspecting no danger, the Priest stood waiting at the bottom of the Stairs with a naked Dagger in his Hand, under his Gown; But Master *Wischard*, being of a sharp piercing Eye, seeing the Priest as he came down, said to him, *My Friend what would you have?* and withal clapping his Hand upon the Dagger, took it from him; The Priest herewith being terrified, fell down upon his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon; A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the Ears of those which were sick, they cryed, *Deliver the Traytor to us, or we will take him by force*; and so they burst in at the Gate, but *Wischard* taking him in his Arms, said, *whosoever hurts him shall hurt me; for he hath done me no mischief, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulness for the time to come*: And so he appeased them, and saved the Priests life.

When the plague was almost quite ceased, he took his leave of them, saying, *That God had almost put an end to the Battel, and that he was now called to another place*; For the Gentlemen of the West had written to him to meet them in *Edenburg*, where he should dispute with the Bishops, and should be publicly heard, which he willingly assented to. But first he went to *Montrosse*, to salute the Church there, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation, in which he was so earnest, that night and day he continued in it; during which time, the Cardinal again conspired his death, causing a Letter to be sent to him, as if it had been from his familiar Friend, the Laird of *Kinnur*, desiring him with all possible speed to come to him, for that he was taken with a sudden sickness: In the mean time he had provided Sixty Men armed to lie in wait within a mile and an half of *Montrosse* to murder him as he passed by that way. The Letter coming to his Hands by a Boy, who also brought him an Horse to ride on, being accompanied with some honest Men his Friends, he set forwards; But suddenly stopping and musing a space, he returned back again, which they wondring at, asked him the cause; To whom he said, *I will not go, I am forbidden of God, I am assured there is treason: Let some of you go to yonder place and tell me what you find*; which they doing, found out the treason, and hastily returning back, they told Master *Wischard* of it, whereupon he said; *I know that I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty Mans Hands, but it will not be on this manner*.

The time approaching wherein he should meet the Gentlemen at *Edenburg*, he took his leave and departed: By the way he lodged with a faithful Brother called *James Watson* of *Inner Gowry*: In the night time he gat up and went into a Yard; which two Men hearing, privily followed him: There he walked in an Alley for some space, breathing forth many sobs and deep groans, then he fell upon his knees, and his groans increased; Then he fell upon his Face: Those that watched him, heard him weeping and praying, in which posture he continued near an hour; Then getting up, he came to his Bed again. Those which attended him, making as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them: The next day they importuned him again, saying, *Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw your gestures*: Then he with a dejected countenance, said, *I had rather you had been in your Beds*; But they still pressing upon him to know something; He said, *I will tell you; I am assured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me that now I shrink not when the Battel waxeth most hot*: When they heard this, they fell a weeping, saying, *This is small comfort to us*; Then said he, *God shall send you comfort after me. This Realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christs Gospel as clearly as any Realm since the days of the Apostles; The House of God shall be built in it, yea it shall not lack in despite of all Enemies, the top-stone; Neither will it be long before*



fore this be accomplished; Many shall not suffer after me, till the glory of God shall appear and triumph in despite of Satan: But alas! If the people shall afterwards prove unthankful, then fearful and terrible shall the plagues be that shall follow.

Then went he forward on his journey, and came to *Leith*, but hearing nothing of those Gentlemen that were to meet him, he kept himself private a day or two: At which time he grew very pensive, and being asked the reason of it; he said, *what do I differ from a dead Man, but that I eat and drink? Hitherto God hath used my labours for the instructions of others, and to the disclosing of darkness, and now I lurk as a Man ashamed that dare not shew his Face: Hereby they perceived that his desire was to preach, whereupon they said to him, It's most comfortable to us to hear you; but because we know the danger wherein you stand, we dare not desire it: But, said he, if you dare hear, let God provide for me as best pleaseth him; and so it was concluded that the next day he should preach in Leith; His Text was of the Parable of the Sower, Math. 13. The Sermon ended, the Gentlemen of Louthain, who were earnest Professors of Jesus Christ, would not suffer him to stay at Leith, because the Governor and Cardinal were shortly to come to *Edenburgh*, but took him along with them, and so he preached at *Brünstone*, *Languedine*, and *Ormstone*. Then was he requested to preach at *Eneresk* near *Muscelbrugh*, where he had a great confluence of people, and amongst them *Sir George Douglas*, who after Sermon, said publickly, *I know that the Governor and Cardinal will hear that I have been at this Sermon: But let them know that I will avow it; and will maintain both the Doctrine, and the Preacher to the uttermost of my power; This much rejoiced those that were present.**

He comes to Leith.

Faith, and Courage.

His departure from Leith.

Amongst others that came to hear him preach, there were two *Gray-Fryers*, who standing at the Church door, whispered to such as came in: Which *Wischard* observing, said to the people, *I pray you make room for these two Men, it may be they come to learn; and turning to them, he said, Come near, for I assure you, you shall hear the word of truth, which this day shall seal up to you either your salvation or damnation; and so he proceeded in his Sermon, supposing that they would be quiet: But when he perceived that they still continued to disturb all the people that stood near them, he said to them the second time with an angry countenance; O Ministers of Satan, and deceivers of the Souls of Men! will ye neither hear Gods truth your selves, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart and take this for your portion; God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisie within this Kingdom; ye shall be abominable to Men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate. This he spake with much vehemency, and turning to the people, he said, *These Men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger; and then he proceeded to the end of his Sermon.**

Popish malice.

A Prophecy.

Afterwards he preached in divers other places, the people much flocking after him: In all his Sermons foretelling the shortness of time that he had to travel, and the near approaching of his death.

Coming to *Haddington*, his Auditory began much to decrease: The cause, as it was conceived, was this; The *Earl Bothwell*, who had great observance in those parts, by the instigation of the Cardinal, had inhibited both those of the Town and Countrey from hearing him. Presently after, as he was going to Church, he received a Letter from the West-Countrey Gentlemen, and having read it, he called *John Knox*, who had diligently waited upon him since he came into *Louthain*, to whom he said, That he was a weary of the world, because he saw that Men began to be a weary of God: For, saith he, the Gentlemen of the West have sent me word, that they cannot keep their meeting at *Edenburgh*. *John Knox* wondering that he should enter into conference about these things so immediately before his Sermon, contrary to his custom, said to him; Sir, Sermon-time approaches, I will leave you for the present to your meditations. Then did Master *Wischard* walk up and down about half an hour, his

He goes to Haddington.

John Knox: See his life in my first part.

his sad countenance declaring the grief of his mind: at last he went into the Pulpit, and his auditory being very small, he began on this manner, *O Lord, how long shall it be that thy holy word shall be despised, and Men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, O Haddington, that on thee there used to be Two or Three thousand Persons at a vain and wicked Play; and now to hear the Messenger of the Eternal God, of all the Parish can scarce be numbred One hundred present. Sore and fearful shall be the Plagues that shall ensue upon this thy contempt, with fire and sword shalt thou be plagued; yea thou Haddington in special, Strangers shall possess thee; and you the present Inhabitants shall either in bondage serve your Enemies, or else you shall be chased from your own habitations, and that because ye have not known, nor will know the time of your visitation.*

A Prophecie:

This Prophecie was accomplished not long after, when the *English* took *Haddington*, made it a Garrison, enforced many of the Inhabitants to flee; oppressed others; and after a while, a great plague breaking forth in the Town, whereof multitudes died, the *English* were at last forced to quit it; who at their departure burnt and spoiled a great part of it, leaving it to be possessed by such as could first seize upon it, which were the *French* that came as Auxiliaries to *Scotland*, with a few of the ancient Inhabitants, so that *Haddington* to this day never recovered her former beauty, nor yet Men of such wisdom and ability as did formerly inhabit it.

His apprehension by Bothwell.

That night was Master *Wischard* apprehended in the House of *Ormeiston*, by the Earl *Bothwell*, suborned thereunto by the Cardinal. The manner was thus; After Sermon he took his last farewell of all his Friends in *Haddington*; *John Knox* would fain have gone with him; but he said, *Return to your Children, and God bless you; One is sufficient for one sacrifice*: Then went he the Laird of *Ormeistons* with some others that accompanied him. After Supper he held a comfortable discourse of Gods love to his Children; Then he appointed the 51 *Psalm* to be sung, and so retired to his Chamber.

Before midnight the House was beset; and the Earl *Bothwell* called for the Laird of the House, and told him that it was in vain to resist, for the Governor and Cardinal were within a mile with a great power; But if he would deliver Master *Wischard* to him, he would promise upon his Honor that he should be safe, and that the Cardinal should not hurt him: Master *Wischard* said, *Open the Gates, the Will of God be done*; and *Bothwell* coming in, *Wischard* said to him, *I praise my God that so honorable a Man as you, my Lord, receive me this night; For I am perswaded that for your Honors sake you will suffer nothing to be done to me but by order of Law? I less fear to die openly then secretly to be murdered*: Then said *Bothwell*, *I will not only preserve your Body from all violence that shall be intended against you without order of Law, but I also promise in the presence of these Gentlemen, that neither the Governor nor Cardinal shall have their will of you, but I will keep you in mine own House, till I either set you free, or restore you to the same place where I receive you*: Then said the Lairds, *My Lord, if you make good your promise, which we presume you will, we our selves will not only serve you, but we will procure all the Professors in Louthain to do the same, &c.* These promises being made in the presence of God, and Hands being stricken by both parties, the Earl took Master *Wischard* and so departed.

Bothwell's promise.

He is carried to Edinburgh.

Bothwell falsifies his promise.

Master *Wischard* was carried to *Edinburgh*; But Gold and Women easily corrupt fleshly Men; For the Cardinal gave *Bothwell* Gold; and the Queen, that was too familiar with him, promised him her favor, if he would deliver Master *Wischard* into *Edinburgh* Castle, which he did; and shortly after he was delivered to the Blood-thirsty Cardinal: who, seeing that it was forbidden by their Canon Law for a Priest to sit as a Judge upon life and death; he sent to the Governor, requesting him to appoint some Lay-Judge to pass sentence of death upon Master *Wischard*.



The Governor would easily have yielded to his request, but that David Hemilton, a Godly man, told him, that he could expect no better an end than *Saul*, if he persecuted the truth which formerly he had professed, &c. Hereupon the Governor sent the Cardinal word, that he would have no hand in shedding the Blood of that good man; the Cardinal being angry, returned this answer, *That he had sent to him of meer Civility, and that he would proceed without him*, and so to the great grief of the Godly, the Cardinal carried Master Wischard to *St. Andrews*, and put him into the Tower there; and without any long delay he caused all the Bishops, and other great Clergy men to be called together to *St. Andrews*.

He is carried to St. Andrews.

Feb. ult. 1546. Master Wischard was sent for to appear before them, to give an account of his seditious and Heretical Doctrine, as they called it; the Cardinal caused all his retinue to come Armed to the place of their sitting, which was the Abby Church, whither when Master Wischard was brought, there was a poor man lying at the Door, that asked his Alms, to whom he flung his Purse; when he came before the Cardinal, there was a Dean appointed to Preach; whose Sermon being ended, Wischard was put up into the Pulpit to hear his charge: And one Lawder, a Priest, stood over against him, and read a scrowle full of bitter accusations and Curses, so that the ignorant people thought that the earth would have opened and swallowed up Wischard quick: But he stood with great patience without moving, or once changing his countenance: The Priest having ended his Curses, spit at Master Wischards Face, saying, *What answerest thou? Thou Runnagate, Traytor, Thief, &c.* Then did Master Wischard fall upon his Knees, making his Prayer unto God; after which he said, *Many and horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable for to hear, have ye spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought it a great abomination, &c.* Then did he give them an account of his Doctrine. Answering to every Article as far as they would give him leave to speak.

His accusation.

His Prayers.

But they, without having any regard to his sober and Godly answers, presently condemned him to be Burnt. After which sentence he falling upon his Knees, said,

*O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the rage, and great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy Servants, which do further thy Word in this world, whereas they on the contrary seek to destroy the truth, whereby thou hast revealed thy self to the world, &c. O Lord, we know certainly that thy true Servants must needs suffer for thy names sake, Persecutions, Afflictions, and troubles in this present world, yet we desire that thou wouldest preserve and defend thy Church which thou hast chosen before the Foundations of the world, and give thy People grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true Servants in this present life.*

His Prayers.

Then were the Common people put out, the Bishops not desiring that they should hear the innocent man speak, and so they sent him again to the Castle, till the Fire should be made ready; in the Castle came two Fryers to him, requiring him to make his Confession to them, to whom he said, *I will make no Confession to you, but fetch me that man who Preached even now, and I will speak with him*; Then was the Sub-Prior with whom he conferred a pretty while, till the Sub-Prior wept, who going to the Cardinal, told him that he came not to intercede for Master Wischards Life, but to make known his innocency to all men; at which words the Cardinal was very angry, saying: *we knew long ago what you were.*

Popish Priests.

The Captain of the Castle with some Friends, coming to Master Wischard, asked him if he would break his Fast with them: *Yea*, said he, *very willingly, for I know you be Honest men*: In the mean time he desired them to hear him a little; and so he discoursed to them about the Lords Supper, his suffering and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, laying aside all rancor and malice as becomes the members of *Jesus Christ*, who continually intercedes for us to his Father. Afterwards he gave Thanks, and Blessing the Bread and Wine, he

He admires fresh the sacrament.

took the Bread and brake it, giving it to every one, saying, *eat this, remember that Christ died for us, and feed on it spiritually*; so taking the Cup, he bad them remember that *Christ's blood was shed for them*, &c. Then he gave thanks and prayed for them, and so retired into his Chamber.

The Cardinals  
fear.

Presently came two Executioners to him from the Cardinal, one put upon him a Black Linnen Coat, the other brought him Bags of Powder, which they tied about several parts of his Body, and so they brought him forth to the place of Execution; over against which place, the Castle Windows were hung with rich Hangings, and Velvet Cushions laid for the Cardinal and Prelates, who from thence fed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man: The Cardinal fearing lest *Wischard* should be rescued by his Friends, caused all the Ordinance in the Castle to be bent against the place of his Execution, and commanded his Gunners to stand ready all the time of his burning; then were his hands bound behind his back, and so he was carried forth; in the way some Beggars met him, asking his Alms for Gods sake: To whom he said, *My hands are bound wherewith I was wont to give you Alms, but the merciful Lord, who of his bounty and abundant grace feeds all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities both for your Bodies and Souls*. Then two Fryars met him, perswading him to pray to our Lady to mediate for him; to whom he meekly said, *Cease, tempt me not, I entreat you*: and so with a Rope about his neck, and a Chain about his middle, he was led to the Fire: Where falling upon his Knees, he thrice repeated; *O thou Savior of the World have mercy upon me; Father of Heaven, I commend my Spirit into thy Holy hands*: Then turning to the People, he said: *Christian Brethren and Sisters, I beseech you be not offended at the word of God for the torments which you see prepared for me; but I exhort you that you love the word of God for your Salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart for the words sake, which is your undoubted Salvation and everlasting Comfort; I pray you also shew my Brethren and Sisters which have often heard me, that they cease not to learn the word of God which I taught them, according to the measure of grace given to me, for no Persecution or trouble in this world whatsoever: And shew them that the Doctrine was no old wives Fables, but the truth of God; for if I had taught mens Doctrine, I had had greater thanks from men: But for the word of Gods sake I now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind: For this cause I was sent into the world that I should suffer this Fire for Christs sake; behold my Face! You shall not see me change my countenance: I fear not the Fire; and if Persecution come to you for the words sake, I pray you fear not them that can kill the Body, and have no power to hurt the Soul, &c.* Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, *I beseech thee, Father of Heaven, forgive them that have of ignorance, or of an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart; I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me this day ignorantly*: Then turning to the people again, he said, *I beseech you Brethren, exhort your Prelates to learn the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good, or else there shall come upon them the wrath of God which they shall not eschew*: Then the Executioner upon his Knees, said, *Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death*; and he calling him to him, kissed his cheeks, saying, *Lo here is a token that I forgive thee; My heart, do thine Office*; and so he was tied to the Stake, and the Fire kindled.

His Prayer at  
death.

His exhortation  
to the People.

He Prayes for  
his Persecutors

A Prophecie.

The Captain of the Castle coming near him, bad him be of good courage, and to beg for him the pardon of his sin; to whom Master *Wischard* said, *This Fire torments my Body, but no whit abates my Spirits*: Then looking towards the Cardinal, he said, *He who in such state from that high place, feeds his eyes with my torments, within few days shall be Hanged out at the same window to be seen with as much ignominy, as he now leans there with pride*; and so his breath being stopped, he was consumed by the Fire.

This Prophecie was fulfilled, when after the Cardinal was slain, the Provost raising the Town, came to the Castle Gates, crying, *What have you done with my Lord Cardinal? where is my Lord Cardinal?* To whom they within answered,

Return



Return to your Houses, for he hath received his reward, and will trouble the world no more: But they still cryed, we will never depart till we see him: Then did the Leslies hang him out at that Window to shew that he was dead, and so the people departed.

But God left not the death of this Holy man long unrevenged: For the people did generally go out of the cruelty used against him, especially John Lesley, Brother to the Earl of Rothes, and Norman Lesley his Cousin, fell foul upon the Cardinal for it: But he thought himself strong enough for all Scotland, laying, *Tush, a Fig for the Fools, and a Button for the bragging of Hereticks. Is not the Lord Governor mine, witness his Eldest Son for a pledge at my Table? Have I not the Queen at my devotion? Is not France my Friend? Why should I fear any danger?* Yet he had laid a design to cut off such as he feared and hated, which was discovered after his death by Letters and memorials found about him. He kept himself for his greater security in his Castle; and on a Friday night there came to the Town of Saint Andrews, Norman Lesley, William Kircaldy, John Lesley, and some others; and on the Saturday morning they met together not far from the Castle, waiting till the Gate was opened, and the Draw-Bridge let down, for the receiving in some Lime and Sand, to repair some decays about the Castle, which being done, Kircaldy, with six more, went to the Porter, falling into discourse with him, till the Leslies came also with some other Company: The Porter seeing them, would have drawn up the Bridge, but he was prevented, and whilst he endeavoured to keep them out at the Gate, his Head was broken, and the Keys taken from him; the Cardinal was asleep in Bed; for all night he had for his Bedfellow, Mistress Mary Ogleby, who was a little before gone from him out at the Postern Gate, and therefore the Cardinal was gone to his rest.

There were about one hundred Work-men in the Castle, which seeing what was done, cried out, but without hurt; they were turned out at the Wicket Gate: Then William Kircaldy went to secure the Postern lest the Cardinal should make an escape that way: The rest going to the Gentlemens Chambers, who were above Fifty, without hurting them, they turned them all out at the Gates; they which undertook this enterprise were but Eighteen men. The Cardinal being awaked with the noise, asked out at the Window what the matter? Answer was made, that Norman Lesley had taken his Castle: Then did he attempt to have escaped by the Postern, but finding that to be kept, he returned to his Chamber, and with the help of his Chamberlain fell to Barricadoing up the Door with Chests, and such things: Then came up John Lesley and bids open the Door: The Cardinal asked who was there: He answered John Lesley: The Cardinal said, *I will have Norman, for he is my Friend: Content your self,* said the other, *with those that are here:* And so they fell to breaking open the Door; in the mean time the Cardinal hid a Box of Gold under some Coals in a secret corner. Then he said to them, *Will ye save my life?* John Lesley answered, *It may be that we will.* Nay, said the Cardinal, *swear unto me by Gods wounds that you will; and then I will open the Door:* Then said John, that which was said, is unsaid, and so he called for Fire to burn down the Door, whereupon the Door was opened, and the Cardinal sat him down in his Chair, crying, *I am a Priest, I am a Priest, ye will not slay me:* Then John Lesley and another struck him once or twice; but Master James Melvin, a man that had been very familiar with Wilchard, and of a modest and gentle nature, perceiving them both to be in choler, plucked them back, saying, *This work and Judgement of God although it be secret, ought to be done with great gravity:* And so presenting him the point of his Sword, he said, *Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of shedding the blood of that notable Instrument of God, Master George Wilchard, who though he was consumed by the Fire before men, yet cries is for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it; for here, before my God I protest, that neither the hatred of thy Person, the love of thy Riches, nor the fear of any hurt thou couldst have done me, moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and still remainest*

The Cardinal  
slain.

*an obstinate Enemy against Jesus Christ and his Holy Gospel; And so he thrust him through the Body, who falling down, spake never a word, but I am a Priest, I am a Priest, Fie, Fie, all is gone.*

The death of this Tyrant was grievous to the Queen Mother, with whom he had too much familiarity, as with many other women; as also to the *Romanists*, though the people of God were freed from their fears in a great measure thereby.

Adam Wallace.

Anno 1550. There was one *Adam Wallace*, a man that had no great learning, but was zealous in Godliness, and of an upright life; him the Bishop of *St. Andrews* caused to be apprehended, and carried to *Edenburgh*, where after a while he was brought to Judgment before *Duke Hamilton*, *Huntly*, and divers others; the Bishops and their instruments accused him: First, that he took upon him to Preach; To which he answered, *that he never judged himself worthy of so excellent a Vocation, and therefore never took on him to Preach*; Yet he denied not, that in private places he used to read the Word, and out of it to exhort such as were willing to hear him. *Knave*, quoth one, *what have you to do to meddle with the Scriptures? I think*, said he, *it is everyones duty to labor to know the will of God, and to get assurance of his Salvation, which is to be found in the Old and New Testament.* *what then*, said another, *shall we leave to the Church-men to do?* To whom he answered, *Their work is publickly to Preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to feed the Flock which he hath redeemed with his own Blood, as all true Pastors are commanded to do, &c.* The Bishops being angry hereat, caused his charge further to be read; as that he denied Purgatory, praying to Saints, and for the dead, &c. To which he answered, *That he had oft read over the Bible, and yet found no mention of Purgatory, nor Command to pray to the Saints, or for the dead; Therefore I believe*, said he, *they are but meer inventions of men, devised for covetousness sake.* Then did they ask him what he thought of the *Mas*? He answered, *I say as my Lord Jesus Christ said, that which is greatly esteemed before men, is abomination before God*: Then cryed they all out, *Heresie, Heresie*, and so adjudged him to the Fire, which he patiently underwent the same day upon the Castle Hill.

His accusati-  
on.

The Ministers  
work.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Henry Forrest.

Anno 1553. *Henry Forrest* was accused of *Heresie*, but when they brought him to Trial, nothing could be proved against him, whereupon they sent him to *Friar Langius* to be confessed. The *Friar* amongst other questions, asked him what he thought of *Patrick Hamilton*, who had been formerly burned for Religion? He answered, *That he was a good man, and that his Articles were to be maintained.* This wicked *Friar* discovered his Confession, which was taken as a sufficient proof against the poor man, who thereupon was condemned to be Burnt. As he went to the place of Execution, he complained of the *Friar* who had betrayed him, saying, *Let no man trust the false Friars after me; they are despisers of God, and deceivers of men*; and so in the Flames he resigned up his Spirit unto God.

Popish perfid-  
iousness.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Walter Mill.

Anno 1558. *Andrew Oliphant* accused one *Walter Mill*, formerly a Priest; who being at Prayer, *Oliphant* said to him, *Rise up Sir Walter*; but when he had ended his Prayers, he said, *My name is Walter: I have been too long one of the Popes Knights.* Then said *Oliphant*, *Thou keepest my Lords too long here, therefore make an end.* He answered, *I must obey God rather than men*: When he was brought forth to Judgment, they asked him concerning Priests Marriage? He answered, *It is Gods Ordinance, that they which cannot abstain, should Marry. But you abhor it, vowing Chastity, which you cannot keep, but take other mens wives and Daughters*: Then they asked him if there were not seven Sacraments? He answered, *Give me two, and take you the rest*: After other questions, they asked him if he would recant? He answered, *I am Corn and not Chaff; I will not recant the truth*: They then commanded him to go to the Stake; But he said, *By the Law of God I am forbidden to lay hands on my own self, therefore do you put me into the Fire, and you shall see my Resolution.* Having made his Prayer to God, he said

Popish un-  
cleanness.



to the people; *Although I have been a great sinner, yet it is not for that, but for Gods truth contained in his word of the Old and New Testament that I now suffer; and God out of his abundant mercy doth honor me so far, as to make me, amongst other of his Servants, seal his truth with my Blood; Dear Friends, as you would escape eternal death, be no more seduced with lies of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, &c. But only trust in God, and so he quietly slept in the Lord; and was the last man that died for Religion in Scotland,*

His speech at death.

His Martyrdom.

Collected out of the History of the Reformation in Scotland.

CHAP. XL.

The Persecution of the Church in Ireland, Anno Christi 1642.

**T**Hough the Barbarous cruelty used by the *Irish* against the *English*, go usually under the name of Rebellion, yet I rather look upon it as, and chuse to call it a Persecution, because their cruelties were exercised upon Protestants only, so far as ever I could hear; neither were the *English* Papists murdered, yea, they joyined with the *Irish* in murdering of their Brethren. Besides, the Jesuites, Priests, and Friars were the chief instigators to those murders, stirring up continually all sorts, both of the Gentry and Commonalty, to shew the utmost of their zeal therein; and when their design was so surely laid, that they thought it impossible to be prevented, they did in their publick devotions recommend by their Prayers the good success of a great design, tending much to the advancement of the Catholick cause: And that they might stir up the people with the greater animosity and cruelty to put it in Execution, they every where declaimed loudly against the Protestants, saying, *That they were Hereticks, not to be suffered any longer to live amongst them; That it was no more sin to kill one of them, than to kill a Dog; and that it was a mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them.*

Popish malice

They also with much acrimony represented the severe courses taken by the Parliament of England to suppress the *Romish* Religion, and utterly to extirpate the Professors of it: They told them that in England they had caused the Queens Priests to be hanged before her Face, and that they held her self under a most severe Discipline; and that the like cruel Laws should be made against Popery in Ireland, &c.

Popish rage

When their plots were ripe for Execution, we find their first proceedings against the *English* very various; some of the *Irish* only stripping and expelling them; others murdering Man, Woman, and Child without mercy; yet all resolving universally to root out all the Protestants out of Ireland; yea, so deeply malicious were they against the *English* Protestants, that they would not endure the very sound of that Language, but would have all such punished as spake *English*; and the names of all *English* places they would have changed into the old *Irish*.

The malice against the English

In many places they killed the *English* Cows and Sheep, moerly because they were *English*: sometimes they cut off their Legs, or cut out a piece of their Buttock, and so left them to live in pain: Yea, in some places, when Cattel they could not devour, they killed, and left in great multitudes stinking in the Fields.

The Priests gave the Sacrament unto divers of the *Irish*, upon condition that they should neither spare Man, Woman, nor Child of the Protestants, saying, *That it did them a great deal of good to wash their Hands in their Blood.* One *Magellan*, a Priest, read an Excommunication against all those, that from thenceforth

Popish rage and cruelty

forth

## The Persecution of the Church in Ireland.

forth should relieve or harbor any *English, Scotch, or Welch* man, or give them Alms at their Doors, whereby many were famished to death. The Friars with tears exhorted them not to spare any of the *English*: They boasted, that when they had destroyed them in *Ireland*, they would go over into *England*, and not leave the memorial of an *English* man under Heaven.

They openly professed, that they held it as lawful to kill a Protestant, as to kill a Sheep or a Dog. One of their Priests said, *That it was no more pity or conscience to take their lives or Estates from them, than to take a Bone out of a Dogs mouth.*

The day before this Massacre was to begin, the Priests gave the people a dismissal at Mass, with free liberty to go out and take possession of all their Lands, which they pretended to be unjustly detained from them by the *English*. As also to strip, rob, and despoil them of all their Goods and Cattel; The Protestants being, as they told them, worse than Dogs, for they were Divels, and served the Divel, and therefore the killing of such was a meritorious act, and a rare preservative against the pains of Purgatory; for that the Bodies of such of them as died in this quarrel should not be cold, before their Souls should ascend up into Heaven, so that they should not need to fear the pains of Purgatory; and this caused some of these Murtherous *Cains* to boast, after they had slain many of the *English*, that they knew that if they should die presently they should go straight to Heaven.

Popish perfidiousness.

The chief Gentlemen of the *Irish*, when this Persecution first began, perswaded many of their Protestant neighbors, that if they would bring their Goods and Cattel to them, they would secure them from the rage of the Common people; and hereby they got abundance peaceably into their Hands, whereof they cheated the Protestants, refusing to restore them again; yet, so confident were the Protestants at first of their good dealing in regard of former familiarity, that they gave the Inventories of all they had; nay, digged up such of their best things as they had hidden in the ground, and deposited them in their custody. They also gat much into their Hands by fair promises, and deep Oaths and Engagements, that if they would deliver them their Goods, they would suffer them with their Wives and Children quietly to depart the Country; yet, having got what they could, they afterwards murdered them.

Prodigious cruelties.

Having thus seized upon all their Goods and Cattel, ransack't their Houses, and gotten their persons under their power; the next work, was to strip man, Woman, and Child stark-naked, and so to turn them out of Doors, not suffering them so much as to shelter themselves under Bushes, or in the Woods, strictly prohibiting all the *Irish*, under great penalties, not to give them any relief as they passed in the High Ways; and their great design herein was, that they on whom they would not lay their Hands and cruelly Murther in cold Blood, might miserably perish through cold, nakedness, and want; and therefore if any of them gat any old rags to cover their nakedness with, they stripped them again and again, sometimes twice or thrice over, the *Irish* Women being very active herein, yea, they taught their very Children to do the like; yea, they would not leave to the Women so much as a Smock or an Hair-lace: So that many of them being starved, fell down dead in the High Ways: Others that got to any *English* Town, by reason of Famine, and cold suffered by the way, died so soon as they came thither.

Many starved and stript.

In the Town of *Colerain*, of these miserable people, that fled thither for succour, many Thousands died in two days, so that the living being not able to Bury them, laid the Carcasses of those dead persons in great ranks in waste and wide holes, piling them so close and thick as if they had packed up Herrings together.

One *Magdalen Redman* deposed that she, and divers other Protestants, amongst whom were Twenty two Widows, were first robbed, and then stripped stark-naked; and when they had in an House covered themselves with Straw, the



## The Persecution of the Church in Ireland.

the Bloody Papists threw burning straw in amongst them on purpose to burn them; then did they drive them so naked into the wilde Woods in Frost and Snow, so that the Snow covered their skins, where a long time it lay unmelted, and some of their Children died in their Arms with the extremity of the cold; and whereas some of these poor Souls went towards the *Burre* for shelter, the cruel *Irish* turned them back again, saying, *They should go to Dublin*; and when they went towards *Dublin*, they beat them back, saying, *They should go to the Burre*, and so tossed them to and fro, that some of them died: Those which through many difficulties gat to the *Burre*, many of them died there, and those that survived, lived miserably by reason of their many wants.

Yet though these Bloody Villains exercised such inhumane cruelties towards the poor Protestants, they would commonly boast, that these were but the beginnings of their sorrows; and indeed they made it good; for having disarmed the *English*, robbed them of their Goods and Cattel, stript them of their Cloaths, and having their persons in their power, they furiously broke out into all manner of abominable cruelties, horrid Massacres, and execrable Murthers, so that it would make any Christians ear to tingle, and his Heart to ache to hear the mention of them.

For there were multitudes murdered in cold Blood, some whilst they were at Plough, others as they sat peaceably in their Houses, others Travelling upon the High Ways; all without any manner of provocation given by them, were suddenly destroyed.

In the Castle of *Lisgool* were about One hundred and fifty Men, Women, and Children consumed with Fire. At the Castle of *Monagh* were One hundred slain all together. At the Castle of *Tullah*, which was delivered to *Mac Guire* upon composition, and faithful promises of fair quarter, as soon as he and his entred the Court, they began to strip the people, and most cruelly put them to the Sword, Murthering them all without mercy.

At *Liffenskeah* they Hanged and killed above One hundred of the *Scottish* Protestants, shewing them no more favor than they did to the *English*. Yea, the Country thereabouts being well planted and peopled, was in a most horrible manner quite destroyed. In the Countries of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, where the Protestants were more numerous, their Murthers were more multiplied, and with greater cruelty, if it were possible, than in other places.

*Mac Guire* coming to the Castle of *Liffenskeah*, desired in a Friendly manner to speak with Master *Middleton*, who admitting him in, as soon as he was entred, he first burned the Records of the County which were kept there: Then he demanded One thousand pounds which was in his custody of *Sir William Balfour*, which as soon as he had, he caused Master *Middleton* to hear Mass, and to swear that he would never stir from it, and then immediately caused him, his Wife and Children to be Hanged up: Hanging and Murthering above One hundred persons besides in that place.

At *Portendown* Bridge there were One thousand Men, Women, and Children carried in several Companies, and all unmercifully drowned in the River, the Bridge being broken down in the midst, and the people driven and forced on, till they tumbled down into the Water. Yea, in that Country there were Four thousand persons drowned in several places, the Barbarous Papists driving on the poor Souls, when they had miserably stripped them, unto the places of their sufferings like Swine; and if any were slack in their pace, they pricked them forward with their Swords and Pikes; yea, to terrifie the rest, they killed and wounded some, and when they were cast into the River, if any assayed to swim to the Shore, the Rebels stood and Shot at them.

In one place One hundred and forty *English* were taken and driven like Cattel for many Miles together. Other Companies they carried out under pretence of safe conduct, thereby causing them to march cheerfully till they had got them to some place fit for Execution, and then murthered them there. One hundred

Popish treachery.

A just reward.

Prodigious cruelties.

They deny them liberty to pray.

Some Buried alive.

Some were Hung upon Tenter-hooks.

hundred and fifteen Men, Women, and Children they sent with Sir *Philem O-neales* Pass, till they had brought them to the Bridge of *Portendown*, and then forced them all into the Water, and such as by swimming, or other means sought to escape, they either knocked them on the Head, and after drowned them, or else shot them to death in the Water. One *Mistris Camphel* being forced by them to the River, and finding no means to escape their fury; suddenly clasped one of the chief of them in her Arms, and so both tumbling into the River, they were drowned together. At another time One hundred and forty Protestants being thrown in at the same place, as any of them swam to the Shore, the Bloody Villains with the But-ends of their Musquets knockt out their Brains.

At *Armagh*, *O Cane* gat together all the Protestants thereabouts, pretending to conduct them to *Coleraine*: But before they were gone a days Journey, they were all Murthered, and so were many others, though they had protections from Sir *Philem O Neale*. The aged people in *Armagh* were carried to *Charlemount*, and there Murthered.

Presently after the Town of *Armagh* was burnt, and Five hundred persons of all sorts were there Murthered and drowned. In *Killoman* were Forty eight Families Murthered. In one House Twenty two Protestants were Burned: In *Kilmore* all the Inhabitants were stript and Massacred, being Two hundred Families: Some they set in the Stocks till they confessed where their Money was, and then Massacred them: The whole County was Common Butchery; where many Thousands perished in a short time, by Sword, Famine, Fire, Water, and all other cruel manner of deaths that rage and malice could invent.

To many these bloody Villains shewed so much favor as to dispatch them presently, by no means allowing them so much time as to pray. Others they imprisoned in filthy Dungeons full of dirt and mire, and there clapping Bolts on their Legs, suffered them to perish at leisure. One told *John Cowder* that they would kill him, but first bid him say his prayers, and when he kneeled down to pray, they presently cut off his Head. When some others upon their Knees begged but leave to pray before they were slain, they would bid them bequeath their Souls to the Divil; others would ask them, *why do you desire to Pray? your Souls are already with the Divil?* And so would immediately slaughter them. At *Casel* they put all the Protestants into a loathsome Dungeon, where they kept them twelve weeks in great misery. Some they Barbarously mangled and left them languishing upon the High Ways, crying out but for so much mercy as to be dispatched out of their pain; some they Hanged up twice or thrice: Others they Buried alive. Some when they were half Hanged, they cast into Pits, covering them with a little earth, where they sent out most lamentable groans for a good while after.

In *Queens County*, an *English Man*, his Wife, Five Children, and a Maid, were all Hanged together, then put into a Hole; the youngest Child being not dead, put up the hand cried *Mammy, Mammy*, and yet without mercy they Buried it alive.

*Thomas Mason* in *Laugal* was extreemly beaten and wounded, yet his Wife and some others carried him away, whereupon these Villains cruelly hacked, flashed, and wounded them, and then dragged the said *Mason* into an Hole, and there threw Stones on him with the weight whereof they kept him under: There he lay languishing and groaning till his own Wife, to put him out of pain, stopped his breath with her Handkerchief.

At *Clownes* Seventeen men were Buried alive, yet so as their pitiful cries were heard afar off.

Some were deadlly wounded, and so Hanged upon Tenter-hooks. Some with Ropes about their Necks were drawn through the Water. Some with Ropes about their Middles were drawn through Woods and Bogs.



In Castle *Cumber* one of these Cut-throats took two Boys, wounded them, and hung them up upon a Butchers tenters. Some were hanged up, and taken down several times to make them confess their monny, which when they had done, they presently murdered them. Some were hung up by the Arms, and then with their Swords they made experiment how many blows an *English* Protestant would endure ere he died. Some had their Bellies ript up, and so were left with their Guts running about their heels:

An ancient Woman coming towards *Dublin*, was stript Seven times in one day, and they bad her go and look for her God, and bid him give her cloaths again. Blasphemy.

In *Kilkenny* they cruelly beat an *English* Woman, till they forced her into a Ditch, where she died: Then they took her Child; a Girl of about Six years old, ript her Belly, and let out her Guts. Many had their Bellies ript.

One they forced to go to Mass with them, yet afterwards wounded him, ript his Belly, took out his Guts, and so left him alive.

A *Scottish* Man they stripped and knocked on the Head, who afterwards coming to himself, went into the Town naked: Then did they again take him and hewed him all to pieces; They also ript up his Wives Belly, so that a Child dropped out of her womb. Many other Women great with Child they hung up; then ript their Bellies; and let the Infants fall out. Sometimes they gave their Children to be devoured of Swine and Dogs. One *John Stone* with his Son, Two Sons in Law, and their Wives, they took and hung them all up; and one of the young Women being great with Child, they ript her Belly, took forth her Child, and used such beastly barbarous actions to her as are not fit to be mentioned. At the *Newry* they ript up a Womans Belly that was great with two Children, throwing them to be devoured of Swine. Also another Woman being deliverd of a Child in the Fields, they which had formerly killed her Father and Husband, killed her also with two of her Children; and gave the new-born Infant to be devoured of Dogs.

In the County of *Armagh* they robbed, stripped, and murdered abundance of Protestants, whereof some they burned, some they slew with the Sword, some they hanged, and some they starved to death; and meeting *Mistress Howard*, and *Mistress Frankland* with six of their Children, and themselves both great with Child, with their Pikes they killed and murdered them all, ript open the Gentlewomens Bellies, took out their Children, and threw them into a Ditch. A young *Scottish* Womans Child they took by the heels, and dashed the Brains out against a Tree; The like they did to many other Children. Children had their Brains dashed out.

*Anne Hill* going with a young Child on her back, and four more by her side, these cruel Persecutors pulled the Child off her back, trod on it till it died, stripped her self and the other four Children stark naked, whereby they died of cold.

Some others they met with, hanged them up upon a Windmill, and before they were half dead, cut them in pieces with their Skeins. Many other Protestants, especially Women and Children they pricked and stabbed with their Skeins, Forks and Swords, flashing, cutting and mangling them in their Heads, Faces, Breasts, Arms, and other parts, yet killed them not, but left them wallowing in their Blood, to languish, starve, and pine to death; and when they desired them to kill them out of their pain, they refused; yet sometimes after a day or two, they would dash out their Brains with Stones or Clubs, which they accounted as a great favor.

One Goodwife *Harvey* at *Kilkenny* was forced to go to Mass, yet afterwards, together with her Children, was stripped, and one of her Daughters had her Belly ripped that her Intrails fell out; and her self was so beaten and wounded, that she hardly escaped with life.

Many burned.

The Castle of *Lisgoole* being set on fire by these merciless Papists, a Woman leaped out at a Window to save her self from burning, but they presently murdered her: The next morning her Child was found sucking at her Breast, which they murdered also. And whereas many Protestants, with their Wives and Children fled into Vaults and Cellars to hide themselves, they were all murdered there. One *Jane Addis* they stabbed, and then putting her Child of a quarter old, to her Breast, bid it *suck English Bastard*, and so left it to perish there.

Some perish by Famine.

One *Mary Barlow* had her Husband hanged before her Face, and her self with six Children were all stript stark naked in frost and snow, after which, sheltering themselves in a Cave, they had nothing to eat for three weeks, but two old Calves skins, which they beat with stones, and so eat them hair and all, her Children crying to her rather to go out and be killed than to famish there.

In the cold weather many Thousands of Protestants of all ranks, ages, and sexes, being turned out stark naked, perished of cold and hunger, Thousands of others were drowned, cast into Ditches, Bogs, and Turf-pits. Multitudes were inclosed in Houses, which being set on fire, they were burnt miserably. Some that lay sick of feavers they drew out of their Beds and hanged them. Some Men, Women, and Children they drove into Boggie pits; and if any of them endeavored to get out, they knockt them on the Heads.

Unnatural cruelties.

Some aged Men and Women, these *Barbarians* enforced their own Children to carry them to the River where they were drowned; yea some Children were compelled unnaturally to be the Executioners of their own Parents: Wives were forced to help to hang their own Husbands, and Mothers to cast their own Children into the Water, after all which, themselves were murdered. In *Sligo* they forced a young Man to kill his own Father, and then hanged him up: In another place they forced a Woman to kill her Husband; Then caused her Son to kill her, and then immediately hanged the Son; and this they did that they might destroy both Soul and Body: Yea such was their detestable malice against the *English* Protestants, that they taught their Children to kill *English* Children. One of these Villains Wives was very angry with their Soldiers, because they did not bring the grease of a fat Gentlewoman, whom they had slain, with them for her to make Candles of.

Children kill English Children.

Some boiled in Cauldrons.

The *Irish* Women that followed the Camp, egged on the Men to cruelty, always crying out, *Kill them all, spare neither, Man, Woman, nor Child*. They took the Child of one *Thomas Straton*, being about twelve years old, and boiled him to death in a Cauldron. One Goodwife *Lin* and her Daughter were carried into a Wood, where they first hanged the Mother, and then the Daughter in the hair of the Mothers Head. Some Women and Children of the *Irish*, meeting an *English* Woman great with Child, stript her to her smock, then pulled off her smock, and so rent and abused her, that the poor Woman falling into labor, both she and her Child died under their hands.

Some had their Eyes pulled out.

In some places they plucked out the Eyes, and cut off the Hands of the Protestants, and so turned them out into the Fields to wander up and down till they perished. The very Women in some places stoned the *English* Women to death, together with their Children. One Man they shot through both his thighs, then digging a hole in the ground, they set him in it upright upon his Feet, and then filled up the hole, leaving out only his Head, where they left him till he pined and languished to death. Of another Man they held his Feet in the fire till he was burned to death.

In *Munster* they hanged up many Ministers in a most barbarous manner. One Minister they stripped stark naked, and drove him through the Town, pricking him forwards with Darts and Rapiers, and so pursued him till he fell down dead.

Neither



Neither did all the malice that they bore to these poor Christians, end with their lives when they had slain them, but extended after death to the denying burial to their Carcasses, casting some into ditches, leaving others to be devoured of ravenous Beasts and Fowls; yea some that had been formerly buried they digged up, and left them as dung upon the face of the earth.

These barbarous Villains vowed that if any Parents digged graves to bury their Children in, they should be buried therein themselves. They stripped one *William Loverden* naked, then killed him before his Wife and Children, cut off his Head, and held it up for them to gaze at; and when his Wife had buried him in his Garden, they digged him up, and threw him into a Ditch. Divers Ministers Bones that had been buried some years before, they digged up, because they were, as they said, Patrons of *Herésie*.

Poor Children that went out into the Fields to eat weeds and grass, they killed without all pity. And a poor Woman, whose Husband was taken by them, went to them with two Children at her Feet, and one at her Brest, hoping to beg her Husbands life; But they slew her and her sucking Infant; brake the Neck of another, and the third hardly escaped: And which was a great aggravation of their wickedness, they exercised all this cruelty upon the *English* Protestants who never provoked them thereto, yea that had always lived peaceably with them, administering help and comfort to them in distress, putting no difference betwixt them and those of their own Nation, and cherished them as Friends and loving Neighbors. Notwithstanding all which courtesies, they now shewed them no favor or pity. Alas, who can comprehend the fears, terrors, anguish, bitterness, and perplexity that seized upon the Hearts of the poor Protestants, finding themselves so suddenly surprized without remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward miseries, which could possibly by Man be inflicted upon humane creatures. What sighs and groans, trembling and astonishment! What shrieks, cries, and bitter lamentations of Wives, Children, Servants and Friends, howling and weeping, finding themselves without all hope of deliverance from their present miseries! How inexorable were all their barbarous Tormentors that compassed them in on every side, without all bowels of compassion, or the least commiseration and pity! One *Ellen Millington* they put into a hole, fastning her in with Stones, and left her there to languish to death, bragging how many of them went to see her kick and toss in the hole. Yea they boasted upon their success, that that day was there one, and that ere long they would not leave one Protestant Rogue living, but would utterly destroy every one that had but a drop of *English* Blood in them: Their Women crying out, *Slay them all, the English are fit meat for Dogs, and their Children are Babards*. Yea so implacable was their malice, that they vowed that they would not leave an *English* Beast alive, nor any of the breed of them. How grievous was it to any Christian Heart to hear a base Villain boast, that his Hands were so weary with killing and knocking down Protestants into a Bog, that he could not lift up his Arms to his Head! Another boasted that he had been abroad and had killed sixteen of the Rogues. Others boasted that they had killed so many, that the Grease and Fat which stuck upon their Swords, might well make an *Irish* Candle. Yea two Boys boasted, that at several times they had murdered and drowned Thirty six Women and Children.

These merciless Papists having set a Castle on fire, wherein were many Protestants, they rejoicingly said amongst themselves, *O how sweetly do they fry!*

At *Kilkenny*, when they had committed many cruel murders, they brought Seven Protestants Heads, amongst which one was the Head of a Reverend Minister, all which they set upon the Market-Cross, on a Market day, triumphing, flashing, and mangling them; and putting a gag into the Ministers mouth, they slit up his Cheeks to his Ears, and laying a Leaf of a Bible before it, they bid him preach; for his mouth was wide enough: It cannot be imagined

with what scorn and derision they acted these things, and with what joy and exaltation their Eyes beheld the sad spectacle of the Protestants miseries; what greedy delight they took in their bloody executions.

An *English* Woman, whom they had stripped stark naked, gat a little straw, which she tied about her middle to cover her nakedness; But these impudent Villains set fire to it, boasting what brave sport they had, to see how the fire made the *English* Jade dance.

At *Kilmore* they put many Protestants, Men, Women, and Children together into a thatched House, and then set fire on it, boasting of the lamentations and out-cries that they made whilest they were in burning, and how the Children gaped when the fire began to burn them; taking pride, and glorying in imitating those cries.

Prodigious  
cruelty.

They took one Mistress *Maxwel* being in labor, and threw her into a River; boasting that the Childs Arm appeared, and that it was half-born when the mother was drowned.

These bloody Persecutors took great pleasure and delight in their cruelty, and to encrease their misery, when they butchered them, they used to say, *Thy Soul to the Devil*. One of them coming into an House with his Hands and Cloaths all Bloody, made his boasts, that it was *English* Blood, and that his Skein had pincked the clean white Skins of many of them, even to the hilt thereof. When any of them had killed a Protestant, many of them would come one after another, each of them stabbing, wounding, and cutting his Body in a most despiteful manner, and then leave it naked to be devoured of Dogs, Beasts, and Fowls; and when they had slain any number of them, they would boast that they had made the Devil beholding to them in sending so many Souls to Hell.

But its no wonder that they carried themselves so towards these innocent Christians, when they spared not to belch out their execrable Blasphemies against God and his holy Word.

Bibles burnt.

In one place they burnt two Protestant Bibles, and then said it was Hell-fire they burnt. Other Bibles they took, cut in pieces, and then burnt them, saying, that they would do the like to all Puritane Bibles. In the Church at *Power-scourt* they burnt the Pulpit, Pues, Chests and Bibles belonging to it. Others of them took the Protestants Bibles, and wetting them in dirty Water, did several times dash them on the Faces of the Protestants, saying, *I know you love a good Lesson; Here is an excellent one for you, come to morrow and you shall have as good a Sermon as this*. Others they dragged by the Hair of the Head into the Church, there stripped and whipped them in a most cruel manner, saying, *If you come to morrow, you shall hear the like Sermon*. They took the Bible of a Minister called Master *Edward Slack*, and opening it, they laid it in a puddle of Water, and then stamped upon it, saying, *A Plague on it; This Bible hath bred all the quarrel*, and that they hoped within a few weeks all the Bibles in *Ireland* should be used as that was, or worse.

Blasphemies.

They did most despitefully upbraid the Profession of the truth to those blessed Souls, whom neither by threats nor terrors, pains nor torments they could draw to forsake their Religion. And though some by extream torments were drawn to profess the change of their Religion, yet did they find no more favour with these Hell-hounds, who with great scorn used to say, *That it was fit to send them out of the world whilst they were in a good mood*.

Apostates  
murdered.

At *Glasgow*, a Priest with some others, drew about Forty or Fifty *English* and *Scottish* Protestants to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and then he told them that they were in a good Faith, and for fear they should fall from it and turn *Hereticks*, he with his companions presently cut all their throats.

*John Nicholson* and *Anne* his Wife, being received into the Protection of one *Fitz Patrick*, he labored to perswade them to go to Mass, and to joyn in the present massacre; But they professed, *That rather than they would forsake their Religion*



## The Persecution of the Church in Ireland.

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*Religion they would die upon the Swords point;* Then he would have had the Woman burn her Bible, but she told him, *Rather than she would burn her Bible, she would die the death;* Whereupon, the Sabbath morning after they were both of them cruelly murdered: But he that acted the Villany was so tormented in Conscience, and dogged with apparitions of them as he conceived, that with inward horror he pined away.

Contrary and Courage.

Gods Judgements on Persecutors.

In the County of *Tipperary* near the Silver works, some of these barbarous Papists met with Eleven *English* Men, Protestants, Ten Women, and some Children, whom they first stripped of their Cloaths, and then with Stones, Poleaxes, Skeins, Swords, &c. they most barbarously massacred them all; This was done on a Sabbath Evening, the day having been very fair and clear: But just at that time, God sent a fearful storm of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, Hail and Rain, so that the Murtherers themselves confessed, that it was a sign of Gods anger against them for this cruelty; yet they persisted in their bloody act, hacking, hewing, slashing and stabbing them, so that most of them were cut in pieces; Then tying Withs about their Necks, they threw them into a hole which they made for the purpose; yet it pleased God, that one *Scottish* and an *English* Man, though they had many grievous wounds, and were left for dead, after a while revived, and with much difficulty escaped with their lives: But as God shewed his great mercy in preserving them, so he shewed his just judgment upon *Hugh Kennedy*, the chief of those Murtherers, who presently fell into a most desperate madness and distraction, neither resting day nor night, till about Eight days after he drowned himself.

In the County of *Mayo*, about Sixty Protestants, whereof Fifteen were Ministers, were upon Covenant, to be safely conveyed to *Galway* by one *Edmund Burk* and his Soldiers; But by the way this *Burk* drew his Sword, teaching thereby the rest of his Company to do the like, and so they began to massacre these poor Protestants, some they shot to death, some they stabbed with their skeins, some they thrust through with their Pikes, some they cast into the Water and drowned, the Women they stript stark naked, who lying upon their Husbands to save them, were run through with Pikes, so that very few of them escaped with life.

Papish persecution.

In the Town of *Sligo* Forty Protestants were stript and locked up in a Cellar; and about midnight a Butcher, provided for the purpose, was sent in amongst them, who with his Axe knocked them all on the Heads.

Many knocked on the Heads.

In *Tirawly*, Thirty or Forty *English*, who had formerly yielded to go to Mass, were put to their choice whether they would die by the Sword, or to be drowned: They chose the latter, and so being driven to the Sea-side, these barbarous Villains with their naked Swords forced them into the Sea; The Mothers with their Children in their Arms wading to the Chin, were afterwards overcome by the waves, where they all perished.

But present death was counted too great a favor, and therefore of some they twisted Withs about their Foreheads till the Blood sprang out at the Crown of their Heads: Others they hanged, and let down several times, &c.

The Son of Master *Montgomery*, a Minister, aged about Fifteen years, met with one of these blood-suckers, who formerly had been his School-master, who drew his Skein at him, whereupon the Boy said, *Good Master, whip me as much as you will, but do not kill me;* yet this merciless Tyger, barbarously murdered him without all pity. A *Scottish* Man was first wounded, and then buried alive in a Ditch.

A Boy murdered by the Master.

In the Town of *Sligo*, all the Protestants were first stript, and robbed of all their Estates: Afterwards they were summoned to go into the Goal, and such as refused, were carried in; and then about midnight, they all were stripped stark naked, and there most cruelly and barbarously murdered with Swords, Axes, Skeins, &c. some of them being Women great with Child, their Infants thrust out their Arms and Legs at their wounds, after

Barbarous cruelty, and oppression.

after which execrable murthers, they laid the dead naked Bodies of the Men upon the naked Bodies of the Women in a most immodest posture, where they left them till the next day to be looked upon by the *Irish*, who beheld it with great delight: Also *Isabel Beard*, great with Child, hearing the lamentable cries of those that were murdered, ran forth into the Streets, where she was barbarously murdered, and was found the next day with the Childs Feet coming out of the wounds in her sides; many others were murdered in the Houses and Streets: But by Gods just judgment the River of *Sligo*, which was before very full of Fish, whereby many were nourished, for a long time after it afforded no Fish at all. A Prior also that had a Hand in the murder of *Isabel Beard*, and of casting her into the River, presently after fell mad.

About *Dungannon* were Three hundred and sixteen Protestants in the like barbarous manner murdered: About *Charlemount* above Four hundred: About *Tyre* Two hundred and six.

One *Mac Crew* murdered Thirty one in one morning: Two young Villains murdered One hundred and forty poor Women and Children that could make no resistance: An *Irish* Women with her own Hands murdered Forty five.

Many drowned.

At *Portendowne* Bridge were drowned above Three hundred. At *Lamgh* were drowned above Two hundred: In another place Three hundred were drowned in one day. In the Parish of *Killamen* there were murdered One thousand and two hundred Protestants.

They made Candles of their Grease.

Many young Children they cut into quarters and gobbets: Eighteen *Scottish* Infants they hanged upon a Clothiers Tenterhooks. One fat Man they murdered, and made Candles of his Grease: Of another *Scottish* Man they ript up his Belly, took one end of his small Guts, tied it to a Tree, and forced him round about it till he had drawn them all out of his Body, saying, *That they would try whether a Dogs or a Scotchmans Guts were the longer.*

Prodigious cruelties.

By the command of Sir *Philem O Neale*, Master *James Maxwell* was drawn out of his Bed, being sick of a Feavor, and murdered: And his Wife being in Child-birth, the Child half born, they stript her stark naked, drove her about a flights shoot, and drowned her in the Black-water; The like, or worse they did to another *English* Woman in the same Town. They took one Master *Watson*, and cutting two collops out of his Buttocks they roasted him alive. Of a *Scottish* Woman great with Child, they ript up her Belly, cut the Child out of her Womb, and so left it crawling on her Body.

Popish uncleanness.

Master *Starkey*, Schoolmaster at *Armagh*, being above One hundred years old, they stripped stark naked; Then took two of his Daughters being Virgins, whom they stripped stark naked also, and then forced them to lead their aged Father under the Arms a quarter of a mile to a Turfpit, where they drowned them all three, feeding the lusts of their Eyes, and cruelty of their Hearts with the same object at the same time.

Their cruelty to the Cattle.

In some places they shewed the like cruelty to the *English* Beasts, which they would not kill out-right, but used to cut collops out of them, delighting to hear their roaring, and so the poor Cattel would sometimes live two or three days in that torment.

Henry Cowel.  
Constancy.  
Robert Ecklin.  
A Childs Constancy.

To one *Henry Cowel*, a gallant Gentleman, they profered his life, if he would marry one of their bale Trulls, or go to Mass, but he chose death rather than to consent to either. Also to one *Robert Ecklin*, a Child about Eleven years old, they profered his life if he would go to Mass, but he refused, saying, *That he saw nothing in their Religion for which he would change his own.*

Many of the Protestants they buried alive, solacing themselves in hearing them speak to them, whilst they were digging down old Ditches upon them.

They



They used also to send their Children abroad in troops, armed with long Wattles and Whips, wherewith they used to beat dead Mens Bodies about their privy members, till they beat them off, and then would return very joyful to their Parents, who received them, as it were in Triumph for their good actions.

Children  
brutally  
cruel-  
ty.

If any Women were found dead, lying with their Faces downwards, these brutish persons used to turn them on their Backs, viewing and censuring every part of them, especially those parts that are not fit to be named, which also they abused so many ways, and so filthily, as chaste Ears would not endure the naming thereof.

Popish un-  
cleanness.

They brake the Back-bone of a young youth, and so left him in the Fields, and some days after he was found, having, like a Beast, eaten all the Grass round about him; yet neither then could they kill him out-right, but removed him to a place of better pasture, wherein was fulfilled that saying, *The tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.*

Monstrous  
cruelty to a  
Boy.

In the County of *Antrim* they murdered Nine hundred fifty four Protestants in one morning, and afterwards about Twelve hundred more in that County. Near *Lisnegarvy* they forced above Twenty four Protestants into a House, and then setting fire on it, they burned them all, counterfeiting their outcries in de-  
finition to others.

Many burnt.

Sir *Philem O Neal* boasted that he had slain above Six hundred at *Garvagh*; and that he had left neither Man, Woman, nor Child alive in the Baronry of *Mounsterlong*. In other places he murdered above Two thousand Persons in their Houses, so that many Houses were filled with dead Bodies.

Above Twelve thousand were slain in the high ways as they fled towards *Down*. Many died of Famine; many were starved to death for want of Clothes, being stript of all in a cold season: Some Thousands were drowned. So that in the very Province of *Ulster* there were about One hundred and fifty thousand murdered by sundry kinds of torments and deaths.

One hundred  
and fifty thou-  
sand murder-  
ed in *Ulster*.

These bloody Persecutors themselves confessed, that the Ghosts of divers of the Protestants which they had drowned at *Portendowne* Bridge, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the River, sometimes singing of *Psalms*, sometimes brandishing naked Swords, sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful manner, so that many of the Popish *Irish* which dwelt near thereabouts, being affrighted herewith, were forced to remove their habitations further off into the Countrey.

Gods judg-  
ment on these  
Persecutors.

The Popish *English* were no whit inferiour, yea rather exceeded the natural *Irish* in their cruelty against the Protestants that lived amongst them, within the pale, being never satisfied with their Blood till they had seen the last drop thereof.

*Anne Kinnard* testified, that Fifteen Protestants being imprisoned, and their Feet in the Stocks, a Popish Boy being not above Fourteen years old, slew them all in one night with his Skein. Another not above Twelve years old, killed Two Women in another place. An *English* Papist Woman killed Seven Men and Women of her neighbors in one morning. And it was usual for the Papists Children to murder the Protestants Children, and sometimes with their wooden Swords, sharp and heavy, they would venture of People of ripe years.

Boys and Wo-  
men murder-  
ers.

An *English* Woman, who was newly delivered of Two Children, some of these Villains violently compelled her in her great pain and sickness, to rise from her Bed, and took One of the Infants that was living, and dashed out his Brains against the Stones, and then threw him into the River of *Barrow*. The like they did by many other Infants: Many others they hanged without all pity.

The Lord *Mont Garret* caused divers *English* Soldiers that he had taken about *Kilkenny* to be hanged, hardly suffering them to pray before their death, they

Soldiers hang-  
ed.

Constancy.

they died very patiently, and resolutely in the defence of the Protestant Faith; and one of them, being an *Irish* Man, had his life offered if he would turn Papist, but he rather chose to die, and so was executed with the rest.

Some of these Persecutors meeting a poor young Girl that was going to see her Friends, they first half-hanged her, and then buried her quick.

Popish perfidiousness.

One *Fitz Patrick* enticed a rich Merchant, that was a Protestant, to bring all his goods into his House, promising safely to keep them, and to redeliver them to him. But when he had thus gotten them into his possession, he took the Merchant and his Wife, and hanged them both: The like he did to divers others.

Some *English* Mens Heads that they had cut off, they carried to *Kilkenny*, and on the Market day, set them on the Cross, where many, especially the Women, stab'd, cut, and slashed them, every one accounting themselves happy that could but get a blow at them.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

One of the Heads being a Ministers, a Woman struck so hard with her fist, that the same night her Hand grew black and blew, and so rankled, that she was lame of it a quarter of a year after: Another Woman that looked on those Heads with much rejoicing, presently after fell so distracted, that neither night nor day she could rest, but cryed out continually that she saw those Heads before her Eyes.

One *English* Protestant, saying, *That he would believe the Devil as soon as the Pope*, they presently hanged him up in an Apple Tree till he died.

Some worried with Dogs.

A poor Protestant Woman with her Two Children going to *Kilkenny* upon business, these bloody miscreants baited them with Dogs, stabbed them with Skeins, and pulled out the Guts of one of the Children, whereby they died: And not far off, they took divers Men, Women, and Children, and hanged them; and one of the Women being great with Child, they ripped up her Belly as she hanged, so that the Child fell out in the cawl alive. Some after they were hanged, they drew up and down till their Bowels were torn out.

The Munster Remonstrance

How many Thousands of Protestants were thus inhumanely murdered by sundry kinds of deaths in that one Province of *Ulster* we have heard before: What the number of the slain was in the Three other Provinces, I find not upon Record; But certainly it was very great; For I find these passages in a general Remonstrance of the distressed Protestants in the Province of *Munster*. *We may (say they) compare our woe to the saddest Parallel of any Story; Our Churches are demolished, or which is worse, profaned by Sacrifices to Idols: Our habitations are become ruinous heaps: No quality, age, or sex privileged from Massacres, and lingring deaths, by being robbed, stript naked, and so exposed to Cold and Famine. The famished Infants of murdered Parents swarm in our Streets, and for want of food, perish before our Faces, &c. And all this cruelty that is exercised upon us, we know not for what cause, offence, or seeming provocation its inflicted on us, (sin excepted) saving that we were Protestants, &c. we can make it manifest that the depopulations in this Province of Munster, do well near equal those of the whole Kingdom, &c.*

Gods judgments on Persecutors.

Apparitions at Portendown Bridg.

And thus in part we have heard of the merciless cruelties which the bloody Papists exercised towards the Protestants: Let us now consider, at least some of Gods judgments upon the *Irish*, whereby he hath not left the innocent Blood of his Servants to be altogether unrevenged. Some particular instances have been mentioned before: As also the apparitions at *Portendown* Bridg which affrighted them from their Habitations, concerning which it is further testified, that by their own confession, the Blood of those that were knocked on the Head, and then thrown into the River at that Bridg, remained for a long time upon the Stones, and could not be washed away: As also that oftentimes they saw apparitions sometimes of Men, sometimes of Women rising Brest-high above the Water, which did most extreemly screech and cry out for vengeance against the *Irish* that had murdered them there.

Catharine



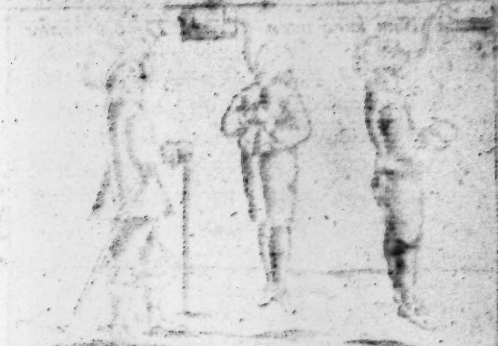


Fig: 10





*Catharine Coke* testified upon oath, that when the *Irish* had barbarously drowned One hundred and eighty Protestants, Men, Women, and Children, at *Portendown* Bridge, about nine days after she saw the apparition of a Man bolt up right in the River, standing Breast-high, with his hands lift up to Heaven, and continuing in that posture from *December* to the end of *Leam*, at which time some of the *English* Army passing that way, saw it also, after which it vanished away.

*Elizabeth Price* testified upon oath, that she and other Women whose Husbands and Children were drowned in that place, hearing of these apparitions, went thither one Evening, at which time they saw one like a Woman rise out of the River Breast-high; her Hair hanging down, which, with her skin, was as white as Snow; often crying out, *Revenge, Revenge, Revenge*, which so affrighted them, that they went their way.

Divers Protestants were thrown into the River of *Belterbert*, and when any of them offered to swim to the Land, they were knocked on the Head with Poles, after which their Bodies were not seen of Six Weeks: But after the end thereof, the Murtherers coming again that way, the Bodies came floating up to the very Bridge where they were.

*Sir Con mac Gennis* with his Company, slew Master *Turge*, Minister of the *Newry*, with divers other Protestants, after which the said *Mac Gennis* was affrighted with the apprehension of the said Master *Turge* his being continued in his presence, that he Commanded his Soldiers not to slay any more of them, but such as should be slain in Battel.

A young Woman being stript almost naked, there came a Rogue to her, bidding her give him her Money, or he would run her through with his Sword. Her answer was, *You cannot kill me except God give you leave*, whereupon he ran three times at her naked Body with his drawn Sword, and yet never pierced her skin, whereat he being confounded, went his way and left her; this was attested by divers Women that were present and saw it.

But besides these forementioned Judgments of God which befall them for their Inhumane cruelties; we may observe how the Hand of God hath been out against them ever since, and that in a special manner, by emasculating and debasing their Spirits; whereby it hath come to pass that ordinarily a few *English* Soldiers have chased multitudes of them, and generally in all the Battels and Fights that have been betwixt them, they have always been beaten, though the odds was great on their side: And as they made themselves formerly Drunk with the innocent Blood of the unresisting Protestants; so now God hath given them their fill of Blood in jealousy and fury. Many Thousands of them have perished by the Sword of War: And how heavy hath the Hand of God lain further upon them this present year 1650. in that terrible and universal Plague that hath been scattered all over the Nation, whereby many Thousands more of them have perished, and God is still Fighting against, and probably will continue their destruction, till they either shall truly be humbled for their horrid sins, or be utterly consumed from the Face of the Earth!

*Amen; Even so come Lord Jesus, come quickly.*

*These particulars were attested upon Oath by sundry persons before Commissioners appointed to take their Examination.*

Here place the Tenth Figure.



## CHAP. XLI.

*A Continuation of the History of the Waldenses from the Year 1560. ending with the late Persecution in the Vallies in PIEMONTE.*

An Edict in favor of the Protestants.



*Nno Christi 1561.* the Duke of Savoy published an Edict in favor of the Evangelical Churches in the Vallies of Piemont, wherein he granted an indemnity to the people of the Vallies of Angrogna, Bobio, Villaro, Valguicchiardo, Rora, Tagliaretto, and La Rica di Boneti at the end of La Torre, Saint Martino, Perosa, Roccapiatta, and Saint Bartholemo, from all former actings; and restored them into his favor, as if they had never acted any thing against His Highness; receiving them into his safeguard and protection: He granted them also to have Preaching Assemblies, and other Ministerial Offices according to their Religion in their wonted places, &c.

A cruel Edict.

But in the year 1565. Another Edict was published, at the instigation of the Popish party, whereby all men who lived in the Duke of Savoy's Dominions, and would not conform to the Romish Religion, were enjoined to come and declare the same to their respective Magistrates within Ten days after the publication thereof, and Two Months after to leave the Country, having One years time given them to dispose of their Goods movable, and unmovable, during which time they should enjoy the revenue thereof, &c.

The Elector Palatine intercedes for them.

The tidings of this Cruelty so wrought upon the Hearts of the Protestant Princes of Germany, that they sent an Embassy to the Duke of Savoy to intercede in their behalf: Amongst whom the Prince Elector Palatine was exceeding zealous, sending one of his Counsellors of State, a person of singular worth, to the Duke of Savoy, to mediate in their behalf; at whose return, the Prince being informed by him of the unworthy dealing of that Court, and finding that notwithstanding all their fair promises, they did not at all cease from Persecuting these poor people, he wrote a very smart and Pathetical Letter to the said Duke, challenging him for breach of promise to himself and the other German Princes, in that he suffered his Ministers still to Persecute and Banish those poor innocent people, meerly upon the account of Religion, concluding that such severity was neither pleasing to God nor Man; neither (saith he) is it the way to bring men to the true knowledge of God, which should be done by persuasions, and Scripture-proofs, not by Persecutions, &c. *wherefore I pray your Highness that you will give us an evidence of that love which you have for us, by delivering those poor people who are now in the Gallies, and by recalling those who have been lately Banished, as you promised by your Letters. Have compassion upon so many poor wandering Exiles, deprived of all their Goods and Estates: Call them home, and restore them to their Habitations; and grant them, and the other Inhabitants of your Highness Countries the publick exercise of their Religion, which they prefer before their necessary Food: Free them from their false accusations, that they may live in peace under your Highness Government, &c. If your Highness will grant me this request, I doubt not but you shall experimentally find*



## The late Persecutions in the Valleys of Piedmont.

find the favor and Blessing of God, and you shall oblige us to you in all things: If otherwise, you will both provoke God to lift up his Hand against you, and estrange from you the affections of those who desire to do you pleasure and service, &c.  
Dated 1566.

Now that you may see upon what occasion the Prince wrote this Letter, you are to understand that *Castrocaro* (one of their Popish Governors) being extremely troubled that the Prince Electors Ambassador had obtained several promises at the Court for the poor peoples advantage, did immediately after the said Ambassadors departure, publish through the Valley of *Lucerne*, two Ordinances: By the one he commanded all the Inhabitants throughout his Government, that were not Natives, to depart within a day after the publication thereof, upon pain of death, and Confiscation of their Goods: By the other he prohibited upon the same penalty those of the reformed Religion, inhabiting *Lucerne*, *Bubbiana*, *Campiglione*, and *Fenile*, to hear Sermons at *Saint Giovanni*; and for their not submitting, he imprisoned and tormented a great number of them in the Castle of *La Torre*, which dealing made poor people to make their address to the Dutchess of *Savoy*, who pitying their condition, wrote to the said *Castrocaro* in their behalf, commanding him in the Dukes name to set at liberty the imprisoned, and to cease to molest them in the enjoyment of their antient habitations and privileges.

They are cruelly dealt with.

This Letter stopped the fury of *Castrocaro* for the present: But it was far from working any change of affections in him, as was evident by his after actions: For in the year 1571. he did so incense the Governor of *Bobio* against the poor Inhabitants of that Valley, that he did not only grievously molest them upon all occasions as they came under his clutches, but also wrote bitter Letters to the Duke against them, improving the uttermost of his parts and power for their ruine and extirpation: And certainly *Castrocaro* had then effected his design, had not the Dutchess, upon the joynt supplications of the Evangelical Churches, very effectually interposed for them, and procured the continuation of their just and undoubted privileges.

Gods Providence for them.

Anno 1571. Many of the poor Protestants of the Valleys were grievously molested under pretext that in the former War of *France* against those of the Religion, they had joyned themselves to the Protestant Troops: But King *Charles* the ninth being moved with compassion towards them, wrote a Letter to the Duke of *Savoy* in their behalf, requesting him to receive them with gentleness into his grace and favor, and to re-establish them in their estates, &c. The subject of which Letter was not only satisfactory to those for whom it interceded, but also to all other faithful ones of the Valleys, out of the great hopes they had of future tranquillity. But it endured no longer than till their Enemies had an opportunity of molesting them, which they greedily embraced upon the news of the horrible Massacres in *France*.

King of France intercedes for them.

For *Castrocaro* did thereupon so threaten the poor Protestants, that they retired themselves, with their Families, and movables, to the tops of the neighboring Mountains, and into all other places where they hoped for safety: But the Duke of *Savoy* not approving the cruelties exercised against the Protestants in *France*, sent to those his Subjects, who were thus withdrawn, commanding them to return to their Houses, and Habitations, promising that they should suffer no prejudice, nor incur the least danger thereby. Neither indeed were their sufferings great afterwards, so long as Madam the Dutchess was living, who was a refuge to them upon all occasions.

Popish malignity.

Gods mercy.

After the death of this Princess, which happened Octob. 19. 1574. The Popish party came forth like Lions, improving the uttermost of their endeavors to devour and destroy this poor people upon all occasions, But the goodness of God was so great towards them, that they always found some considerable Friends about the Duke, who inclined his heart to gentleness and moderation: But after the death of this *Philibert Emanuel*, who died Aug. 20. 1580. *Charles Emanuel*

The Duke fa-  
vors them.

*Emanuel* his Son, having invaded the Marquisate of *Saluces*, *Monfieur L'Esdi- guieres* by way of retaliation, seized upon the Vallies of *Piemont*: But the *French* Army was no sooner gone home, then there was a rumor spread throughout the Vallies, that the Duke was resolved to take this occasion to extirpate all the Protestant Churches, because they had taken an Oath of fidelity to the *French* King, neither was it groundless: For the thing was really propounded in the Dukes Council, but it pleased God so to order affairs, that the leading men amongst them did not at all approve of the business: Yea, the Duke himself did extremely dislike it: And after he had retaken *Mirebuc*, he did not a little revive the Spirits of the Representatives of the Protestants of *Lucerna*, who met with them at *Villaro* on purpose to assure his Highness of their fidelity, and to beg the continuance of his grace and favor, to whom (in the presence of a great number of his Lords) he returned this Answer: *Be but faithful unto me, and I will be sure to be a good Prince, nay a Father unto you; and as to the liberty of your Conscience, and the exercises of your Religion, I shall be so far from innovating any thing against those liberties in which you have lived unto this present, that if any offer to molest you, have recourse to me, and I shall effectually relieve and protect you.*

Satans malice.

These Words being spoken in such a presence, and in so obliging a manner, were very advantageous to the poor peoples interest: For some time after, they served to counterballance the threats of their fiercest Enemies: Yet were there some amongst the Popish party that thought it an unpardonable sin to suffer them to live one year in peace, and on the contrary an acceptable service to molest them, either by secret stratagems, or by open force and violence.

Such was the condition of this poor people from the year 1595. to the year 1602. at which time all the Masters of Families in the Valley of *Lucerna*, professing the Protestant Religion, were cited to appear before Count *Charles of Lucerna*, the Governor *Ponte*, the Arch-Bishop *Broglia*, and others, and were by them commanded in the Dukes name, either to go to Mass, or to quit *Lucerna*, and all their pretensions thereto, without the least hopes of ever obtaining favor to return, or in case of disobedience, to prepare themselves for inevitable mischiefs and calamities: which threats were pressed with so much violence, that it caused many of the poor Creatures to submit, at least seemingly, to the change of their Religion, though many others of them were the deeper rooted by these shakings.

Popish subtilty  
prevented.

From *Lucerna* the aforementioned Lords removed their seat to *Bubiana* where they found the Reformed so stiff in their Principles, that they could not remove them an hairs breadth from the same, wherefore they caused the chief of them to be summoned to appear at *Turin*, thinking that the Dukes presence might prevail more with them than all their threatening Speeches: The persons thus summoned were Master *Valentine*, and Master *Boules* his Brother, with one *Peter Morese*, and *Samuel Falc*, who were brought one after another before his Highness: Master *Valentine* was the first, whom the Duke perswaded to embrace the *Roman Catholick Religion*, and to draw others to do the like, promising him great rewards and preferments if he obeyed, &c. To this Master *Valentine* answered, *That next to the service of God, he had no greater desire then to obey, and please his Highness, in whose service he would willingly adventure his person and Estate, when ever there should be occasion: But as for his Religion which he knew to be true, and confirmed by the Word of God, he could not abandon it without disobeying God, and wounding his own Conscience, so as never to enjoy any comfort in his Soul afterwards: And therefore he humbly intreated his Highness to be satisfied with what he could do with a good Conscience, and to leave him to the liberty of his Religion which he valued above his life: The Duke replied, That he also doubted not of the truth of that Religion which he professed, and that such as embraced it, should find how much they had gratified him in so doing, yet would he not force the Conscience of any man, and so he gave them leave to depart.*

Courage and  
Constancy.



## CHAP. XLII.

*The Marquisate of Saluces described, with its several troubles and Persecutions.*

**T**He Marquisate of *Saluces* is on the South side of the Vallies of *Piemont*, containing in it several Cities, and considerable Vallies, very Fruitful in all sorts of Fruits. Its most Northerly Valley is that of *Po*, where the Famous River *Po* hath its rise, and source; one only Mountain separates this from the Valley of *Lucerna* on the North side: In this Valley were those ancient Churches, viz. *Pravillem*, *Biolets*, and *Bietone*, who retained the purity of Christian Religion for several Hundreds of years, and lived in great Union with their neighboring Churches.

Anno Christi 1561. The Church of *Dronier*, which was one of the most flourishing, understanding that the publick exercise of the Reformed Religion was permitted in *France*, obtained Letters from the Kings Council to *Sieur Louis* of *Birague*, Governor of that Country in the Duke of *Nevers* absence, whereby he was ordered to provide for the Petitioners a convenient place for the publick exercise of their Religion: But not long after their Adversaries, by their importunity, prevailed so far that the said Letters were revoked: This occasioned the said Church to send Monsieur *Francis Galatee*, their Minister, into *France*, with some others, to recover (if it were possible) their former priviledges. But this falling out in the time of their troubles in *France*, all that they could obtain, was only bare promises. In the mean time they received many hortatory and consolatory letters from the chief Ministers in the Churches of *France*, and amongst others from those of *Grenoble*, *Lions*, &c. to perswade them to patience, and perseverance in that truth which they had embraced, which accordingly they did, notwithstanding all the malice and subtilty of their Adversaries: So that their Churches were continued and upheld, convenient order being had for the preaching of the Word, administration of the Sacraments, exercise of their Discipline, &c. only there wanted in some places liberty of having General Assemblies, and publick Sermons.

For the better safety of their Ministers in the places that were most dangerous, one Pastor had the charge of the Faithful in several Cities and Communalities, which rendred their residence and exercises less visible to their Adversaries: Hereby the Gospel (through Gods mercy) made a very considerable progress at *Dronier*, *Verzo*, and some other places of more note. The Church of *Acell* in the Valley of *Mairi* was extraordinary peopled, and enjoyed more liberty than the others, by reason of the situation of the place: But Satan the Enemy of Christs Church and Kingdom, perceiving such a growth of the Reformed Religion in those places, ceased not to employ all his power and policy to hinder the same; and therein he made use of instruments for the effecting of it, viz. First the *Anticodemites*, whose ringleader was *Baronius*, who lived at *Valgrane* and thereabouts, accommodating himself to the times: For when the Church had rest and ease, he wrote strange things, and cryed out of the abuses in Popery: But in times of Persecution he usually played the Hypocrite, and labored to draw others to do the same, by which means he had a multitude of Followers, and amongst them, the Lord of *Valgrane*, and *Maximilian de Saluces*, who set his name to *Baronius* to add luster to his writings against the Ministers, reproaching them for that they would not give way to any dissimulation in their Disciples, whereby they exposed them to great extremities. This Lord had some learning and knowledge of the truth, but to avoid the bearing of the Cross, he thought it convenient to dissemble, and condemned those who any way gain said the Papists. Yet Monsieur *Gelido*, Minister of *Acell*, opposed them both, very learnedly

They are favored, but of gain washed.

They are encouraged.

Tick Providence.

Satan's policy.

Dissembling Hypocrites.

They are not saved.

edly in several Letters that he wrote unto them : So did Monsieur *Truchi*, Minister of *Dronier*, together with other Pastors of the neighbouring places, demonstrating both by Scripture Testimonies, and by the Example of the Primitive Church, that they had done nothing but what they ought to do, and what every Faithful Christian was bound to, and consequently that the opinion of *Baronius* and his Followers, was pernicious to the Church in times of Persecution.

The other Instruments that Satan made use of to the prejudice of the Church, were the *Roman* Clergy, with their passionate Profelites, who would faine have done to these godly Christians, as their Brethren in iniquity had done to their neighbours in the Dukedom of *Savoy*, viz. Banish, Imprison, Kill, and Confiscate the Goods of the Protestants : But (through Gods mercy) they were hindred by the Kings Edicts, confirming to those his Subjects of *Saluces* a peaceable Habitation, without being molested for their Conscience and Religion, or questioned for any thing they did in their private Houses (provided they abstained from the publick exercise of it) by which means their Ministers had opportunity of assembling in small Companies, Baptizing, Marrying, comforting the Sick, and instructing every one in particular ; which provoked their Adversaries to bend themselves chiefly against the Ministers, thinking that if they could find out any means to extirpate them, they should easily prevail upon the Common people, having none to animate and instruct them.

Popish policy.

Accordingly they published an Edict of *Octob. 19. 1567.* in the name of the Duke of *Nevers*, Governor for the King on this side the Mountains, injoyning all of the Religion there inhabiting or abiding, that were not the Kings natural Subjects, to depart, together with their Families within the space of three days, and never to return thither to inhabit, pass, or otherwise to abide without a special safe conduct, upon pain of life, and confiscation of their Goods.

Persecution renewed.

Now the greatest part of the Ministers not being natural Subjects to the King, by this Edict were to quit the Marquisate, or to obtain a safe conduct, or lastly to incur the penalty : A safe conduct they could not obtain, and yet they thought themselves bound in Conscience not to abandon their people ; wherefore continuing with their Congregations, two of them were apprehended and imprisoned, viz. Monsieur *Francis Truchi*, and Monsieur *Francis Soulf*, where they were detained four years, four months, and odd days, the poor people being not able by any means to obtain their deliverance, though they continually solicited *de Birague* their Governor, and others that had undertaken the management of these affairs ; yet the Lord was so pleased to restrain the power of their Enemies that they could not take away their lives ; Yea, by degrees they obtained for them a more spacious and convenient Prison than that wherunto they were at first confined.

Gods Providence.

To procure their full deliverance the Churches of the Marquisate sent their supplications to the King by the aforesaid Minister *Galatee*, and another ; who set out *July 27. 1571.* and went as far as *Rochel* to implore the intercession of the Queen of *Navar*, as also to intreat the assistance of divers others in several places : And the great Patrons of the reformed Religion disputed their case before the King, and in the end obtained Letters under the Kings own Hand for their enlargement, *Octob. 14. 1571.* which was accordingly effected ; but it was four months after before it could be done.

Gods mercy.

When *Sieur Galatee* returned, he was overjoyed, as well for the prosperous success of his negotiations, as for the great hopes of a profound peace, founded upon the smooth promises of his Majesty, and upon the alliance which he had made by the Marriage of his Sister to the King of *Navar*, who professed the Reformed Religion. But this joy lasted but from the month of *May 1572.* to the beginning of *September*, at which time there arrived the lamentable news of the Massacre of many noble persons, and multitudes of others who were most inhumanely

The Massacre of Paris.

manely



manely murdered in divers places of *France*, to the great astonishment of all the faithful in those parts.

About the same time there arrived letters from the King to the Governor *Birague*, by which he was required to have an eye, that at the arrival of the news of what happened at *Paris*, they of the Religion should make no combustion; remitting the rest of his pleasure to those instructions which he had sent him by the bearer, the contents whereof were, that he should put to death all the chief of the Protestants within his jurisdiction, whose names he should find in the Roll that should be presented to him.

*Birague* having received this command, together with the Roll aforementioned, was much troubled, and immediately called his Council together, whom he acquainted with the Kings Orders: Whereupon some were of opinion that they should be immediately Executed: But others, seeing the King in his late Patents, not many months before, had enlarged the Ministers that were imprisoned, and had ordered that those of the Reformed Religion should not be any ways molested for their Conscience sake; as also upon consideration that nothing had occurred since that time worthy such a change, they therefore thought it sufficient to secure the persons of such as were enrolled, and to defer Execution for a while, and in the mean time to inform the King that they were persons of Honor, Faithful to His Majesty, living peaceably with their neighbors, and inoffensive in their lives: Adding, that in case His Majesty was resolved that they should be put to death, there was yet time enough to Execute his pleasure therein.

A special Providence,

This advice *Birague* approved of, and accordingly apprehended some, but others escaped, and concealed themselves: And in the mean time he dispatched a Messenger to the King, to inform him as abovesaid, and to know his further pleasure. This Messenger met with another at *Lions*, by whom the King had sent to *Birague* to advertise him, that in case his former Order was not already Executed, he should desist from it, and only have a special care that those of the Religion should make no insurrection, or have any public exercises.

But they of the Reformed Religion in the Marquisate were not a little troubled when they heard of the cruel Massacre of their Brethren in *France* without distinction of Age, Sex, or Quality, inasmuch as divers of them fled; many Papists also secretly caused the Families of their Kindred and Friends of the Religion to retire their Families and themselves till such time as *Birague* had published the Kings pleasure, after which they returned by little and little; and though their public exercises were prohibited, yet they were well satisfied with the assurance of their lives, and estates, besides that they had the liberty of private exercises in their Families.

This was the condition of the Protestant Churches in *Saluces* during the time that it was under the Dominion of the King of *France*, which continued to the year 1588. at which time the Duke of *Savoy* took the possession of it, who for a while after suffered them to enjoy their privileges in general: But in particular, some of the chief Members of the Church of *Dormier*, being cited to *Turin*, were so befooled with subtilty Artifices, that one part of them promised to go to Mass, which gave a considerable blow to the said Church, yet it lost not its courage in general, although the great failings of the former encouraged their Adversaries to attempt the like upon others by both words and Letters.

Anno Christi 1597. the Duke of *Savoy* wrote his Letter to them, wherein he told them how desirous he was that all his Subjects in the Marquisate of *Saluces* should embrace the *Romish* Religion, and finding that his exhortations had prevailed with some, he hoped that they would have the same effect upon the rest, desiring that laying aside their Horrid obstinacy, they would embrace the true Religion out of respect to Gods glory, and their own good, making large promises to

The Duke's Letter to them in English.

to such as should submit, and telling them that it should return to their great advantage.

**Their Answer,** The Churches of the Marquisate having received this Letter, they answered, First, *That they returned His Highness many thanks for that he had suffered them to enjoy their Religion hitherto as he had found them in the year 1588. when he took possession of the Marquisate.* Secondly; *They humbly intreated him to continue to them the said benefit; as also to grant them his protection, seeing that they knew that their Religion was founded upon the Holy Scriptures, according to which they ordered their lives and Conversations, so as none had any just occasion of offence: And considering that even the Jews and other Enemies of Christ were suffered to live in peace, and to enjoy their Religion, they hoped that those which were found Christians; Faithful to God, and loyal to their Prince, should not be denied the same privilege.*

After this Answer they lived a while in peace, and the Duke took a Voyage into France, after which followed a War, so that they continued as aforetime: But after the exchange of the Marquisate was established upon him, his soft Letters were turned into sharp Edicts, wherein he commanded all those of the Religion within the Marquisate, that every one should go, and declare to his ordinary Magistrate within the space of fifteen days, whether he would renounce his Religion, or go to Mass or no; which if they would do, they should not only enjoy their Habitations, and Estates, but many other favors also: But if they resolved to persist in their Religion, they were enjoined to depart out of His Highnesses Dominions within the space of two months, and never to return without express permission, and that upon pain of death, and confiscation of all their goods: yet they were permitted within the said term of two months to transport their Goods as they should think meet.

**A cruel Edict.**

This unexpected Edict being published through the Marquisate, July 1601. much troubled those of the Reformed Religion, who immediately sent Deputies to His Highness to obtain a revocation, or at least a moderation of it; and indeed they had some hopes given them by divers persons of quality, so that many of the poor people resting upon this broken Reed, let slip much of the said prefixed time without preparing for their departure, whereby they were the more amazed when they understood, not many days before the time was expired, that all hope of favor was now wholly taken away; yet most of them prepared for their departure; some recommending their goods to their kindred and Friends who remained in the Country, others leaving all they had at random, except what they could carry with them to serve for their present necessities.

**Popish subtilty.**

In these two months space they who were resolved to depart, were continually set upon by their Friends and kindred, with all manner of persuasions to divert them from their purposes, especially when they presented themselves to the Magistrate to give in their Answer in writing: For then they were caused to stand in a certain Pew in publick view, where the Magistrates had either Monks, or other Ecclesiasticks, who ceased not to urge them by all possible arguments and motives thereby to shake their Faith and Constancy: Amongst others, a certain Capuchin Friar, called *Philip Ribot*, who a little before had been employed in the same manner in the Valley of *Peroza*, being now employed in this place, ran up and down, using all subtilties imaginable, especially among those who through feebleness of Age, weakness of Sex, or want of Estates, might probably make them more easie to be seduced: They caused them also to be brought before the Magistrate one by one, that so the Constancy of some might not encourage others: Yea, hardly were Husbands permitted to declare for their Wives and Children; and they so sifted the tender ones, that it was hard for them to escape without making Shipwreck of their Faith and Religion: And to promote their design, they prohibited all upon pain of death, not to dissuade others from revolting. Yet through Gods mercy, they were so fortified in their Spirits, that most of them withstood the temptations, and went forth as Providence



dence guided them, not knowing whether they went. Some steered their course beyond the *Alps* to *France*, *Geneva*, and other places: Others retired themselves into the Valleys of *Piemont*, and remained there without trouble, though the Edict required that they should depart out of his Highnesses Dominions. Course and Contancy.  
They are habited.

In the beginning of this Persecution, the Adversaries fearing some resolute union among these poor persecuted Souls, to prevent any combustion, they gave it out in the Churches of the Mountains, that though the Edict was general, yet the intention thereof was only to unlodge those in the lower Plains, in the great Villages, and other publick places: And that such as inhabited amongst the Mountains might be sure to live in peace and quiet: This indeed was a cause that at the first there was not such an universal union amongst those of the *Reformed Religion* that were destined for slaughter, as they could have desired: But this fraud at length appearing, occasioned a more close union amongst them: Neither was it without cause; For at last they spared those in the Mountains no more than those of the plains; only that they made no enquiry after the Church of *Pravillelm*, and the quarters thereabouts; who thereupon, trusting to the ancientness of their possession, troubled not themselves to make any declaration to the Magistrate, or to prepare themselves for their departure, as if the Edict had not at all concerned them: Neither indeed were they disturbed till all the rest were departed out of the Province, and scattered in several places. But at length they were given to understand, that seeing they had not yielded obedience to the Edict, they were liable to the punishment therein appointed: And therefore some warned them to have a care of themselves, both in general, and each particular: Hereupon they repaired to the *Syndicks* of the Commualty, requesting them to intercede for them, shewing the reasons why they conceived not themselves concerned by the Edict, and therefore they had not offended out of any malicious intention. Popish subtilty.

The *Syndicks* accordingly made many journeys about this business, but brought back nothing but sad and uncomfortable messages; so that at last they were forced to flee. One part of them (the Men having ordered their Families which they left in their Houses) retired into the Western Mountains: Those who were fit to bear Arms (being about Two hundred) with their Arms retired into the *Castellenie* of *Casteau Dauphine* which was near at hand: But those of *Dauphine*, and who were less disposed, retired themselves into their highest Forests. They are forced to flee.

Yet before their departure they declared to their Popish neighbors, that being forced to retire themselves by reason of the threats which were given against them for their Religion; and being unable to take their Families along with them, they intreated them to take care of them; withall telling them, that they would make a sudden return, either of the good or evil that should be done to their Relations, either by themselves, or by their permission. This so prevailed with the Papists, that either out of fear, or for some other reasons, they so far solicited; and prevailed with their Superiors, that the others had liberty of returning to their ancient Habitations without being molested, and that for many years together.

## C H A P. XLIII.

*The Artifices and wicked practices used to consume and destroy the Faithful in the Valleys of Piemont.*

Popish subtil-  
ty.

**T**He Popish Clergy having several persons under pay, whose business it is to kindle strifes and quarrels amongst the Protestants, and to engage them in suits of Law one against another : And when they see them reduced to poverty and despair, they secretly offer them all the favor imaginable, provided that they will either openly revolt, or remain as *spies* amongst their Brethren to betray them : And the better to dispose them hereto, they assure them that they shall get a full victory over their Enemies, in case they will imploy some Churchmen to recommend their affairs to the Judges, who in all publick employments are preferred before the Protestants, and made their superiors, that so they may over-rule them as they list.

The Popish Clergy also, knowing that young Men are apt to be in love, which captivates reason, they propound to them by their Emissaries, a match with some Papist, whose portion and other advantages they amplify by officious lies, and so they inveigle some poor Souls, sometimes without, and sometimes against the consent of their Parents, and Friends : And if any amongst the Protestants be so wicked as not to regard the admonitions of their Ministers and Elders, so that they are forced to excommunicate them, these Monks and Priests perswade them to embrace the *Romish* Religion, where they shall be protected against such as pursue them for their crimes ; yea, they promise that they shall be set over them in all publick Offices, by which means they may have power in their Hands to be revenged of them. This was the practice of the Monks in the year 1640, 1641, &c. even towards some who were manifestly convicted of Witchcraft, who, revolting to Popery, had their lives spared, and were set at liberty ; yea, they have often rewarded them with money, merchandizes and other things, withal exempting them from all manner of Taxes ; and when the Protestants complained hereof, the Duke of *Savoy* indeed gave them a favorable answer by his Edict, dated in June 1649. but they could never obtain the putting of it in execution.

But of all the means used for these last sixty years to root out, and ruin the Protestant Churches in the Valleys of *Piemont*, there hath been none like that of the *Missionaries* established by Pope *Clement* the Eighth, *Anno Christi* 1596. For the Monasteries of these Firebrands have ever been so many Citadels in the Valleys, wherein very many wicked instruments have been harbored, who never ceased to contrive mischief by their lies, calumnies and slanders wherewith they have filled the Ears of the Magistrates and Princes, who have always given more credit to them, than to the true complaints of these poor People in their own just defence, whereupon they have published many bloody Edicts against them : And though the Protestants reiterated their humble supplications to his Highness, and therein declared their own innocency, and the boldness of those *Missionaries*, which was grown to such a height as was altogether intolerable, yet have they prevailed nothing ; and that which makes these Monks the more confident, is, that they know they are not to be punished by any Magistrate for whatsoever they say or do against the *Protestants* ; no not when they steal away their Children from them ; whereas the Protestants are put to death if they speak but the least word against the *Missionary* Priests, or but go about to dissuade any, though of their own Families from turning *Papist*. Yea, by the Dukes Edict, any one witness is sufficient against a Protestant, and a reward of an Hundred Crowns is promised to any that will come and witness against them, whereby all those are encouraged, who either out of revenge,  
envy,



envy, or covetousness, shall report such false things against them as by the *Romish* Fryers they shall be directed to.

By vertue of this Edict the Monks have made bold upon all occasions both in the Streets, yea in the very Churches, and that in the Sermon time to set upon the Protestant Ministers, with all the most base, vile, and unsufferable Speeches they could possibly device, knowing that no Man durst either censure their zeal, or witness against them for what they said or did against the Protestants, for fear of the severe penalties ordained against the favorers of *Hereticks*. Nay, if their abusive carriage could but draw any word out of the Ministers, or out of another Mans mouth that did not please them, they had their hired witnesses in a readiness to bring the Minister, or other Protestant to the Stake, and that without redemption.

These Men got an Edict from Madam Royal, of Jan. 16. 1641. having made her believe that the Papists were compelled to contribute towards the maintenance of the Protestant Ministers, with some other such like fictions; upon which they obtained an Order for the Officers, called *Castellani*, to give the *Missionaries* all the Writings they should demand of them: By means whereof they usurped power over the said *Castellani*, and so over the poor Protestants, compelling the *Castellani* to make most unjust Ordinances against these poor people. As for Example; When the question is concerning their habitation, the *Missionaries* do persuade them that come to witness the truth, that so to do, is to favor the *Hereticks*, whereby they will fall irrevocably under the censure of Excommunication; whereas its a meritorious work to witness against them by such officious lies as are suggested to them by the Popish Clergy: Nay, the Judges themselves durst not pass a righteous Sentence, when it reflected in the least upon the Catholick party. And that they may have the opportunity of negotiating with the Protestants, they procure of his Highness every year, the Assignations of Grain, and other Impositions; that so they of the Reformed Religion, being obliged to make their payments to these *Publicans*, they may have the advantage to shew favor, and give ample rewards to such as will comply with their superstitious Idolatry, and to lay heavy burdens upon the Backs of those that are true to their Principles.

Mention might here be made of their frequent falling into the said Valleys with Troops of Armed Men, under pretence of quartering them there, whereby they have miserably surprized, and made a prey of them: As likewise the cunning stratagems which they have used in all their Treaties, which have been as full of *Jesuitical* Equivocations, as of Lines and Sentences, following therein their old *Maxime*, That Faith is not to be kept with *Hereticks*.

To this may be added their diligent search, and strict enquiry after all Protestant Books and Writings, which they commit to the fire with much devotion, lest they should discover their rotten Principles, and the wickedness of their actions to the world.

Another stratagem they have to allure Men to revolt, wherein are proffers of great rewards made, and published in the Princes name; as may be seen in the Dukes own Letter, wherein are these words. To encourage the *Hereticks* to turn *Catholicks*, it is our pleasure, and we do hereby expressly command, that all such as shall embrace the Holy Roman Faith, shall enjoy an exemption from all, and every tax for the space of five years commencing from the day of their conversion, &c. Which term of Five years he hath sometimes lengthned out to Ten or Fifteen years; whereas indeed the burden that they took off from these Revolters, they laid upon the Backs of those that persevered in their Religion, the better to break and destroy them.

But as if all this were too little to compass their ends, the Duke erected a Congregation for extirpating the *Hereticks*, who were to judge concerning the rights of the Protestants. Their meeting place was in the Arch-Bishops House, the

Bishop himself being President, together with the Dukes Confessor, and divers others, every one of them hired by the Court of *Rome*, to undermine the liberties of the Protestant Churches, by robbing them of their ancient Priviledges under sundry pretences, and upon false Informations. And the better to disguise their proceedings, they usually incense the Duke by grievous accusations, and so procure grievous Edicts from him against the poor Protestants. These were they who procured from *Charles Emanuel*, Anno Christi 1602. An Edict, wherein he enjoyns the Protestants upon pain of death to banish from amongst them, all manner of Schools both publick and private, (as *Julian* the Apostate had formerly done to extirpate the Christian Religion) And by another Edict of Decemb. 18. 1622. He forbade them to receive any strangers amongst them that should be either Ministers or School-masters, as also from sending their Youth into Forreign Schools suspected of *Heretic*. He also degraded all manner of Protestants from publick Offices, either great or small. In another Edict, all Protestants were commanded either to go to *Mals*, or to depart within two months after the publication thereof: And by another Edict the same was commanded, and but fifteen days given them.

Another order was given out, Novemb. 18. 1634. enjoyns the Protestants of *Campiglione*, to leave that place within Twenty four hours, and that upon pain of death, which was executed without mercy. The same was done Anno Christi 1655. by *Gastaldo*, who gave no longer than Twenty four Hours to those of the Valleys of *Saint Martino* and *Persa*, to depart upon pain of death; and to those that lived beyond *Pelice*, but three days.

Many times when these *Missionary* Fathers could not possibly perswade his Royal Highness to an open Persecution against the generality of the Protestants, then they usually tormented them one by one upon sundry false pretences, whom they delivered up to the Inquisitors, who contrary to all Forms of Justice, forthwith condemned them, without so much as hearing them, or letting them know their accusers.

Anno Christi 1622. They took one Mr. *Sebastian Basan*, and after the Inquisitors had cruelly tempted and tormented him for the space of fifteen months, they burned him alive at *Turin*, Novemb. 23. 1623. where he died, singing the praises of God in the midst of the flames.

Anno 1655. These *Missionary* Fathers stole away very many of the Protestants Children in the time of the Massacre; whom they would not afterwards restore, though his Highness had promised it by his Patent; which practice is the most execrable of all the *Turkish* Tyrannies. Yet there is this difference, that the *Turks* do so only to their own Subjects, whereas the Popes Ministers do it to those over whom they have no right at all. Two instances may be given (amongst many others) of the subtle insinuations of the *Jesuites* to withdraw Men from the truth; There were two Ministers, the one Mr. *Peter Gros*, the other Mr. *Francis Aguit*, with whom they had thus prevailed: But the Lord in mercy shewing them the greatness of their sin, they made a publick Recantation in a full Congregation, August 28. & 29. 1655. at *Pinache* in the Valley of *Perouse*; wherein they testified their extream sorrow for their defection through infirmity, from the true Religion, during the time of their imprisonment at *Turin*, together with their abjuration of *Papery*, which they conclude thus.

Humane frailty.

Repentance.

Do not think us unworthy your holy communion, although we have been an occasion of offence: Suffer us to pour into your bosoms a torrent of tears to deplour our condition, and to assure you in the anguish of our Souls, that our grief is greater than we can express: Help us by your holy Prayers to the Lord, and publish our repentance in all places where you conceive our sin hath been, or shall be known, that so it may be evident to all the world, that from the very bottom of our Souls we grieve, and sorrow for it, and that in the presence of



of God, and of his holy Angels, and in the sight of those who have been witnesses of our conversion, we do abjure, and detest the Mass, the authority of the Pope, and in general, all sorts of beliefs, and worship dependent upon them; we recant whatsoever we may have pronounced to the prejudice of the Evangelical Truth, and promise for the future, through the Grace of God, to persevere in the profession of the Reformed Religion to the last moment of our life, and rather to suffer Death, and Torments than to renounce that holy Doctrine that is taught in our Church according unto the word of God: Even as we swear, and promise, with our bended knees upon the earth, and our hands lifted up to the Eternal, our Almighty God and Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. As we desire his assistance to do this, even so help us God. Amen.

The Motives of the late Persecution in the Valleys of Piemont; Anno Christi 1655. with the publication of that bloody Order of Castaldo, and the flight of the Protestants in the midst of winter.

The chief Officers and Gentry of Savoy, are moved to endeavor the extirpation of the Reformed party, chiefly for these Causes: 1. That by evil entreating the Reformed Churches, they may conserve the Papal authority, of which they have oft-times so much need, to cover and cloke their incestuous marriages contracted by Dispensations from the Pope: And thus they become engaged to maintain Popery, for fear of being declared guilty of Incest. 2. Because the Courtiers, for persecuting the Reformed party, are rewarded with Prebendaries, Bishopricks, Abbies, and Priories, especially such as are members of the Council for extirpating of Hereticks. 3. Under this pretext, the poor people of the Valleys become a prey to the said Courtiers, who daily rob, and spoil them, extorting the best part of their livelihood by sundry subtle devices. 4. The Gentry of Lucerna (who are very poor) promote this work all they can, by perpetual calumnies against them, rendring themselves by such good Offices capable of meriting, and receiving those pensions which are assigned them by the Court of Rome for the same purpose. 5. For this end of late, they have made the Gentlemen of the respective Valleys subordinate to the Monks, and Mass-Priests, who teach and appoint them what to do, as to the bearing of false witness against their Neighbors, sowing discord amongst them, murdering of some, procuring the Assassination of others, stealing, and carrying away their Children, &c. without the performance whereof they refuse to pay them their yearly Pensions. 6. But the chief ground of all, why the Court of Savoy strives so much to extirpate this poor people, is, the Design that they have to wrest Pignorolio out of the hands of the King of France, to which the habitation, and liberty of those people are a great hindrance: For they, inhabiting the Neighboring parts of Pignorolio, both in the Plain and Mountains, cannot, upon the account of conscience, be brought to make any agreement with the Spanish party for assaulting, and surprising that place: Hence the Court of Savoy seeks all manner of occasions to root them out, especially those of Lucerna, Fenils, Babia, Campiglione, Bricheras, and Saint Secondo, which are near Pignorolio, and to deprive it thereby of all sorts of commodities which it receives from the Valleys, which alone doth furnish it with more than all the Neighboring Valleys which belong to the Duke. Now if these people were extirpated, and others put in their places, Men forward to execute their Designs, they might easily seize on Aulange, a narrow passage above Pignorolio, on that side which looks towards France, where a very few Persons would be able to hinder the French Armies from relieving Pignorolio.

Reasons why they persecuted the Protestants.

Upon

Upon these, and the like grounds the Court of Savoy hath sought their destruction, though its true, that in all the Persecutions which they have raised against them, especially in this last, 1655. those *ravening Wolves* approached in *sheeps cloathing*, the better to deceive, and destroy the *innocent Lambs* of Christ. For these Evangelical Churches had, long before that fatal Year, cleared themselves of all those calumnies which the *Council for the extirpation of Hereticks*, (to the end that they might enjoy their promised Pensions) had cast upon them. Yea, His Royal Highness had now given an ample testimony of his being fully satisfied in this point, and by an Authentick Decree published *Anno Christi 1649.* had confirmed all former Concessions; which confirmation was again renewed *Anno 1653.* confirming the Grants made to them in the Years 1603. and 1620. without any addition, or diminution, amplification, or restriction whatsoever.

Now as these poor people sought for an Interimation of these Grants, His Royal Highness, knowing that the delay thereof proceeded not from any negligence of their part, but was occasioned by the multitude of Troops that were then quartered upon them, whereby they could not possibly have the convenience of assembling, &c. out of his goodness towards them, he declared by an Edict, of *May 19. 1654.* that his intention was that they should enjoy the Concessions as effectually as if they had been interimated, upon condition that they did procure the Interimation thereof within Three Months following. So that till this time of *May 19. 1654.* none can say that those of the Reformed Religion had committed any thing whereby to be deprived of the benefit of their Concessions; yet contrary to all their expectations, shortly after, *viz. January 25. 1655.* this infamous Order was published by *Andrew Gassaldo*, Doctor of the Civil Law: Mr. Auditor Ordinary, &c. That every Head of a Family, with its members of the Reformed Religion, of what rank, degree or condition soever, none excepted, inhabiting and possessing estates in the places of *Lucerna, Lucernetta, St. Giovanni, La Torre, Bubbiana, and Fenile, Campiglione, Briccherassio, and St. Secondo,* within three days after the publication thereof should withdraw and depart, and to be with their Families withdrawn out of the said places, and translated into the places and limits tolerated by His Highness, during his pleasure, as namely, *Bobbio, Villaro, Angrogna, Rorata,* and the Country of *Bonetti*, under pain of death, and confiscation of Houses and Goods, situated or being out of the said limits; Provided, if they make it not appear to us within Twenty days following that they are turned Catholics, or that they have sold their Goods to the Catholics. And that it was not the mind of His Royal Highness by any Act whatsoever to enlarge the said limits: But on the contrary, he declares by these presents, that the said Acts are meer usurpations, contrary to the intention as well of his Orders, as of his Magistrates, published to that end; and that therefore the transgressors have incurred the punishment therein contained: Besides, in the aforesaid places favorably tolerated, he wills that in every one of them shall be celebrated the holy Mass, forbidding those of the pretended Reformed Religion any ways to molest, either by deed or word, the *Missionary Fathers*, or their Attendants, much less to dissuade any that would turn Catholics, under the same pain of death, giving it in charge particularly to the Ministers of the said pretended Religion, inviolably to observe the same, upon pain of answering it in their proper Names, &c.

It's easie to conjecture the miserable inconveniences of a flight in the midst of Winter, especially to such a people amongst whom were many aged and decrepit, many sick and diseased, besides a multitude of Women big with Child, or newly brought to Bed, together with a number of tender Infants, yet all forced to flee, and none being in capacity to succor another. Yet did these bloody Beasts in the most violent and rigorous Winter season chase and drive out of their Houses all on a sudden those poor people, who scarce had Clothes to cover their nakedness, much less were they provided to resist the extremities

A bloody Order.

Popish cruelty.

of



of cold and hunger ; thinking hereby either to force them to change their Religion, or to cause them to die in the craggy Rocks and snowy Mountains ; yea, they were so subtilly malicious as to chuse those very days, when by reason of the multitude of violent Waters in the Plain, and of Snow upon the Mountains, they judged it impossible for those silly Sheep ever to elcape.

But these poor people, considering that the Apostacy propounded was the way to eternal damnation, chose rather to follow *Christ* in bearing his Cross, and to hazard their temporary lives, rather than to lose their Souls for ever ; yet that they might leave no lawful means unattempted, they presently dispatched their Deputies to the Governor, to represent to him the strangeness of this command, to force them with their Families, to abandon their ancient Habitations ; as also that it was impossible for so many Souls as they were in number, to subsist in the said place, to which by the Edit. they were confined, they being scarce sufficient to supply in any sort those that inhabited them : As likewise, that this command was contrary to all their former Concessions, upon which account they protested and appealed to His Royal Highness. But the Governor, knowing well the intention of the Council for the extirpating of Hereticks, would neither admit of the one or of the other. Hereupon the poor people, seeing they could obtain nothing of him, entreated him to grant them at least some time to have recourse to the Duke by humble supplications ; But this also was denied, unless they would draw up their Petition by a model which he should prescribe, which indeed was prejudicial both to their just Rights and Consciences. These poor people (I say) seeing this, to the end that they might remove all pretext for accusing them of Rebellion, under that colour to ruin and destroy them ; Hoping also that at last they might find some means to lay their griefs at the feet of His Royal Highness, and that his Clemency and Justice would in the end re-establish them in their ancient habitations, they chose rather to suffer this violence, and therefore recalling their Protestation, thereby to testify their profound respect to their Prince, they quitted their Houses, and Goods, and retired with their Families, their Wives and Children, great and small, young and old, whole and sick ; yea, halt, lame and blind ; dragging after them such as were infirm by sickness or age, through Rain, Snow, Ice, Waters, and a Thousand difficulties.

They go into banishment.

Oh think with your selves, what bitter tears, what wringing of Hands, what smiting upon the Breasts, what mourning, sighings, and lamentations there were in the Families of these miserable and distressed Creatures, who were now reduced to the utmost of extremities ; Before them, were a multitude of violent and roaring Waters, on each hand most barbarous and snowy Mountains, Behind them, Men, sevenfold worse than the *Egyptians*, ready to butcher and destroy them ; yet recommending themselves, Souls and Bodies to Gods protection, they are resolved to undergo the worst of temporary miseries, rather than by denying their Religion, to damn their Souls.

Constancy.

This their Constancy and Resolution was no small comfort to other Churches, and a matter of great astonishment to their Persecutors ; The rather considering the great advantages they might have purchased by quitting their Religion, as Pardon for all Crimes, Liberty if in Prisons, Exemption from all manner of Taxes, &c.

They were no sooner departed from their Houses, but a number of Thieves and Robbers entred them, spoiling and pillaging whatever the people had left behind them, pulling down their Houses, cutting down all their Trees, and turning their Habitation into a desolate Wilderness ; of which violence the poor people complained to the Duke, and received from him such an answer, that they apprehended his intentions were, not that they should wholly quit their Houses till their cause might be heard and judged ; In

confidence

confidence hereof, they sometimes returned to their Houses to guard them from these Robbers, and to Husband their ground, that so they might have wherewithal to pay their Taxes; yet for this they were branded with Rebellion, though they had neither taken up Arms, nor acted any other hostility, every one living peaceably without giving any cause of offence.

Popish cruelty.

*Gastaldo* having thus driven these poor people from their ancient Inheritance, without legal citing them, hearing their plea, or giving them the least time to provide for so sad a flight; Their last refuge was to have recourse to the Lord by fervent Prayers, and to their Prince by humble supplications; which was done, not only by those that were driven from their Houses, but by the other Churches of the Reformed Religion, the cause being common to them all. But alas! they found both his and all other his Ministers ears stopped to their woful crys; neither could they obtain so much as admittance into the presence of His Royal Highness.

Amongst other cunning Artifices used by their malicious Adversaries to im-bitter the spirits of His Highness, and the Dutchess his Mother, against these poor Protestants, this was one; *John Rissan*, President of the Province of *Pignorolio*, having for many years born a deadly spleen against the Popish Priest of *Fenile*, hired one to assassinate him; and then by his Secretary he spread it abroad all over the Country that the Protestants were the Authors of the murder, who yet, Five days before were driven out of *Fenile*, which report flew far and near, being entertained as an undoubted truth by those Papists who lived far off, it increased also with carriage, though upon the place the Author of this murder was well known; so that by all their reports they were not able to fasten any blemish in the minds of the dead Priests Friends and Kindred, nor to hinder them from apprehending both the Master and his Secretary; by which means the innocence of the Reformed party was so cleared to the world, that the Marquess of *Pionessa*, in his Letters, wherein he sought all the devices he could to lay something to their charge, never mentions this for fear of blemishing the credit of all the rest.

Shortly after one *Berru* basely murdered *Peter Rövier*, Consul of *Mean*; and then fled to *Pignorolio*, where he was met by the aforesaid *Rissan*, who was lately returned from *Turin*, where he had been imprisoned for the former murder, and now had his liberty no otherwise than upon good security, because the said *Berru* and some others had taken their Oathes against his Secretary [*D. Agot*] and himself, for being guilty of the aforementioned Assassination; But after some private conferences had between them, *Rissan* so wrought upon that wretched *Berru*, by gifts and promises, that he was persuaded to return back with him to *Turin*, and there not only to retract his former oath, but to swear that he had been solicited thereto by the two Pastors, *Leger* and *Mechelin*, as also by *Antonio*, and *Francis Danna*, chief Elders of the Church of *S. Giovanni*; By means of this devilish retraction and calumny, *Rissan* and his Secretary were discharged in the very heat of the War between the Papists and Protestants, so that they had the opportunity of forging what lies they pleased against the Protestants, both at *Lucerna* and *Turin*, without the least contradiction, which accordingly they did to the purpose; For at *Lucerna* there were published at the same time two personal Citations against the said *Leger*, *Mechelin*, and *Danna*; and as for *Berru*, he was also at the same time, as a recompence for his perjury, discharged, and set at liberty, though he had been convicted of two murders, the one the aforementioned, and the other at *S. Giovanni*, upon one *Giovanni Bertot*, a Protestant. After this base action, he came to the said *Leger*, and many other Pastors of the Valleys, and chief Men, and leaning upon his staff, and bemoaning his condition, he protested to them that he could scarce stand upright, by reason of the many blows which he had received from the Papists to force him to forswear himself against the said *Leger* and the rest; But as he could not in conscience do so wicked an act, so he had withstood them

Popish dissimulation.



them to the utmost; telling them plainly, who so urged him, that he would rather be torn with wilde Horses than do it; and that they thereupon seeing his constancy, had beaten him most unmercifully, and then cast him out into the open streets, where he had miserably perished, had not a certain *Jew* pitied him, and took him up, as he was grovelling on the ground, and ready to give up the ghost.

In the mean time the Treaty of Peace being concluded at *Pignorolio*, Aug. 1655. Master *Leger* and the rest against whom the Process had been made, as against *Criminals*, staying a while at *Pignorolio*, chanced to hear of it, and thereupon went presently to the Prefect *Rissan*, entreating him to tell them if it were true that *Berru* had thus accused them; *Rissan* made them such a doubtful Answer, that they judged it high time to have immediate recourse to the Senator *Perrastino*, beseeching him to declare to them the truth of the whole matter, and to appoint them a set time and place to make their justification: Hereupon he told them plainly, that *Berru* had accused them for suborning him to swear falsely against *De Agot*, and his Master; and withal he shewed them a Copy of the Citation against the said *Leger*; and the rest of his Complices, which was to Banish them out of the Dukes Dominions, if they did not appear personally at *Turin* to answer to such Interrogatories as should be proposed to them about that business. Upon this *Sieur Leger*, by the assistance of *David Leger*, a Minister, handled the matter so, that the said *Berru* was shortly after apprehended, as he was lurking in the High Ways, with a purpose to Murther the said *Leger* upon the first opportunity. This wretch being thus apprehended, used all the devices imaginable to have got out of their Hands; though they assured him, that all that they intended was, only to make him verifie what he had already confessed before a full Assembly of their Ministers and others. *Leger* being assured that *Berru* was in safe custody, went and declared the whole matter to the Senator *Perichvini*, and to *Referendano Tarquin*, yea, and to *Rissan* himself, who was on a sudden not a little surprized at it; afterwards he told it to the French Ambassador, and to the Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons, and with much ado he got leave to bring the said perjured person to *Pignorolio*, where he hoped to obtain leave of coming face to face against him in open Justice, importuning all the Dukes Ministers of Justice, and the French and Switzers Ambassadors for their intercession; the last whereof openly protested, that in case of refusal, they would complain that Justice was denied them; yet could they prevail no further, but that there should be a Letter written to *Turin* about it: From whence, after a while, they had an answer, that nothing could be done in it; and so *Leger* was fain to content himself, that he and the rest that had been accused were declared as persons altogether innocent, and clearly acquitted from the accusation that *Berru* had made against them.

Upon this and the like feigned accusations, the Deputies of these poor people and their Supplications were miserably rejected at the Court of *Savoy*: For when they instantly beseeched the chief Ministers of State at *Turin*, that they might be admitted into the Dukes presence, there to cast themselves at his feet, the Council for extirpating of Hereticks would not suffer them to have audience of His Highness, and contrary to all equity they usurped the cognisance of this business, which belonged not to them, they being of the adverse party; nay, they were not suffered to come in personally before them to plead their own cause, but were forced to send in their Procurator *Gibellino*, a Papist, who knowing that Excommunication is the certain punishment of all those that any way favoured the Hereticks, durst not speak a word till he had fallen down on his knees and begged leave of the Arch-Bishop, who was President of that Council; and the conclusion was, that those of the Vallies were commanded to make no more requests to his Royal Highness, unless they would send Deputies with procuration, and power to accept and promise all that should be ordered them; yet they (like the importunate Widow) sent again their Deputies to *Turin*, with their requests

requests, and with order to endeavor to get audience of his Royal Highness; they also, beside other intercessions, instantly requested *Madam Royal* to have pity on them, and to procure the same for them; they wrote also other Letters to divers Princes of the Blood to mediate for them about the same; but all in vain, for they could get no answer from any of them; and the Marquess of *Pionessa* slighted their supplications, thirsting violently after the Blood of these poor creatures; yet that he might not openly discover the black design of the Council for extirpating of Hereticks, before the hour of its Execution, he disguised his answers to them in such doubtful terms, that though he gave them but cold comfort, yet he left them not without some glimmering hopes, at least, of a day of audience for the hearing of their complaints, that so during this interval of time, all things might be in a better readiness for the day of slaughter, as you shall hear in the next Chapter.

Popish subtil:  
57.

#### CHAP. XLIV.

*A Narrative of the Bloody cruelties which were exercised against the Protestants of the Vallies of Piemont during the heat of the late Massacre in April, Anno 1655.*

U Pon Saturday April 17. 1655. whilst the Deputies of the Protestants were by the subtilties of *Pionessa*, detained at *Turin*, as you heard before, there arrived a great Army at *St. Giovanni*, which was now, with *La Torre*, and all the lower parts unpeopled, and in a sad and lamentable condition; this Army continued there for some Hours, and in the dusk of the evening fell into *La Torre*; where they met with none of the Protestants, only about eight or ten persons, not thinking of an Enemy, were seeking up and down for something to satisfy their hunger; but so soon as they came near to the Convent, they were saluted with a volley of shot, which killed *Giovanni Combe*, and hurt *Peter Rostain*, whereupon the rest seeing the danger, fled for their lives.

Popish cruel:  
57.

The Protestants defend themselves.

The next day being the *Sabbath*, the Enemy ranged about through the Communalities of *La Torre*, and *St. Giovanni*, plundering and pillaging all before them; and the day after their number being encreased to about Fifteen thousand, they set upon the Protestants in several quarters amongst the little Hills of *St. Giovanni*, and *La Torre*. But the poor people being prompted thereto by the Law of Nature, stood upon their own defence, and the Enemy was vigorously opposed on every side; in one place by Captain *Fahier*, and in other places by the Officers of *St. Giovanni*, *Angrogna*, *Roccapiata*, and their Troops. Tuesday April 20. The Popish Army made three several attempts to take away the Bell of *St. Giovanni*, and to burn the Church; but those of the poor people in Arms did so courageously resist them, that they were driven to a shameful retreat, with the loss of about Fifty of their men; and had not their Cavalry defended the Plain, they had been utterly routed: But of the Protestants party there were only Two slain, upon whose dead Bodies they basely revenged themselves.

Popish subtil:  
57.

Wednesday the 21. which was the fatal day to the Protestants, the Marquess of *Pianessa* held the Deputies of the Valley of *Luterna* in parley till noon, and then entertained them with a large Dinner, and sent them away with many fair promises, that there should be no hurt done to any, except to those of *St. Giovanni* and *La Torre*, as being the places specified in the Order of *Gastaldo*; but for the rest, if they would but Quarter a few Troops as a token of their obedience, and that but for a short time, they might be fearless of the least inconvenience. Hereupon the Agents of *Angrogna* bestirred themselves to persuade their own party from making the least resistance; the same did the Agents of *Villaro*



Villaro and Bobio: But no sooner were those Troops entred, but they put all to fire and sword, slaying all they met with that had but the likeness of mankind, and that in the most Barbarous manner they could possibly devise: As you may see by this extract of a Letter written by some of those poor Protestants, wherein they thus Write: *The Army having gotten footing, became very numerous by the addition of a multitude of the neighboring Inhabitants, who hearing that we were given for a prey to the Plunderers, fell upon us with an impetuous fury: To these were added a great number of Out-laws, Prisoners, and other Offenders, who thought hereby to have saved their Souls, and filled their Purses: We were forced also to receive five or six Regiments of the French Army, besides some Irish (to whom as it was said, our Country was promised) and several other Troops of Highway-men, and Vagabonds, under a pretence of coming into the Vallies only for fresh Quarters.*

*The multitude being licensed by Pianessa, encouraged by the Monks, and led by our wicked Neighbors, fell upon us with such violence on every side, and in so treacherous a manner, especially in Angrogna, Villaro and Bobio (to whom Pianessa had plighted his troth, that if they would but Quarter one Regiment, they should be secure from all harm) that in a moment of time all was turned into a confused heap, and the Inhabitants constrained after skirmishes that they made in the way, to fly for their lives, together with their Wives and little Children; and that not only the Inhabitants of the Plains, but of the Mountains also, who had otherwise been certainly betrayed and surprized. Yet was not all their diligence sufficient to preserve very many of them from destruction; for in many places they were hemmed in on every side, that there was no way left for their flight, but they were most inhumanely Massacred. In one place they most cruelly tormented One hundred and fifty Women and Children, and afterwards chopped off the Heads of some, and dashed out the Brains of others against the Rocks: Multitudes of Prisoners they took; and such of them from fifteen years of age and upward, who refused to go to Mass, they hanged up some, and nailed the Feet of others to Trees, with their Heads hanging downwards, all which they constantly endured. Master Gross, one of the Pastors, with some of his Family they sent to Turin: They made such havock of all, that there were neither any Cattel or other Provision left in the Valley of Lucerna: Yea, in the Communalities of St. Giovanni, La Torre, &c. a Franciscan Fryer and another Priest set Fire on Houses, and Churches, that they left not one of them unburnt. In these desolations the Mother was bereaved of her sweet Child, the Husband of his dear Wife. Those which were richest amongst us are forced to beg their Bread; yea, they are weltring in their own Blood, and deprived of all outward comforts; and whereas there were some Churches in St. Martino, that were always formerly as a Sanctuary to the persecuted, they are now commanded to quit their dwellings, and every Soul of them presently to depart without any respite, and that under pain of death.*

Barbarous cruelty.

*The pretence of these strange Massacres and cruelties are, that we are Rebels to the Dukes commands in not performing a pure impossibility by immediate departing from our Habitations in Bubiana, Lucerna, Fenile, Bricheras, La Torre, St. Giovanni, and St. Secondo. As also for our frequent petitioning his Royal Highness to take pity upon us. To conclude, Our beautiful and flourishing Churches are left desolate, and that without remedy, unless the Lord work miraculously for us, &c.*

The truth is, the cruelties which were there Executed would exceed the belief of any man, were they not so fully proved, by the formal attestations of eye witnesses, by the woful cries of so many desolate and poor wretches who have been miserably robbed of their Relations, Houses, Lands, and all other comforts; yea, by the formal oath of one of the chief Commanders of the Army that acted these cruelties, signed with his own hand in the presence of two Authentick witnesses, and the voluntary confession of one of the Soldiers, who told some of his Comrades that many times, during the heat of the Massacre, he had surfatted with eating the boiled Brains of the Protestants.

The Declaration of Monsieur du Petit Bourg, first Captain of the Regiment of Granséy, subscribed with his own hand at Pignerol, Nov. 27. 1655. in the presence of two other Commanders.

**I** Sieur du Petit Bourg being commanded by Prince Thomas to go, and joyn my self with the Marquess of Pianessa, who was then at La Torre; upon my departure I was requested by the Ambassador to speak to the Marquess, and to use my endeavor to accommodate the troubles which were amongst those of the Religion in the Vallies of Piemont, which accordingly I did, entreating him with much earnestness that he would give way thereunto, and I doubted not but I should be able to effect it: But he refused this my request, and that divers times, notwithstanding all the endeavors I could possibly use to perswade him thereto; and instead of the least mitigation, I was witness to many great violences, and extream cruelties exercised by the Bandets, and Soldiers of Piemont upon all sorts, of every Age, Sex, and Condition, whom I saw Massacred, Dismembred, Hanged up, Burnt, and Ravished, together with many horrid confusions, which I beheld with horror and regret: And without any distinction of those that resisted, and such as resisted not, they were used with all sorts of inhumanity, their Houses Burnt, their Goods Plundered; and when Prisoners were brought before the said Marquess, I saw him give order to give them no Quarter at all, saying, His Highness was resolved to have none of the Religion within his Dominions. And whereas in his Declaration he protests that there was no hurt done to any but during the Fight, nor the least outrage committed upon any persons that were not fit to bear Arms: I will maintain that it is not so, having seen with my eyes many persons killed in cold Blood; as also Women, aged Persons, and young Children, miserably Murthered, &c.

The attestation of divers persons of honor, and integrity, who were for the most part eye, and ear witnesses of the ensuing Barbarous cruelties which were exercised upon divers members of the Evangelical Churches in the Vallies of Piemont in the late Massacre 1655.

Women ript up.

Sarah Kastignole des Vignes, about sixty years of age, being overtaken by divers Soldiers, was commanded to say her Prayers, and when she had done, they bad her say *Jesus Maria*, which the poor Woman refusing, one of the Soldiers thrust a sickle into the lower part of her Belly, and ript her up to the Navel, and then dragged the poor creature upon the ground, being half dead, till another came and cut off her Head; the Daughter in Law of this poor Woman who hid her self in the Snow for two days after without any succor, was an eye witness hereof.

Base cruelty.

Martha Constantine of Giovanni, after that she had seen several others most cruelly put to death, was her self, first Ravished, and afterwards had her Breasts cut off, and part of her Privities by some of the Soldiers, who Fryed them, and set them before some of their Comrades, making them believe they were Tripes, but when they had eaten a good part, they told them what they were, which caused a quarrel amongst them; and they that had eaten them were so sick, that some of them died soon after. This was certified by a Papist to one Andrea Favel of Einachia.

Horrid cruelty.

A man of Thrassaniere being taken Prisoner, received divers stabs in the soles of his Feet, and in his Ears by two of the Soldiers, who afterwards cut off his privy members, and then applied a burning Candle to the wound, Frying it with the Flame thereof, that so the Blood might be stopped, and the torments of that miserable Creature prolonged. Then tore they his Nails off with burning pincers to force him to renounce his Religion: But when nothing would do, they ryed one of his Legs to a Mule, and dragged him thorow the Streets till he was almost dead, and then binding a Cord about his Head, they twisted it with a staff till his Eyes and Brains dropped out, and then they cast his Carcass into the River.

Peter



*Peter Simond* of *Angrogna* about eighty years of age, was tyed neck and heels together, and so violently thrown down a fearful *Precipice*, but by the way, falling upon a cragged branch of a Tree, he there hung in a most languishing condition for divers days together (a most lamentable spectacle to behold) being neither able to help himself, nor capable of receiving help from others, the *Precipice* being inaccessible.

*Esay Garcino* of *Angrogna*, of ninety years old, had first his Body cut and hacked in small pieces, and then his Head chopped off.

The Wife of *Daniel Armand* of *La Torre*, had her Body torne and cut in pieces, and the parts of it strowed along the High Way, and hung upon the Hedges.

Captain *Pola* of *Plancalier* took two poor Women of *La Torre*, and with his Fauchin ript up their Bellies, and left them groveling upon the Snow in this sad and lamentable condition till they died.

The Soldiers of *Bagnols* cut off first the Nose, then the Fingers, and lastly the Hands of a very old, and decrepid Woman, and so left her languishing in this woful condition, not having so much as an Hand to feed her self with, till she died.

They took also many little Children, and tender Infants, and flung them down the steep Rocks, whereby they were dashed to pieces.

*Magdalen Bertino* of *La Torre* they stripped stark naked, tied her Head between her Legs, and threw her down one of the *Precipices*.

*Mary Reymondet* of *La Torre*, a lame Woman, was found in a Cave with all her Flesh sliced off from the Bones, and chopt as small as Herbs to the Pot.

*Magdalen Pilot* of *Villaro* being exceeding decrepit, and blind with old age, was cut in pieces in a Cave near *Castelus*.

*Anna* Daughter to *Giovanni Charbonjere* of *La Torre* had a long Stake thrust into her Privities by some of the Soldiers, who each man in his turn carried her upon their shoulders till they were weary, and then stuck the end of the Stake into the ground, and so left her hanging in the air: A terrible spectacle to every one that passed by.

*Giovanni Andrea Michialin* of *La Torre* being taken Prisoner, escaped miraculously, having first seen three of his Children torne in pieces limb from limb before his eyes, and the fourth, being about six Weeks old, snatched out of the Mothers Arms, stripped of its swadling cloaths, and its Brains dashed out against the Rocks.

*Jacob Perrin*, an Elder of the Church of *Villaro*, and *David* his Brother being taken Prisoners in their Beds, were carried to *Lucerna*, and cast into the *Marqueses* Prison, where they were most Barbarously and cruelly handled, the Bloody Soldiers stripping off the skin of their Arms and Legs, in long slices like Leathern points, till the flesh was left quite bare: After which they were miserably starved to death in the same Prison, and their Carcasses left to rot there.

*Giovanni Pelanchion*, a young man about twenty five years old, having been taken Prisoner, made an escape, but being taken again by the Soldiers, they tyed one of his Legs to the Tail of a Mule, and so dragged him through all the Streets of *Lucerna*; and because the poor wretch sometimes lifted up his Hands and Head, through pain and anguish that he suffered by the grating of his Body against the ragged Flints, the Bloody and merciless villains battered and bruised his Body with Stones and Brickbats, crying, *That he was possessed with the Devil which kept him from dying*. After which they cut off his privy members, and examined them violently down the poor Creatures mouth, and down his throat to stop his Breath, and at last chopt off his Head, and so drawing him to the Rivers bank, they left him there unburied.

*Magdalen* the Daughter of *Peter Fontana*, a beautiful Girl about ten years old, being taken by some of these lecherous Brutes, because her body was incapable of being forced in an ordinary way, they tore her in so inhumane a manner, that afterwards she was found half dead, wallowing in her own Blood.

A poor Woman apprehending her danger, having a sucking Child in the Cradle, took the Child and Cradle upon her Head, and fled: Some of the Soldiers seeing her, pursued; and she perceiving that she was like to be overtaken, left her Cradle in the way, supposing that those Butchers could not have such hearts of Adamant as to hurt her innocent Babe, and so hid her self in the cleft of a Rock not far off: But these Hell-hounds finding the Infant in the Cradle, took it out, and tore it in pieces, and afterwards finding the Mother, they first Ravished her, and then cut off her Head, and left her dead Body upon the Snow.

At *Villa Nova* the Daughter of *Moses Long*, about ten years old, as she was flying upon the Snow, some Soldiers of *Piemont* took her, broached her upon a Pike, and roasted her alive with a Fire made upon a broad Stone; and after a while they cut off a slice of her Flesh, intending to have eaten it; But finding it not well roasted, their Stomachs would not serve them to eat it.

*Jacopo Michelino*, one of the chief Elders of the Church of *Bobio*, being taken Prisoner, had his two Hands tyed to his privy members, and so hung upon a Gate in a shameful posture; But the shame was nothing to the torments, the whole weight of his Body hanging upon so tender a part, which caused most exquisite and almost incredible pain: And this they did to force him to renounce his Religion: But when this prevailed not, they took him down, and carried him away amongst other Prisoners: And afterwards having with incredible constancy endured a World of other cruelties, he at last exchanged this life for a better.

*Peter Gros*, during the time of his imprisonment, saw two of these poor Protestants of *La Sarcena*, Hanging in a most hideous manner, meerly by their privy members, and their Hands tyed behind them, till their very Bowels were almost torn out, and so at last they died with horrible pain and anguish.

*Giovanni Rostagnal* of *Bobio*, being eighty years old, had his Nose, Ears, and other parts of his Body cut off, and so he was left languishing upon the Snow for a long time, till at last he gave up the Ghost.

*Daniel Salvagio* and his Wife; *Giovanni Durant*, *Daniel Revel*, *Lodwick* and *Bartholomew Durant*, all Brothers, and *Paolo Reynaud*, being taken by the Soldiers, had their mouths and throats stuffed with Gunpowder, and then setting Fire to it, their Heads were torn all to pieces.

*Jacob Di Rone*, a Schoolmaster of *Roras*, being stript stark naked, after they had torn off his Nails with Pincers, and made a Thousand holes in his Hands with a Daggers Point, they dragged him by a cord fastened about his middle, through the Bourge of *Lucerna*, and at every step he took, one Souldier on one side cut off a piece of his flesh with a Fauchin, and another on the other side gave him a great blow with a staff, crying, *what sayst thou now Barbet? wilt thou go to Mass?* To which the poor Creature with admirable constancy, as long as he was able to speak, answered, *Much rather death than the Mass; dispatch me quickly for the love of God.* A while after came a notorious Cut-throat, who as soon as he saw him, cried out, *Lo, here is the Minister of Roras*, withal giving him a deadly blow athwart the Head with a Back-Sword: From thence they dragged him to the Bridge, and cutting off his Head, they threw him into the River of *Pelis*.

*Paolo Garnier* of *Roras* being taken by these Murtherers, they first violently pulled out his eyes, then cut off his privy members, thrusting his Yard into his mouth, and in this posture they exposed him to publick scorn for several days together;



together, afterwards in a most inhumane manner they fled him alive, and then cutting his skin in four parts, they hung it in the Windows of four of the principal Houses of *Lucerna*.

*Daniel Cardon* of *Roccapiata* being taken by some of the Soldiers, they cut off his Head, took out his Brains, and Frying them in a Pan, eat them up; they cut open his Breast also, and were taking out his Heart to Fry and eat that, but that they were frighted by some of the poor peoples Troops that were coming that way.

*Margaret Revel* of *La Cartere*, aged eighty five years, *Mary Di Pravillerm*, aged ninety years, and blind, both of *S. Giovanni*, were taken, and in a most Barbarous manner were both burned alive.

*Madona Lena*, aged eighty years, and blind, and *Jeanna Batzan*, aged ninety years, both of *La Torre*, were used in the like cruel manner, and burned.

A widow of *La Torre*, who had lain very sick for three years together, was taken by some of these Bloody villains, together with one of her daughters, and were drawn upon a Carr through the streets of *La Torre*, and as they passed along, some of these Blood hounds stabbed their Bodies with Pitchforks, others bruiled them with flints and stones, and then they threw them into the River of *Angrogna*, where they threw stones and Bats at them till they dyed.

*Paolo Giles* of *La Torre*, as he fled for his life, was shot into the neck by one of them, after which they slit his Face through the Chin and Nose, and when they had slain him, they left his Carcass to be eaten by the Dogs.

Some of these Murderers having taken Eleyen Men at *Garcigliana*, heated a great Furnace red hot, forced these poor Creatures to throw one another into it, and when it came to the last Man, they themselves threw him in also.

These Sons of Blood pursued and hunted out multitudes of these poor Protestants amongst the Rocks and Mountains, by the tracks of their Bleeding Legs and Feet, which were cut and mangled with the Ice and Flints which they met with in the way, and having found them, basely Murdered them.

*Michel Gonet* of *Lucernetta*, aged Ninety years at least, was Burnt alive by the Mountains of *Bobio*, whither he had fled to hide himself.

*Bartholomew Frasche* of *Fenile*, was taken by the Soldiers, and after they had flased and mangled his Legs, they thrust a poisoned Knife through his Heels, and in this woful plight they dragged, and threw him into the Common Prison at *Turin*, where he lay in continual torment till he dyed.

*Giovanni Baptista Oudri*, an Old Man, was cruelly murdered at *La Sarcena*, after he had been Barbarously abused by them.

*Magdalena La Peire*, a woman of about thirty five years of age, being pursued by these Villains, and knowing what measure she should meet with if she fell into their Hands, chose rather to throw herself down a dreadful Precipice, whereby she dyed.

*Margaret Revella*, aged about eighty five years, together with *Mary Di Pravillerm*, about ninety years old, and blind, were both burnt alive.

*Mary Davy* was basely murdered by them.

*Michel Bellino*, with *Aina Di Pol Bochiardino*, and a servant of theirs, were beheaded.

The Daughter of *Peter Mallonat*, a Councillor of *Saint Giovanni*, together with her Brother, an Infant of eight months old in her Arms, were rolled down a steep hill, and two days after they were found dead upon the Snow.

One *Giovanni*, with his Wife and Child, were hurled down a mighty Rock, the Mother holding the Child in her Arms, and three days after they were found dead; only the Child was alive, and clasped so fast in the dead Mothers Arms, that they had much ado to get it out.

*Joseph Chiaret*, having received a wound in the thigh, was flayed alive, and his Grease taken out of his Body: The like was done to *Paul Carnier*.

*ACADEMIE*

*Mattheo Turin* was Massacred at *Lucernetta*, and his Body devoured by Dogs.

*Margaret Saretta* was Stoned to Death, and her dead Body cast into the River.

*Cypriano Busia* was cruelly starved to death, and his Body cast to the Dogs.

*Antonio Bertino*, had first his Nose, Paps, and Privities cut off, and then his Head cleft in twain.

Two Children were first Murthered, and then Burnt to Ashes.

*Joseph Pent* was first wounded in his Back, and then had his Body cut off in the middle.

*Daniel De Maria* being found in a place where he had hid himself, and lay Sick, had first two of his Children Murthered before his Eyes, and then himself Barbarously slain.

*Judith*, a Widow of Eighty years old, was dragged up and down upon the ground, and at last had her Head cut off.

Three Infants of *Peter Fine* were stifled in the Snow.

A Maid that was an Innocent, was first stripped stark naked, and then had a long Stake driven through her Belly, whereof she died.

*Luce* the Wife of *Peter Besson*, being near the time of her lying down, as she fled for her life, was so affrighted with the shrieks of some that were Massacred, that she fell in Travel upon the Mountains where she was, and afterwards was found dead with the new Born Infant, and two other sucking Children lying by her.

*Francis*, the Son of Master *Gros* a Minister, being taken, had his Body cut into small Gobbets, whilst he was alive, and that in the presence of his Wife, and then they took two of his small Children, and most inhumanely Murthered them.

The *Sieur Thomas Margher* being forced to fly from his House, being an Elder of *La Torre*, was miserably starved to death with Hunger and Cold.

*Judith Ravelin*, with her seven Children, were all Barbarously Murthered in their Beds.

*Anna*, a Widow of about Seventy five years old, was cut in pieces by the Soldiers.

The Wife of *Gaspar Fayol*, being taken, was forced to labor hard for them by cutting down the Corn, and at last as she was so at work, they came behind her, and cut off her Head.

*Jacob Rosseno* refusing to say *Jesus Maria*, was first cruelly beaten with Cudgels, and Clubs, and having received several Shots in his Body, they at last clave his Head.

Two Children, both of them Dumb, were most unmercifully Murthered.

*Susanna*, the Daughter of *Puolo Giacquin*, resisting a Soldier that would have Ravished her, and by chance pushing him down a Rock, was hewed in pieces by others of them.

*Giovanni Pullins*, a poor Peasant of *La Torre*, being taken by the Soldiers, after all manner of reproaches, and scorns cast upon him by the Fryars, and others, in words, and actions, was by the command of the Marquis of *Pionessa* dragged by the Hangman to a place near the *Convent*, where the Marquis commanded the Hangman to place the Ladder against a Tree, and to prepare for his Execution, at which time the Monks and Priests ceased not to use all the Arguments which the Devil and their own wicked wits could possibly furnish them with, to shake the Faith and Constancy of this poor Creature, yet could they not prevail; yea, by all his gestures, and expressions he shewed the inward joy of his Soul that he was counted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ: And though they oft pressed him to remember the sad estate that he should leave his Children and Family in, yet he always answered, *That it was his hearty Prayer*



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to Almighty God that his Children might follow their Father, and did like himself, whereupon the Priests, seeing all their labor lost, assisted the Hangman to end this poor Mans life, and hasted to turn him off the Ladder.

Sieur Paolo Clement, an Elder of the Church of *Paisana*, was shortly after brought by the Monks and Priests to this same place, and shewed the dead Body of the other, thinking thereby to scare him from his Principles, and profession: But he answered them with an undaunted courage, *That they might kill the Body, but could never be able to prejudice the Soul of a true Believer.* He told them also, *That God would assuredly avenge the innocent Blood that they had spilt:* and so having by some ejaculations prepared to resign up his Soul unto God, he desired the Hangman to do his work: Three or Four days after, the Marquess of *Pisnessa* coming that way, one of the Soldiers discharged a Musquet at his dead Body, whereupon there gushed out a stream of fresh Blood, which the Marquess observing, said to some about him, *This Blood cries for vengeance:* Afterwards they took both these dead Bodies, and hung them up naked by one Foot near to *La Torre*, and when any Prisoner of the Protestants passed that way, they forced him or her to go and kiss their Privities, that they might put alike scorn both upon the living and dead: But by reason of the multitude of Bullets that were shot thorow them by the Soldiers, they at last fell to pieces.

*Daniel Rambaut* of *Villaro*, having a numerous Family, was taken, and carried to *Paisana* with divers others of his Neighbors, where he was cast into Prison, and after a while was importunately set upon by the Monks, and Mass Priests, both with promises, and threats, to pronounce *Jesus Maria*; and when they could not prevail, the Tormentors first cut off his Fingers one by one, and then his Hands, and lastly gave him a deadly wound in the stomack, and then they dragged his Carcass to the Rivers side, and left it to be devoured by Dogs, and wild Beasts.

*Peter Cabriolo* being taken by the Soldiers, they hung a great quantity of Gunpowder about his Body, and then giving fire to it, tore him all to pieces.

*Antony* the Son of *Samuel Guleris*, a dumb, and innocent creature, was inhumanely butchered as he was sitting by the fire side.

*Peter Monina*, and his Wife, dying both of them extreame sick, were murdered by the Soldiers, who finding in the same House one of their Children, a poor Infant, lame and impotent, they cut off its Legs, and so left it in that miserable plight: They had also another poor Girl, who had been dumb from her Cradle, which not long after was found starved to death for want of sustenance.

*Daniel Benoch* of *Villaro* was taken by the Soldiers, who cut off his Nose, Ears, and other parts of his Body, till they had slain him, and then they left the mangled pieces upon the Hedges, and Bushes in the same place: Two of his Children were also stifled in the Snow.

*Mary* the Widow of *Daniel Pelanchion* of *Villaro*, being taken by the Soldiers, after they had basely abused her, they almost shot her to death, and then threw her into the River: But this poor Woman being not quite dead, with much pains, and hard shifts, got out of the River again, hoping to be somewhat revived by the warm Sun which she laid her down in: But some of these bloody Villains spying her, they fastened a Rope to her Feet, and dragged her to the Bridge, where they hung her up by the Legs, and so shot her to death, afterwards leaving her stark naked upon the Rock.

*Mary* the Wife of *Daniel Monino* was taken by the Soldiers, who having broken her jaws in pieces, they gave her a deep cut in the neck, so that her Head was half off, and so they left her in that languishing condition, till after extreame torments endured for divers days together, she at last yielded up the Ghost.

*Mary* the Widow of *David Nigrino* (a poor Beggar of *Villaro*) together with her Daughter who was an Innocent, were both inhumanely massacred in the Village of *Bozza*, and their dead Bodies were thrown into the Woods.

*Susanna* the Widow of *Samuel Bals* of *Villaro*, was by the Soldiers basely abused at their pleasure, and afterwards they shut her up between two stone Walls, where she was miserably pined to death.

*Susanna* the Wife of *Jacob Calvo* being sorely wounded by the Soldiers, after which, flying into a Barn to hide her self, the Soldiers perceiving it, set fire on the Barn, and burnt her to ashes.

A Child of *Daniel Bertino*, who had been dumb, and an Innocent from the Womb, was burnt in a Barn at *Balmedaust*.

*Paolo Armand*, being extream sick and weak, was by these Barbarians hacked in pieces.

*Andrea Bertino*, a very old, and lame Man, had his Breasts first cut off, and then was cruelly murdered by these bloody Villains, who to testifie their malice against him for his constancy in Religion, after he was dead they cut out his Bowels, and with their Halberds hacked his Body in pieces.

*Daniel* the Son of *David Michialino*, being taken by the Soldiers, after much other cruel usage, had his Tongue pulled out with great violence and torments.

*Constantia Bellione* had her Body hacked, and mangled in most parts thereof, and then was shot to death with several Bullets in her Bowels, and after she was dead, they cleft her Head with a Hanger.

*Judith Mondon* was beaten to death in a savage manner with Clubs and Staves.

*David Paglias*, and *Paolo Genre* endeavoring to fly, each of them having a little Infant in his Arms, being at last tired, and out of Breath, were overtaken by the Soldiers, and both Men and Infants inhumanly murdered.

*Micheli Genre*, a young Man of *Bobio*, was thrown off the Bridg of *La Torre*, where, as he was praying with his Hands lifted up to Heaven, he was partly stoned, and partly drowned.

*David Armand* was knocked, and beaten about the Head with an Hammer till he died.

*Jacob Baridono*, being taken Prisoner at *Villaro*, and from thence carried to *La Torre*, after the Tormentors had sufficiently, and cruelly afflicted him with burning Matches between his Fingers, his Lips, and other parts of his Body, till with intolerable pain he died, they caused his dead Corps to be carried out by two of his Fellow-Prisoners, and by them to be thrown into the River *Pelice*: But thinking that too honorable a burying place for an Heretick, they forced them to fetch it out again, and to lay it on the Rivers brink, where, after they had exposed the same to all manner of ignominies, it was at last eaten up by Dogs.

*Margaret* the Wife of *Joseph Garniero*, having received a shot in one of her Breasts, as she was giving suck to her little Child with the other, was yet so courageous that with many patheticall expressions she exhorted her Husband to endure the Cross with patience, and to hold out to the end, neither did she desire any favour of the Murderers, but only that they would spare the life of her Innocent Babe: which accordinly they did: but withal gave the Mother another shot in her Body whereof she died, and afterwards the Infant being found alive in the dead mothers Arms, was miraculously preserved.

*Isiah Mondon* having a long time hid himself in the cleft of a Rock, where for many days together he had nothing but a few Leaves of unwholsome Herbs to eat, was at last found out by the Soldiers, and most unmercifully handled by them: From thence they drave him towards the Town of *Lucerna*, being almost half dead: At last, when the poor creature could march no further, he fell down upon

Courage and  
Constancy.



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upon his knees, and beseeched them to dispatch him speedily, which accordingly they did; For partly with their Swords, and partly with their Pistols, they put an end to his miserable life, crying out in a scoffing manner, *Kill the Barber, kill the Barber, who refuseth to become a Christian.*

*Giovanni Barrolino* and his Wife were cast alive into a Pool, and often plunged, and thrust under the Water with Staves, and Pitchforks, and at last were dispatched with Stones and Brickbats.

*Mary Revel* receiving a shot in her Body, fell down in a manner dead, yet afterwards she recovered so much strength as to get upon her knees, and as she was praying to God, the Bloody Enemies dispatched her.

*Giovanni Salvagiot* as he was returning from *Bagnol*, after the peace was concluded, as he passed by a Chappel, because he put not off his Hat, and made obeisance thereto, was murdered, and his Body left unburied.

*Giovanni Gayo*, and divers other Men, Women, and Children hid themselves in a Cave, where for a time they continued in safety; But at last were discovered by some of these Blood-hounds, whereupon they fell upon their knees, and begged their lives of them, most of the murderers having been their Neighbors, and familiar acquaintance, and such as had pretended great friendship to them: But the mercies of these Men proved extream cruelty; For the kindest salute they could afford their old acquaintance was with Swords, Musquers, and Pistols; which the poor People perceiving, and not desiring to behold the lamentable misery each of other, they kneeled down in a Ring, and thrust their Heads into Fern, and such like stuff as they had prepared to lie upon, in which posture they were all miserably shot to death, and their dead Bodies afterwards horribly mangled, and cut in pieces.

*Jacob Barral* and his Wife having been taken Prisoners by the Earl of Saint Secondo, were three or four days after carried forth: And having first cut off the Womans Breasts, they shot them to death.

*Antony Guigno* went to *Periero* with a purpose to change his Religion; But it pleased God so to touch his Heart, that he repented of the resolution, and sought to make an escape: But as he was flying some Troops of the Marquels of *Salva* caught him, and used him most cruelly because he would not yield to go to Mass: And as they carried him Prisoner towards *Praly*, passing by a Precipice, the poor Man to avoid his Tormentors, leaped down from the Rock, and so was dashed in pieces.

Very many others there were which might here have been inserted, whereof some were drowned, some burnt, some slain with the Sword, some shot to death, some starved, some smothered in the Snow, some pined, some killed with staves, some cut in pieces: But I am weary with reckoning up their Names, and I suppose the Reader also is tired with these cruelties; yet are their Names written in red Letters in the Kalender of Heaven, though their Popish Adversaries would have them written in the dust; and whosoever desires to see more, may find a larger Catalogue in *Master Moorlands History of the Persecutions in the Valleys of Piemont.*

### CHAP. XLV.

*A true Narrative of the War in the Valleys of Piemont, between the Popish and Protestant party upon the occasion of the Massacre.*

**I**N the former Chapter you have a faithful Narration of what cruelties were exercised against the Reformed Party in the Valleys of Piemont from the first arrival of the Marquels of *Pianessa's* Forces at *St. Giovanni*, which was

April 17. 1655. to the 21. of the same: By which time they had made such havoc of these poor people, that there was now only the little Communalty of *Roras* which was left entire, and untouched: But that they also might in all things be made like unto their suffering Brethren of the other Churches, and that it might appear that the destruction was designed to be universal, the Earl of *Christophle* upon that very day, being April 21. sent Three hundred Soldiers secretly by the way of *Villaro*, to surprize them of *Roras*, and to put them all to the Sword: This Party being got upon a little Hill called *Rumer*, belonging to *Roras*, it pleased God that they were met with by some Soldiers belonging to Captain *Josbua Gianavel* (whom God raised up at that time as a choice Instrument for the preservation of the poor scattered remnant of his people.) These Soldiers being but Seven or Eight of them, yet having been beforehand placed in *Ambuscado* at a convenient Post to prevent the inrode of the Enemy, they fired upon them, and plyed them so hard, that many of them were killed upon the place, and the rest, supposing by the great number of Bullets that flew about their Ears, that the Men in *ambuscado* were Six times more in number than indeed they were, they fled back in great disorder, and confusion, which the others perceiving, they fell upon their Rear, and chased them at least three quarters of a League amongst the Rocks, and Woods, doing notable execution upon them in their flight.

Popish subtil-  
ty, and perfidi-  
ousness.

The Members of this little Church of *Roras*, to take away all occasions of exceptions, presented their complaints to the Marquess of *Pianessa*, who, that he might have the better opportunity to deceive, and surprize them, answered, That those of his Soldiers that went to *Roras*, were but Thieves, Robbers, and Out-laws, that herein had wholly disobeyed his Orders; Adding, That they had done him a singular favor in driving them out of their Countrey, and that he would take a course to prevent their being disturbed for the future: And hereupon he published an Order, whereby he strictly charged his Soldiers, not to give them any further causes of complaints, nor to molest them in any kind hereafter. Yet perfidiously, the very next day he sent a Party of Five hundred chosen Men to put his first Bloody design in execution.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

As these Men were passing over a little Hill of *Roras*, they were so saluted by Eleven Musqueteers of the Protestants, and Six Men with slings under the conduct of Captain *Gianavel*, who had divided them into Three Squadrons, that the Enemy was soon put to flight: And this poor handful of despicable Men pursued them for an whole League, slaying a very great number of them, without the loss or hurt of any one of themselves, which shews the admirable Providence of God in preserving, and prospering those that fight his Battels.

The Marquess of *Pianessa*, though he had failed this Second time, yet was resolved to make a third attempt; And still to deceive them, he made new promises, and protestations that no injury in the world should be offered them, and that in regard of the Intercession of the Earl of *Christophle*, their Lord and Patron, he would protect, and defend them; yet the very morrow after he sent a party of Seven hundred Men, who first seized upon, and secured all the passes; that none might escape their bloody Hands, and then most barbarously burnt, and destroyed whatsoever they met with thorow all the Communalty of *Roras*.

Hereupon Seventeen Housekeepers, whose Hearts God had marvellously strengthened, and encouraged for their poor Brethrens preservation, seeing what they must expect, and that nothing but death, and destruction waited for them, unless some admirable providence prevented it: As also calling to mind those singular deliverances which God had vouchsafed to his ancient people of the Jews in their greatest straits; They unanimously resolved to cast themselves with their lives and estates into the Hands of the same God, resting upon his gracious promises, and freely submitting to his good will and pleasure for



## The late Persecutions in the Canton of Geneva.

for the issue of their undertaking. The Captain of this valiant Party was the afore said *Gianavel*, who marching up with this little Band, suddenly surprized, and dexterously carried away their Court of Guard with their Centinel from off a little Hill where they were placed: At which bold attempt, the Enemy being not a little amazed, withdrew from the place where they were, resolving to march thorow a little meadow, and so to get to *Villaro* or *La Torre*: But being not nimble enough, the others met with them at *Piampra*, and there slew many of them, without the loss of any one of their own, and took from them all the Cattel, and other things which they had plundered from the neighboring places.

*Pianessa* seeing all his designs thus frustrated, and that his specious promises were but as so many watchwords to bid these poor people to stand upon their guard; He speedily sent to all those of *Lucerna*, *Bubiana*, *Barges*, *Bagnol*, *Famolas*, *Cavors*, and the adjacent places, who were able to bear Arms, to come and joyn with a good part of his own Army, to environ these poor people on every side. But God, who infatuates Mens Counsels as he pleaseth, though the time of their *Rendezvous* was punctually assigned them, yet they came Two Hours too late; all except the Troop of *Bagnol*, which was conducted by one *Mario*, a notorious Persecutor, and an inveterate Enemy to the Reformed Churches: This *Mario* with his ragged Regiment of Thieves, Outlaws, and a great number of *Irish* Rebels, assaulted this poor people on the upper and lower part of the Canton of *Rumet*, who were not about Seventeen in number; yet the Lord was pleased so to encourage them, that they presently gat upon the top of the Mountain, and there after a long skirmish forced their Enemies though full of fury and malice, yet to give back, and to flee as far as the Cliff called *Paire Capello*; In which fight and pursuit they killed above Sixty of them, and wounded many more, and many of them being laden with plunder, as they fled amongst the *Precipices* of the Rocks, fell down, and were dashed in pieces: Those of them that were lighter, and nimbler, gat safe to *Paire Capello*; But when they came there, they found greater difficulties to contest with than before. For being closely pursued and compassed in on every side, they were forced to take the Ropes wherewith they had bound up their plunder, and tying them to shrubs, to slide down the Rocks by them, and to fall into the River that ran below; But by reason of the violence of the torrent, and the great confusion that was amongst them, one falling on the neck of another, and such as could not swim, catching hold of them that could, the greatest part of them were there drowned. Captain *Mario* also amongst the rest threw himself into the River, and had not several of the Soldiers that could swim excellent well, returned their lives to fetch him out, he had gone with the rest to receive present pay from the Devil.

This Captain *Mario*, having thus escaped, was carried to *Lucerne* in his Shirt, without either Hat or Shoes, as a Man at his wits end; And shortly after he fell into a desperate disease, whereof he died: But before his death he oft cried out in a most despairing manner, that he felt a grievous burning in his Bowels, as a just Judgment upon him for having burnt so many innocent Persons, and their Habitations.

The Protestants after this gallant action, being somewhat weary with their hard service, as they were marching back to refresh themselves, they spied another Company of Murderers coming from *Villaro*, whereupon forgetting their weariness, they placed themselves in Ambuscade: When the Enemy drew near the place, they perceived some of them; but not being able by their colours to discern of what Party they were, they called to them for *THE WORD*. The Protestants answered not, but beckned to them to come nearer, which they did in a careless posture, supposing them to be Friends; and when they came near, the others suddenly discharged upon them, and slew many of them upon the place, and the rest they pursued near to *La Torre*, and *Villaro*. After which

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

signal Victory, Captain *Gianavel* rallied his Men upon an high ground not far off, and in the very sight of his Enemies, he caused them to kneel down, and with a loud voice to give Thanks unto the Lord for this very great mercy in their deliverance.

Three days after, the Marquess of *Pianessa*, being highly incensed by this success of the Protestants, sent to the people of *Roras*, expressly charging them to change their Religion, within the space of Twenty four hours, and that upon pain of death, and of having their Houses burnt to the ground: To which they answered, *That they would much rather chuse death, than to obey any such Order.* The Marquess vexed at this resolute answer, presently dispatched away Eight thousand Men, besides the *Militia* Forces of the neighboring Commonalties; who according to his order, were divided into Three Squadrons, the one to set upon the poor people on the side of *Villaro*, the other upon the Mountains of *Bagnol*, and the third on that part which looks towards *Lucerna*; which accordingly they did, not only murdering Man, Woman and Child, but exercising all manner of cruelties upon them, taking much pleasure (like bloody Villains) in torturing those poor Creatures, and in tossing their little Infants from off their Pikes and Halberds, and dashing their Brains against the Rocks, whose cries would have melted an Heart of *Adamant*, but theirs were harder; The number thus taken and slain was about One hundred twenty six, the rest almost miraculously escaped their bloody Hands.

Having thus shewn their valor upon naked Men, Women and Infants, and being glutted with the prey that they found in the Countrey, they turned their Houses into Ashes; and such as survived, they sent Prisoners to *Turin*, amongst whom was the Wife and Children of Captain *Gianavel*, and so they marched back to *Lucerna* with great joy and acclamations.

Shortly after *Pianessa* wrote to Captain *Gianavel* promising him great preferment if he would change his Religion; Otherwise, threatening that his Wife and Children should be burnt: He also promised a great sum of money to any that should bring him the said *Gianavel* either alive or dead. To this Captain *Gianavel* presently answered, *That there was no torment so violent, nor death so cruel, that he did not much prefer before the abjuration of his Religion; and that all these promises and threats did but the more fortifie him and strengthen his Faith: And for his wife and Children, he told the Marquess that though he had gotten them into his power, yet he could but kill their Bodies; And as for their Souls, he recommended them, together with his own, into the Hands of God, in case it so happened that he should fall into his power.*

This Captain *Gianavel* having gotten together a small party of Men upon part of the *Alps* called *La Pella des Jamies*, May 22. went out in the evening to a place about three leagues off, not far from *Bubiana*, where he first sought to God by prayer, and afterwards being informed of the number and strength of the Enemy, finding them too many to be attachqued by such a handful of Men, he turned towards *Lucernetta*, where he was furiously assaulted by the Garrison of *Lucerna*, but he courageously encountered them without the loss of any one Man, only himself was shot into the Leg, by a Soldier that had himself behind a Tree, with a purpose to have slain him; But the Captain perceiving whence the shot came, lame as he was, he made to the place, where he quickly dispatched him for his pains.

Whilst these things were acting, the *Irish* Rebels in the Marquesses Army, thinking to make themselves Masters of *Bubiana*, under a pretence of protecting them against the *Barbets*, the Peasants of the place perceiving their drift, took occasion to quarrel with them, and after drove them out, killing a great number of them.

May the 26. 1655. Captain *Gianavel* wrote to Captain *Fabier* and the rest that were retired into *Val Lucerna*, to meet at a *Rendezvous* at *Angrogna*, which accordingly they did, and the day after, they marched together to a place in the



the Plain called *Gareigliana*, thinking to have entered the Town; But they met with a great party of Horse and Foot, yet they disputed it with them a long time, but being overpowered, they were forced to retreat, though they got six yoke of Oxen, and many other small Cattel, and some Prisoners, and that with the loss of one only Man in the retreat.

May 18. They marched to *St. Secondo*, where, having first kneeled down, and prayed for a blessing upon their undertaking, encouraging one another, they attack'd the place with incredible valor; and the better to secure themselves against their Enemies, who had lodged and fortified themselves in Houses, they got Planks, Barrels, and such other things as they met with to keep off the Bullets, which were poured out upon them out of those Houses, and so quickly made themselves Masters of the Doors of those Houses, to which immediately they set fire, and so forced their entrance, putting all the Soldiers they found to the Sword; and no marvel, For they had been extremely provoked to this rigor by the others cruel usage of their Wives and Children: Besides every room of those Houses was filled with the plundered Goods of the Protestants; yet did they not meddle either with Women or Children.

Then did they let fire on the Town, and plunder'd the Churches, which they found full of their own Goods and Cattle, and carried away seven of their Mass-Bells.

At this time they slew about Four hundred and fifty of their Enemies, and amongst others, a whole Company of *Irish* Rebels, who chose rather to be burnt than to crave Quarter. Of the Protestants there were only Seven slain, and Six or Seven more slightly wounded, whereof they soon recovered.

Monday, June the Fourth, the Captains *Jabier*, *Laurentio*, *Gianvel*, *Gonolot*, *Benet*, and other Officers of the Protestants, went to *Anagnina*, and having called a Council of War, they concluded the next day to alarm the Enemy at *Briqueras*, and *Saint Giovanni*: And accordingly the Captains *Laurentio* and *Jabier* went by the way of *Roccapiatta*, that by the help of the thick Woods wherein they shrouded themselves, they might the better approach *Briqueras*, and having gotten upon a little Hill near the Town, Captain *Laurentio* made there a stand to hinder any relief that might be sent them from *Saint Secondo*, and Captain *Jabier* marching down, let fire on several Houses and Barns.

At the sight of this fire, they of *Briqueras* gave notice to those of *Cavari*, *Fenile*, *Bubiana*, *Campiglione*, and other neighboring places, whereupon the Enemy quickly advanced towards them, and were as soon beaten back again: In the mean time there came a party of about Twenty Horse and stood at *Saint Secondo*, lest the Reformed party should Salley out that way, really believing that they had a design upon *Briqueras*: But Captain *Jabier* marched with his Company by the way of *Saint Giovanni*, and Captain *Laurentio* went an higher way, yet both met at the place appointed, where Captain *Gianvel* was engaged with the Enemies from *Luserna*, and *La Torre*, against whom he had defended himself very stoutly: Then did Captain *Jabier* charge them on the Flank, and Captain *Laurentio* on the Front, seasonably interposing his Company in that place where the Enemy had thought to have surrounded Captain *Gianvel*, so that the Popish party was soon routed, leaving One hundred Men behind them, besides many that were wounded, the Reformed party having but one slain upon the place.

June the Second, Three hundred of the Enemies went from *La Torre* to fetch a Convoy into the Fort of *Nivabuc*, situate between the Frontiers of *Dauphine*, and *Piemont*: But Captain *Gianvel* being at *Malbuc*, though he had but Nine Soldiers with him, fell upon them, and fought a great while with them to the great astonishment of his Enemies: But at last was forced to retreat without the loss of a Man, only Four were slightly wounded.

Afterwards

Afterwards Captain *Gianavel* with a small party marched to *La Pella des Guienets*, from whence he sent to some that were retired into *Villaro*, requiring that all those of the Reformed Religion should within Twenty four Hours come out of the said place where Mass was celebrated, and that upon the pain of being dealt with as Enemies; And that such as through weakness had abjured, and would persist in their abjuration, should depart thence upon the same penalty. Hereupon all the Papists fled presently out of *Villaro*, and the Protestants came in to Captain *Gianavel*, and such of them as were able to bear Arms followed him chearfully: The rest contributed according to their abilities towards the maintenance of him, and his Troops. Those which through frailty had abjured their Religion went over the Mountain into the Valley of *Queires*; yet not long after they returned like so many wandering Sheep to the true Shepherd of their Souls, and testifying their repentance, were again received into the Bosom of the Church.

After those of *Lucerna* were retreated, the Captains *Fahier*, and *Gianavel*, with some other Officers, called a Council of War, wherein they resolved to sally out, and if it were possible, to surprise those of *La Torre*, most of which were *Irisb*. But the Enemy having timely notice, was so prepared, that they killed some who had passed the Bridge at *Angrognia*, which so encouraged them that they thought to have enclosed all the small Body of the Protestants, and to have cut them all off: But after many assaults to no purpose, they were forced to retreat to *La Torre* with the loss of very many of their Soldiers, besides many others that were dangerously wounded.

The next day the Captains, *Fahier*, and *Gianavel* went before *La Torre*, against whom many of the Soldiers came out; But not sallying forth in a full Body, they were all slain upon the place, which their Captains seeing, they thought fit to send out no more: Whereupon the Protestants retreated towards *Angrognia*, to a place called *La Verne*, where a few Houses were yet left unburnt.

The next day was spent in the review of their Army, and holding a Council of War, where they resolved to send a party against the Communalty of *Crusol*, the Inhabitants whereof had made Incursions upon them, and committed many Outrages in the beginning of the Massacre: And accordingly they marched all night, being Four hundred ninety and five Men, and passing by *La Torre* undiscovered, a little after midnight they arrived at *Crusol*, where they took Four hundred Head of Cattle, Six hundred Sheep and Goats, with much other booty, and that without the least resistance: For the Inhabitants of *Crusol*, being terribly affrighted, had cast themselves into the mouth of a most fearful Rock, whence they could not be gotten out; and so the Protestants returned over one of the *Alps* of *Villaro*, where, arriving the next day towards evening, they divided the spoil amongst the Soldiers.

Presently after their departure the Enemy from *Lucerna*, *Cavors*, *Briqueiras*, and other places to the number of Eight hundred, having heard of their design against *Crusol*, marched to their relief: But finding that they were gone too far to be overtaken, they resolved not to lose their labors, and so fell a plundering the poor people (though their Friends) much worse than the Protestants had done, and afterwards falling out amongst themselves about dividing the spoil, they destroyed one another instead of doing hurt to the Reformed party.

The very same day that this enterprize was against *Crusol*, the Enemy at Saint *Secondo* advanced to burn the rest of the Houses at *Roccapiatta*, and being advanced as far as to the little Hill of *Angrognia*, they thought to have surprized the rest of the Forces left under the command of Captain *Laurentio*, and Captain *Fahiers* Brother: But they, having timely intelligence of it, marched presently to the top of the Mountain with one half of the Soldiery, leaving the other half under the Command of Captain *Bennet* of Saint *Germano*, who also

with



with all possible expedition, took his Post upon the said little Hill with Seventeen of his Men, and placed the rest in Ambuscado. But the Enemies hearts misgiving them, they shamefully retreated, at which time they took one *Giovanni Pietro Ragio* as he was coming from *Pimachis*, and binding his Head with a Cord, they strained it with such violence, that they made it sink into his Brains, and so they sent him to *Turin*, where he ended his days shortly after by a languishing, and miserable death.

Eight days after, Captain *Gianavel*, having waited Three whole days at *Angronia* for the coming of Captain *Fabier*, that with joint Forces they might assault the Town of *Lucerna*, when he came not, he resolved to assault it himself, and so marching all night, he arrived at *Lucerna* by break of day. His first work was to cut off the Pipes that conveyed Water into the Town, and brake down the Bridge that no relief might come to them from *Bubiana*, *Barges*, and *Bagnol*: Then did he assault the Town, and quickly defeated Two of the Outguards: But the Regiment of *Monsieur de Morolles*, and divers others being got into the Town the night before, he was constrained to give over the enterprise, and to retreat, whereas if Captain *Fabier* had come in time, and joyned with him, probably they had carried the place.

June the Eighth, Captain *Gianavel* being left alone at *Angronia* only with his own Company, and some few others, was assaulted early in the morning by the Soldiers of *La Torre* and others, one part of them getting upon the top of the Mountain, and the other part going the lower passage to possess themselves of the Gate of *Angronia* by the way of Saint *Bartholomew*, intending suddenly to fall upon Captain *Gianavel* and his small Company, having already devoured them in their hopes: But it pleased God that at the sound of the Trumpet, when all should have fallen on, Captain *Gianavel* soon awaked, and having first sought unto God by prayer, he fell upon the Enemy, and gat the advantage of the place from them, and after a short Dispute, forced them to turn their Backs, though there were at least Two thousand five hundred of them, and all the Captains Company was not above Three hundred, yet did that handful of Men pursue them as far as to the descent of *Angronia*, into the Woods, and steep places of the Rocks, where they slew a very great number of them.

Captain *Gianavel* seeing it impossible to think of any further attempt for the present, entreated Captain *Fabier* to give over for that day, and to refresh himself and his Soldiers: But he being at that time more passionate than prudent, refused his good counsel, and picking out One hundred and fifty choice Men, sweetly took his leave of Captain *Gianavel* (little thinking that it should be his last) and so marched down into the plain, where he burnt several of their Houses who had formerly burnt, and destroyed so many of the Protestants, bringing away with him a good Booty of Cattle, and other Goods.

This valiant Captain who hitherto had been so successful in all his attempts, thinking in the close of the day to Crown all his former undertakings, as he was now near the execution of his Design; Lo a Squadron of Horse fortified him and his Forty five Men (for at this time he had no more with him), at a Country House, not far from *Ossac*; and though he and his Men did all that could possibly be expected from them, killing Three Captains, with the Commander in chief of that Squadron, besides many others, yet he at last and Thirty five of his Followers, all lost their lives: And the Enemies in great Triumph, cut off Captain *Fabiers* Head, and the Heads of his Sons, and carried them to *Turin*, presenting them to the Duke and his Mother, who rewarded them with Six hundred *Ducats* for their good service therein.

Captain *Fabier* deserves to be renowned, especially for his great piety, and zeal for the service and honor of God, and the preservation of his poor afflicted Church and Members: He was of so undaunted a spirit, that the report of death, and the most cruel torments could never fright him. He was bold as a Lion in his enterprises, but meek, and humble as a Lamb, in the midst of his

Victories, always lifting up his Hands towards Heaven, from whence he acknowledged all his help to come, and always recited fit and comfortable passages out of the Scriptures ( wherein he was admirably Versed ) for the encouragement of all his Followers, and the strengthening of their Faith upon all occasions. As to his outward parts, and accomplishments, he was a Man of a sound understanding, and good judgment, and above all, of a wonderful active spirit, which had he but used with moderation, he had been hardly to have been paralleled.

A special Providence.

The death of so brave a Commander, and the wound of Captain *Glanavel*, in that juncture of time did not a little startle the Protestants: But necessity often puts inconsiderable Men upon bold enterprizes; For these poor Men did not despond, nor lose their courage, but assembling shortly after in a Mountain of *Angrogna*, they descended into the Plain, where twice they were assaulted with violence, the last of which was by a dangerous *Ambuscado*, where the Enemies were at least Six thousand, and they not above One hundred: But God of his infinite goodness so encouraged their Hearts, and guided their Hands, that they slew very many of their Enemies, and amongst them many principal Officers, whereas the Reformed party lost only one *Michael Bertino*, a Serjeant of *Angrogna*, and had but one common Soldier wounded. The Son of the said *Bertino* seeing his Father fall dead at his Feet, was so far from being discouraged, that he immediately stepped into his Fathers place with these words, *Though my Father be dead, yet be of good courage my fellow Soldiers, for God is a Father to us all.*

Munday following they had a very sharp dispute at *La Torre*, and about *Tagliaretto*, where they killed and wounded a great number of their Enemies, without the loss of any of their own Men. Indeed in this time the Enemies reaped their Corn in the Plains of Saint *Giovanni*, but they could not carry it away but with the loss of many of their lives.

About the same time there came to the Protestants one Monsieur *Andrion*, a Major of a Regiment of Horse, with two other Gentlemen that were strangers, who were followed with some Volunteers, whose friendly visit of their poor afflicted Brethren, and their good advice in such a juncture of time, was taken ( as it deserved ) very kindly; and God made it a singular means to uphold the fainting spirits of some weak Brethren, who seeing others come in to the help of the Lord against the Mighty, went on with a great deal more cheerfulness, and alacrity: And these staid with them till the peace was concluded at *Pignerol*.

July the Eleventh 1655. *Sieur John Leger*, Pastor of the Church at Saint *Giovanni*, who deserves to be remembered for the great pains, and many services performed by him in the behalf of the Churches of the Valleys, having notice that the Enemies were of opinion that he was come back from his journey with Arms and Money, and Ammunition, and thereupon presuming that they would suddenly make some notable attempt to prevent what they so much feared, he went to Colonel *Andrion*, and pressed him to put his design in execution.

The poor people had as yet no standing Army: But the Bands of each Communalty were quartered at a great distance the one from the other; and certainly they had been cut off every Man of them within a few days, had not their Centinels been very watchful, and above all, if Captain *Charforan* had not on the one side timely discovered the Enemy, and the poor people on the other side been exceedingly heartned to the Battel by the great valor, and singular conduct of the *Sieurs Andrion, Michelin, and Leger*.

The Enemy was very numerous, having been lately reinforced with many Troops. They encamped themselves within half a League of the Reformed party, and early in the Morning they divided themselves into Four Brigades, Three



Three whereof fell upon the Protestants with a marvelous Resolution in Three several places at once: The Fourth stood still, ready to succor their Friends if there were need. The fight continued at least Four Hours without intermission, and was the sharpest that ever was fought in the open Field: And that which made the Enemies more fierce, was, their hopes to have beaten back the Protestants from their Post called the *Castelas*, which if they could have effected, they had been certainly Masters of the Valleys *Perosa*, *Saint Martin*, and *Lucerna*: But the poor people having lifted up their Hearts by earnest supplications to the Lord of Hosts (as they used to do upon all such occasions) Major *Andriou*, and the Two other Captains which he had brought with him, gave forth such orders as were necessary, encouraging their Men exceedingly, so that without budging a Foot, they kept their ground, all save a few, who were either quite tired, or faint for want of Food, or that wanted Powder, or Flints in their Fire-locks: But these, the *Sieurs Mechelin* and *Loget* employed in rolling down great Stones upon their Enemies Heads as they came to attack them, which proved very successful, doing much execution upon the Enemy, and causing them to abate much of their fury, and whereas in the beginning of the fight they cryed always, *Advance, Advance, ye rebels of Jahier*, the Protestants now began to cry as fast, *Advance, Advance, ye rebels of Saint Secondo*, and withal they ran upon those murderers as so many Lions, and caused them to turn back, and fly towards *La Torre* and *Lucerna* as fast as they were able, leaving behind them Fifty five upon the place, and about Forty that were killed in the flight, besides many others who were carried either dead, or dangerously wounded, to *Lucerna*. Themselves confessed that in this encounter they lost at least Three hundred Men, amongst which were many Officers of a *Bavarian* Regiment:

When such multitudes of dead, wounded, and dying Men were brought into *Lucerna*, the *Syndick*, who was indeed a Papist, but not so superstitious as many others, said to some, *Hitherto the wolves devoured the Bar-bets; But now the Bar-bets devour the wolves*: Which words being reported to Monsieur *Marolles*, the Commander in chief in *Lucerna*, he threatened to imprison him, and to give him the *Strappado* for them, which so terrified the poor Man, that he presently sickned, and within a few days died.

Two days after this great fight, the Enemy being much enraged for their great loss, spread themselves all over *Angrogna*, and began to set the Corn on fire, which being seen by the Company of *La Torre*, who at that time were upon the Mountain of *Tagliaretto*, they speedily gave notice to those of *Saint Giovanni*, and *Angrogna*, who hasted thither, and charged them so fiercely, that they forced them to fly, and to leave most of their Ammunition behind them: And in the mean time Captain *Belin* assaulted the Town of *La Torre*, killed the Centinel, and Soldiers upon the works, and gave the Town such an hot Alarm, that most of them fled towards the River of *Pessine*; and probably if he had had a few more Men with him, he had at that time made himself Master of *La Torre*.

July the Eighteenth, the General of the Protestants gave Order to fall upon the Town of *La Torre*, which accordingly was put in execution. Captain *Belin* gave the first onset, who being followed with many other Officers, and Soldiers, they quickly made a considerable breach in the Garden-wall next to the *Convent*, which so encouraged the rest, that they fell on with an invincible resolution, and in a short space burnt both the *Convent*, and most of the Town down to the ground. Those in the Fort finding themselves hardly beset, began to Parley about surrendering of it upon honorable terms: But some Horse coming seasonably to their relief from *Lucerna*, which the Protestants might have prevented if they had been so careful as they should have been, they were frustrated of attaining their desires.

Besides these, there were divers other Battels fought in divers places, where the Reformed party had considerable advantages against their Enemies; but for brevity sake they are here omitted.

#### C H A P. XLVI.

*A brief account of the Intercessors to the Duke of Savoy in the behalf of these poor People, and the success thereof.*

**U**Pon the first publication of that terrible Order of *Gastaldo*, which was a forerunner of the Massacre, the Protestant *Cantons of Switzerland*, being their near neighbors, and therefore could soonest take notice of it, wrote their Letters to the Duke of *Savoy* in the poor peoples behalf. To which the Duke of *Savoy* shortly after gave a complemental, but cold answer, which was little better than a Plain denial of their request, and mediation.

April the 29. being the Lords day, news of the horrible Massacre was brought to the Council of *Zurick*, who immediately gave Order for a publick day of Humiliation through all their Territories, as also for making a Collection for their relief; resolving to give notice of this doleful news to their Protestant Friends; and amongst others, they wrote to the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, acquainting them with the sad condition of this poor people, intreating them to consider of some expedient for the accommodating their affairs.

May the Fifth, they sent Monsieur *Gabriel Weis*, Captain General of *Bern* as their Deputy to the Duke of *Savoy*, who in very respectful terms requested him to re-establish those who had survived the Massacre in their ancient priviledges, the free exercise of their Religion, and for the enlargement of their Prisoners, delivering him a Letter to the same purpose. The answer which the Duke (or rather his Mother) gave, was, that though they were not obliged to give an account of their actions to any Prince in the world, yet out of respect to the amity which they had compacted with his Masters the *Cantons*, they had given Order to the Marquess of *Pianessa* to acquaint them with the truth of those affairs: And shortly after when Major *Weis* spake with the Marquess, he labored to justify all his proceedings, and to lay the load upon the backs of the poor people, protesting that he never intended to force their Consciences, and that all the reports about such strange cruelties exercised towards them were meer forgeries, &c.

Major *Weis* replied that the Massacre was so notorious, that it could not be denied; and that their right of habitation in those places was founded upon Justice, being granted to them by the Dukes Predecessors, and purchased by them of the present Duke for Six thousand *Ducatoons*. The Marquess answered, that all those Grants were upon condition that the *Romish* Religion should be freely exercised amongst them, which yet they would never suffer. Master *Weis* still pressing this sad condition, and the necessity of finding an expedient for accommodation, &c. the Marquess desired him to apply himself to the poor people, and to cause them to desist from Hostility, which would be the way to obtain favor from the Duke; and no marvel though he moved this: For about this time (through Gods mighty assistance) these poor people began so to prevail, that their Enemies began to fear what the success might be, and therefore the Marquess labored to get the Sword out of their Hands by such a stratagem as this.

Major *Weis* went to *Perosa*, propounding these things to the poor people; who returned humble thanks to the *Cantons* for what they had already done in their



their behalf, and said, that if the Six Evangelical Cantons would engage that the Treaty should be carried on upon honest and honourable terms, they were ready to hearken to it; Otherwise they were resolved never to trust those who had so oft deceived them; and whose Principle was, *That Faith is not to be kept with Heretics*.

With this answer Master *Wick* returned, and sued for the enlargement of the Prisoners; or that at least he might be suffered to speak with them. But neither the one nor other would be granted; whereupon he returned to his Masters, and upon his report to them, being discouraged from any further proceedings, they resolved to expect what would be done by other Princes, and States.

May 1655, Letters were brought to *Oliver*, Lord Protector of England, of this doleful news; whereupon he invited all the people of England to seek the Lord by Humiliation, and Prayer, and withal moved them to a liberal Contribution for the succor of these poor Souls. He sent also Master *Samuel Morland* as his Envoy to the King of France, and Duke of Savoy to mediate on their behalf. He wrote also to the King of Denmark, to the States of the United Provinces, and to the Evangelical Cantons of the Switzers, requesting all their Mediations in the behalf of these poor people.

May the Twenty sixth 1655, Master *Morland* set out on his journey, and June the First he came to the King of France at *La Ferre*, to whom he delivered the Lord Protectors Letters; wherein he solicited his Majesty to improve his power, and interest with the Duke, that the cruel Order of *Gustaf* might be recalled, and the poor people restored to their ancient liberties, and habitations. The King of France Three days after returned an answer to the Lord Protectors Letters, and Master *Morland* proceeded in his journey to the Court of Savoy, and arrived at *Rivole*, where the Court was, June 11. and demanded Audience as the Lord Protectors Envoy, which accordingly was granted: and at his appearing he made a Speech in the behalf of the poor people, and delivered the Lord Protectors Letters.

Madam Royal, the Dukes Mother answered, That she could not but extremely applaud the singular Charity of his Highness the Lord Protector towards their Subjects, whose condition had been presented to him so exceeding sad, and lamentable, as she perceived by Master *Morlands* discourse it was; yet withal she could not but extremely admire that malice should proceed so far as to clothe their fatherlike chastisements of their rebellious Subjects with so black a character, thereby to render them odious to all their neighboring Princes, and States with whom they desired to keep a good understanding, especially with so great and powerful a Prince as the Lord Protector. Adding that she doubted not but when the truth of all passages should be made known to him, he would rest satisfied with the Dukes proceedings. Yet for his Highness sake they would pardon their rebellious Subjects, and grant them such privileges, and graces, as should shew to the Lord Protector how great a respect they bore both to his Person, and Mediation: And withal Master *Morland* was requested to go to *Turin*, where by the Dukes Order he was entertained with all outward demonstrations of civility, and respect imaginable during his abode there.

Master *Morland* after a while pressed for his dispatch, and had it, and so, according to the Lord Protectors Order, he went to *Geneva*.

There was Collected in England and Wales towards the relief of these poor Souls, the full Sum of Thirty eight thousand, ninety seven pounds, seven shillings, and three pence, the greatest part whereof was at several times transmitted to them; and what remained, being about Nine thousand pounds, was put out to Interest, that so both the Principal, and the Improvement might be disposed of for their best advantage: And further to shew what effects the Lord Protectors intercession had, I find that presently after, the King of Sweden, the King of Denmark, the States of the United Provinces, the Prince Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Wittenberg, and many other Protestant Princes

Princes and States did either by their Letters to the Duke of Savoy, or otherwise, declare their deep resentment of the Bloody Massacre; especially the Landgrave of Hesse wrote most zealously in their behalf. They had also many Consolatory Letters written to them from sundry particular Churches, viz. From Frankfurt, Zurich, Hanau, Flushing, Middleburg, &c. and large Contributions according to their respective abilities. Divers Commissioners also were sent from England and Holland to joyn with those of the Evangelical Cantons for the procuring a well-grounded Peace for those poor People: But before they came, the Swiss Ambassador had concluded a Treaty with the French Ambassador; and betwixt them, they had hudled up a Peace, the woful effects whereof these poor People were quickly sensible of; and to this day they labor under heavy burdens laid upon their shoulders by their Popish Taskmasters: They forbid them all manner of traffick for their sustenance: They rob them of their Goods, and Estates: They drive them from their ancient Habitations, and force them to sell their Birth-right for a Mess of Pottage: They banish their Ministers, that the Shepherds being gone, they may the more easily devour them: They ravish their young Women, and Maidens: They murder the innocent as they pass along the High-ways upon their occasions: They continually mock and revile them, and threaten another Massacre, sevenfold more Bloody than the former: Through the malice and subtilty of their Popish Adversaries their Valleys are no other than a Dungeon, to which the Fort of La Torre serves as a Door, whereby at their pleasure they may let in a Troop of Murtherers utterly to destroy and extirpate those innocent People: And notwithstanding all those large supplies that have been sent them from England, and other States, yet so great are the necessities of those poor hungry Creatures, and so grievous are the oppressions of their Popish Adversaries, who lie in wait to bereave them of whatsoever is given them, that some of them are yet ready ever and anon to eat their own flesh for want of Bread: Their miseries are more sad, and grievous than can be expressed: They are dying, even whilst they live: When that which was collected for them is once spent, they must inevitably perish, unless the Lord in whose Hands are the Hearts of Princes, shall incline the Heart of their Prince to pity these his poor, harmless, and faithful Subjects, who are so far from thoughts of Rebellion, that could they but enjoy the freedom of their Consciences in peace, they would be the first that would be ready to sacrifice their lives for the good, and safety of his Royal Highness.

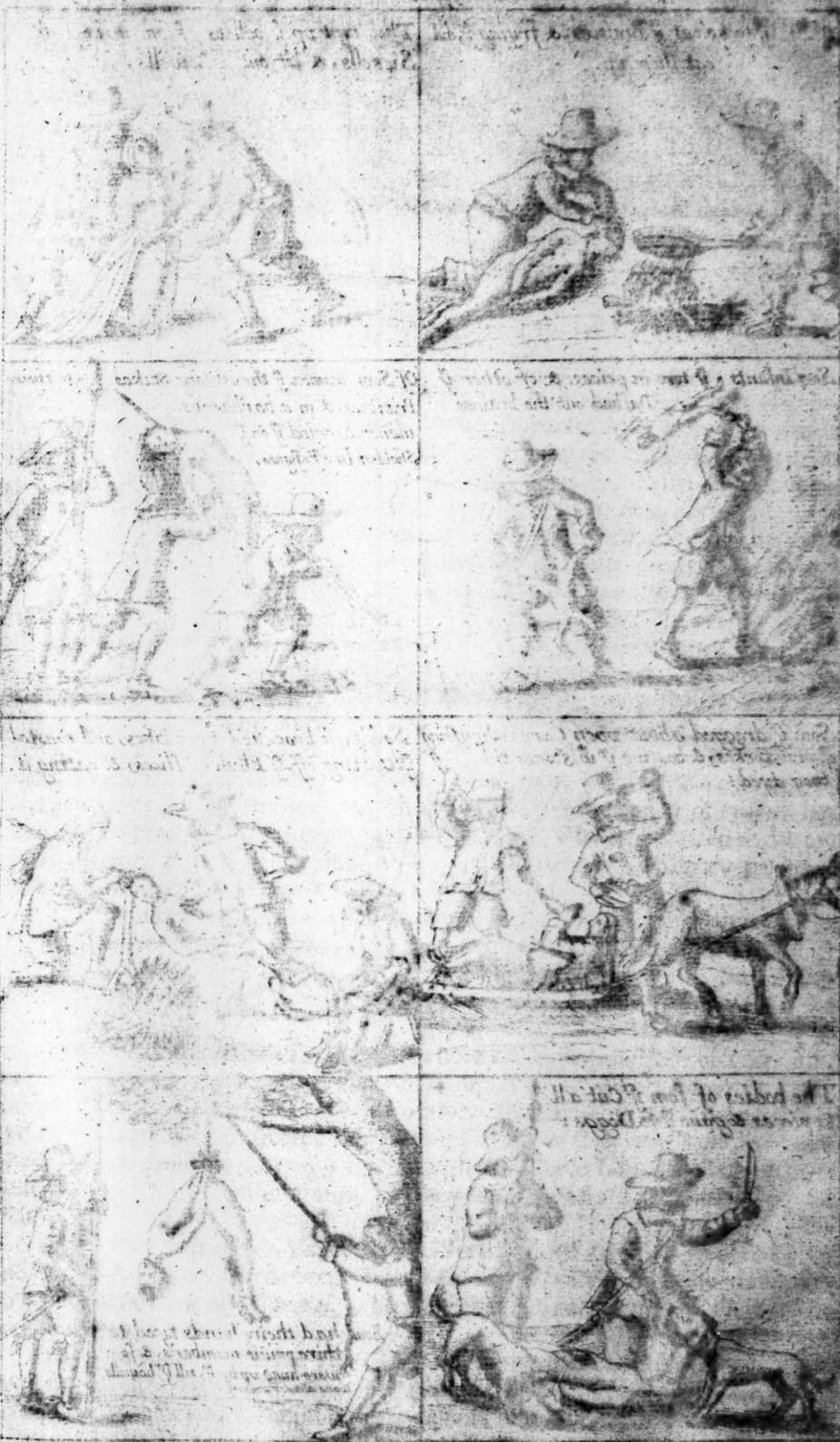
How long Lord, Holy, just, and true, &c. Rev. 6. 10.

If any desire to see a fuller account of these things, together with the Letters and Transactions about them, they may find them fully and faithfully set down by Master Samuel Morland in his History of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.

Here place the Eleventh Figure.

CHAP.





Of Som. if tooke out y<sup>e</sup> Braines, & frying y<sup>e</sup> did eat them up.



They ript up y<sup>e</sup> bellies of som women w<sup>th</sup> Sickells, & let out y<sup>e</sup> Bowells.



Som Infants y<sup>e</sup> tore in peices: & of other y<sup>e</sup> Dashed out the braines.



Of Som. women y<sup>e</sup> thrust long Stakes into their Privities, & in a barbarous manner carried y<sup>e</sup> on y<sup>e</sup> Sholders like Ensignes.



Som y<sup>e</sup> dragged about vpon Carrs, thrusting y<sup>e</sup> in w<sup>th</sup> Forkes, & beating y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>th</sup> stones till they dyed:



Som their broached vpon Rikes, and roasted y<sup>e</sup> Cutting off y<sup>e</sup> Flesh by slices, & eating it.



The bodies of som y<sup>e</sup> Cut all to peices & gaue y<sup>e</sup> to Doggs:



Som had their hands tyed to their priue members, & so were hung up by y<sup>e</sup>, till y<sup>e</sup> bowells were almost farrge out.





CHAR. XLVII

A brief Description of Piemont, and the Valleys thereof.



Piemont is so called, because it is situated *à pied montain*, or at the Feet of the *Alps* which separate *Italy* from *France*: It's but a little spot of earth, yet very pleasant, and of incredible fruitfulness! It's bounded on the East with *Milan*, *Monferrat*, and the Commonwealth of *Genoa*: On the South is the *Mediterranean Sea*: On the West and North part, it hath the *Alps* for a Bulwark, by which it is separated on the West side from *Provence*, and *Dauphiné*, and on the North from *Savoy*; and the Country of *Valley*. It's almost all covered with high Mountains, and watered with Four great Rivers, *viz.* *Po*, *Tanaro*, *Stura*, and *Dora*, besides which, there are about Twenty eight Rivers more great and small, which render it exceeding fruitful in Cattel, Wine, Corn, Hay, Nuts, and many other fruits in great abundance.

The principal Valleys are, on the North part those Two, *Aosta*, and *Susa*; on the South side *Stura*, and Some others: And in the Midland, *Lucerna*, *Angrogna*, *Roccapiatta*, *Pramol*, *Perosa*, and *Saint Martino*. The Valley of *Fraxelle* hath been, and still is a part of *Dauphiné* as far as *La Capella*, which is situated at the lower end thereof, and divides it from *Perosa*; which was the ordinary passage of the *French Armies* into *Italy*.

These Valleys, especially that of *Angrogna*, *Pramol*, and *Saint Martino* are strongly fortified by nature, by reason of their many difficult passages through Rocks and Mountains: As if from the beginning it had been designed by the all-wise God to be as a Cabinet, wherein he would keep some rare Jewels.

Those Valleys of *Piemont* which have been for some hundreds of years inhabited by the *Waldenses*, are *Lucerna*, *Perosa*, and *Saint Martino*. *Lucerna* contains Fifteen Miles in length: The highest Communalities thereof, *viz.* *Bobo*, *Villanova*, and *La Torre* are for the greatest part Mountains: But *Lucerna*, *Saint Giovanni*, *Penile*, *Campiglione*, and *Garcigliana*, though they have both on the North and South side a little of the Mountains, yet they extend themselves into a very good Plain.

*Angrogna* is but a little Valley on the North side of *Lucerna*, as also *Arvignone* and *Vallon*, which are on the South side of *Lucerna* wholly within the Mountains: So is also *Roccapiatta*, and *Pramol*, which are enclosed between the Valleys of *Lucerna* and *Perosa*.

The Communnality of *La Torre* took its name from an high Tower which stood upon a little Hill near *Bourg*: But *Francis the First*, King of *France*, considering how prejudicial it might be to the affairs and interest of *France*, and the safety of *Pignorole*, he caused it to be demolished: But the Duke of *Savoy* rebuilt it, Anno 1652. which afterwards served as a Slaughter-house of many innocent Souls.

*Bricheras*, which is joyned to the Valley of *Lucerna*, is on the East of *Angrogna*, and *Saint Giovanni*, and on the South of *Roccapiatta*, almost all in the Plain.

*Perosa*, and *Saint Martino* are on the North of *Lucerna*, *Angrogna*, and *Roccapiatta*, situated in such sort that the Valley of *Perosa* is at the lower end, and on the East are the Valleys of *Saint Martino*, and *Pragela*.

The Valley of *Perosa* is about Six Miles long; and its distributed, part in the Mountains, and part in the Plains, and very fruitful Hills. At the lower end of it are the Communalities of *Porte*, *Saint Germano*, and *Villaro*: In the middle, *Pinachia*, and in the higher part that of *Perosa*, where is the City and Citadel of *Perosa*, whence the Valley takes its name.

The Valley of *Saint Martino* is Eight Miles in length, on the West of the Valley of *Perosa*, included between the Valleys of *Lucerna*, and *Clusone*, in the highest part of the *Alps*, which border upon the Valley of *Queyras*, containing Eleven Communalities; viz. *Rioclarèt*, *Faet*, *Rodorigo*, *Salsa*, *Macel*, *Manèglia*, *Chabrans*, *Traverses*, *Bovile*, and *Saint Martino*; which gives the name to this Valley. This indeed is the poorest, yet the strongest of all by reason of its situation.

In these Valleys before the late horrid Massacre 1655. there were Fourteen Churches of the Protestants which composed Two *Classes*, or *Colloques*, and those Two *Classes*, One *Synod* for their Ecclesiastical Government. The one was the *Colloque* of *Lucerna* consisting of the Churches of *Saint Giovanni*, *La Torre*, *Villaro*, *Bobi*, *Rorata*, and *Angrogna*, to which was annexed that of *Roccapiatta*, which is between the Valley of *Lucerna*, and *Perosa*, situated upon those little Hills which separate the Two Valleys.

The other was the *Colloque* of the Valley of *Perosa*, and *Saint Martino*, containing Four Churches in the Valley of *Perosa*, viz. *Villaro*, *Saint Germano*, which made but one Church, *Pinachia*, *La Capella*, and *Pramob* in the Valley of *Saint Martino*; were Three Churches, viz. *Villa Secca*, *Manèglia*, *Prasè*.

The Church of *Saint Giovanni* contains within it a very fair Plain, and little Hills, very fruitful, and abounding with Corn, Vines, Chestnuts, Figs, Olives, and other Fruits, but it wants Pastures, and Woods, so that they have not many Cattle, but only some Oxen to till the ground, and to carry their Wine to *Turin*, and other places to sell. This Church hath annexed unto it *Lucerna*, *Lucernetta*, the Vineyards of *Lucerna*, *Fenile*, *Bubiana*, and *Bricheras*. In the City of *Lucerna* the third part of the Inhabitants were Protestants. In *Lucernetta*, and the Vineyard of *Lucerna*, almost all the Inhabitants professed the Reformed Religion time out of mind.

*Fenile* is lower on the other side of the River *Pelice* towards the South, being a more fat and fertile soil than any place in *St. Giovanni*, in all sorts of Fruit and Grain.

*Bubiana*, as to the Plain, is like to *Fenile*, and nearly adjoining to it: But the Protestants have often been driven out of it, so that what they possessed was mostly in the Hills, where they have little Corn, and Wine, but abundance of Chestnuts: So that the Inhabitants, which were about Fifty Families, were generally poor, living by their hard labor, and by their profit which they made of Wood, which they carried to sell to the Towns of *Bubiana*, and *Lucerna*.

The Hills of *Bricheras*, where there have been always Protestant Families, are like those of *Saint Giovanni*.

The Church of *La Torre* is the same for situation and quality with that of *Saint Giovanni*, containing one Plain, where is the Town of *La Torre*, and Hills adorned with the same kind of Fruits as those of *Saint Giovanni*.

The Church of *Villaro* adjoins to that of *La Torre*, but is a little higher towards *Dauphine*, containing a little Plain where is the Town, and the Hills adorned with Vines, and Chestnuts.

The



## A brief Description of Piedmont.

The Church of *Bobia* is near to that of *Villaro*, being a little higher towards the Mountain on the West, but as fertile as that of *Villaro*; and being environed with many Mountains, and having fat Pastures, the Inhabitants had many Oxen, Kine, and smaller Cattle, together with Milk and Wool in abundance; as also they had many Chestnuts, which being cleansed, and dried, they sold, or exchanged for other Commodities.

The Church of *Rorata* is a little Valley, situated on the other side of the River *Pelice*, on the West of *Lucerna*, being bounded by the Mountains of *Villaro*; it abounds in Pastures, and is very fruitful, especially in Chestnuts.

The Church of *Angrogna* is North-West to that of *Saint Giovanni*, towards *Perosa*, in a Mountainous Country; but fruitful in Chestnuts, Corn, and Pasture, environed with fruitful Mountains, which yielded good Pastures in the Summer season.

The Church of *Roccapiatta* contains Four parcels, viz. that of *Roccapiatta*, *St. Bartholomeo*, *Perustine*, and *La Inverso delle Porte*. In these Three latter there grew abundance of rich Wines, Chestnuts, and other good Fruits. In *Roccapiatta* they have Corn, Pasture, and Fruits, but no Wine.

The Church of *Villaro*, and *St. Germano* is situated in the lowest part of *Perosa*, about a Mile from *Pignorolio*: The West and North part of *Villaro* on this side the River *Clusone*, belong to the King of *France*, and *St. Germano* to the Duke of *Savoy* on the other side of the said River, which running through the whole length of the said Valley, separates the Kings Territories from those of the Dukes. These two places of *Villaro*, and *St. Germano* contain a little Plain on both sides the River, the rest is in Hills, yielding Corn, Wine, and Fruits.

The Church of *Pinachia* is within the *French* Dominions, adjoyning on the West part to that of *Villaro*, and contains a fair, and beautiful Plain, on the North side fenced with pleasant Hills: On the West is the Town, and Fort of *Perosa*; on the South, the River *Clusone*, and some Hills, but scarce any Plain at all. It abounds with Corn, Wine, Nuts, Grass, and other Fruits.

The Church of *La Capella* is on the West of that of *Pinachia* in the upper end of the Valley of *Perosa*; on the West it joyns to the Valley of *Pragela* (which belongs to the King of *France*): On the East to the Citadel of *Perosa*: It hath several very fruitful Hills in it. It hath annexed to it *Pomare*, and *Inverso del Perosa*, and some other small Villages, called *Le Méan*, making a little Communalty at the foot of the Valley of *Pragela*.

The Church of *Pramol* is situated on a Mountain between the Valleys of *Lucerna*, and *Perosa*, at the feet whereof grow a few Vines, and good Fruits: In the highest part is Corn, and much Wood, and Pasture ground.

The Church of *Villa Secca* is at the lowest part of the Valley of *St. Martino*; where there is almost no Plain but where the River *Germanasco* takes its course; The Hills which lie South from the said River are very cold, so that there grow no Vines: But those on the North which lie open to the South Sun are hot, and so have many Vines. In general, its tolerably fruitful in Corn, Fruits, and Pasture.

The Church of *Maneglia* which is on the West part of *Villa Secca*, comprehends Three little Communalties, viz. *Maneglia*, *Machel*, and *Salsa*: All are in a Mountainous place, but exceeding fruitful in Corn, Pasture, &c. except only in the highest parts thereof.

The Church of *Prali* is situated in the uppermost part of the Valley of *Saint Martino*, and contains Two Communalties, viz. *Prali*, and *Rodoret*, bounded on the South with the *Alps*, and the Valley of *Lucerna*; On the West by the Valley *Queyras* in *Dauphine*; And on the North by the Valley of *Pragela*: Here is nothing but Hay and Grass.

## A brief Description of Piemont.

Generally in all these Churches (except on the tops of the Mountains) there are plenty of Fruits, especially of Chestnuts, and in some places there are vast spaces of Ground yielding almost nothing else: As in the little Hills of *Bubiana*, and all along the Valley of *Lucerna*, and in the South parts of the Valley of *Perosa*: So that the Inhabitants in those places dry, and cleanse great quantities of them, part whereof they keep for their own use, and the rest they sell, or exchange for Corn, and that, quantity for quantity, with the Inhabitants of the Plaine, it being a great part of their food in *Piemont*. They also dry these Nuts in an Oven, or on a Kilne, and make thereof an excellent sort of Bisquet, which they first string as they do their Beades, and so hang them up in a moist place the better to preserve them. These they frequently make use of instead of Maqueroons, and such Sweet-meats.

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A  
RELATION  
OF THE  
DISTRESSED STATE  
OF THE  
CHURCH of CHRIST  
Professing the  
PROTESTANT RELIGION  
In the Great Dukedom of  
LITHUANIA.  
PRESENTED  
To the View of all Compassionate Christians.

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PSAL. XLI. 1, 2.

*Blessed is he that considereth the Poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord will preserve him, and keep him alive, and he shall be blessed upon the Earth, and thou wilt not deliver him into the Will of his Enemies.*

LAMENT. I. 16.

*For these things I weep; mine Eye, mine Eye runneth down with water; because the Comforter, that should relieve my Soul, is far from me: my Children are desolate, because the Enemy prevailed.*

*They have heard that I sigh, there is none to comfort me: all mine Enemies have heard of my trouble, and they are glad, &c. Ibid. v. 21.*

LAMENT. III. 52, 53, 54

*Mine Enemies chased me sore like a Bird, without cause: They have cut off my life in the Dungeon, and cast a Stone upon me. Waters flowed over mine Head, then I said, I am cut off.*

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LONDON.

Printed by John Redmayne for William Birch. 1676.

NOTICE

STATE OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE

January 11, 1881

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SENATE

AT ITS SESSION ON JANUARY 11, 1881

ALBANY:

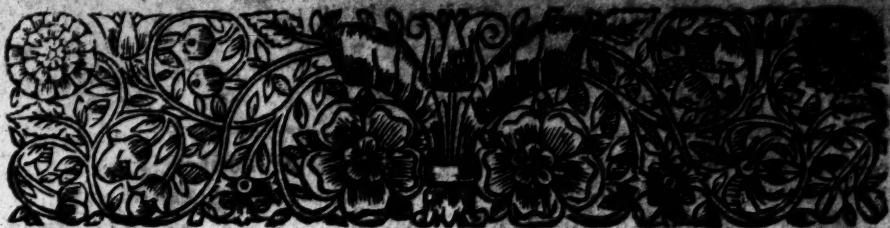
JOHN B. LANE, PRINTER.

1881.

IN ORDER TO BE KEPT IN THE SENATE CHAMBER.

1881.





*A Relation of the Distressed State of the Church of Christ, professing the Protestant Religion in the Great Dukedom of Lithuania;*

*Presented to the view of all Compassionate Christians.*



THE Fatal and Bloody Tragedy, which, with a great deal of Confusion, hath been acted on the Theatre of *Europe*, near upon Forty years, or upwards, having dashed most potent Kingdoms, Nations, and Provinces, one against another, hath at last (with more severity, because later) reached our *Sarmatian* Climate, and therein that most flourishing Kingdom of *Poland*, but especially the Great Dukedom of *Lithuania*, and the Provinces belonging thereunto; where in it hath so ruined, and destroyed many magnificent, and populous Cities, lesser Towns, and Villages without number; that there are not so much, as any Marks left, where they stood before.

This is now the Twelfth Year, since the highest, and most Righteous Judge of all unrighteous Nations, having banished Peace from our Country, hath, in his fierce anger, called for many perfidious, cruel, swift, and mighty Nations, to execute his Judgments against us. And these, not having been in the least provoked by us, but only thirsting after our Fortunes, and Blood, have washed their cruel Hands therein, and are not satisfied therewith, but to the spoiling of the Goods have added most exquisite torments upon the Bodies of the true Professors of Christianity.

In the Year 1648. when the first Rebellion of the *Cossacks* broke forth, to whom the *Tartarians* readily did associate themselves, the Nobility was sought out, with much diligence, by the furious Rebels, to be slaughtered; And all such, as were not of the *Greek* Religion, were most ignominiously put to death, without any distinction; where were many numerous Congregations of the Reformed Protestants, whose Ministers were not spared also.

And the Cruelty of the furious *Cossacks* was so barbarous, that the *Tartars* themselves (though their Associates) would not be guilty of so much innocent Blood; But compassionately did rescue as many, as they could, out of their Hands.

Many had their Skins pulled over their Ears, whilst they were alive. Others had their Hands, and Feet, cut off. Some had their Bowels taken out, alive. Others had their Shin-bones bored thorough. To some they poured melted Lead in at the Wounds, which they made in their Heads, or Bodies. Their Eyes were plucked out: There is no numbering of those that were hanged. And it was accounted a great Mercy, if any had his Head cut off with a Sword, or if they were sent away as perpetual Slaves to the *Turk*. Poor Parents, and Husbands, were forced to look on, whilst their Wives, and Daughters were ravished.

This was the miserable condition of our Country, and Church, for several Years together, during the Civil Wars. But afterwards, when we all began

to hope for better things, there fell a new, and more strange Calamity upon us, when we were almost consumed before. For the perfidious *Moscovite*, having taking notice of the distraction, and devastation, which by the just Hand of God, befell us; And that the strength of *Lithuania* was, by continual Intestine Wars, decayed, he presently took an opportunity to invade it; and to that effect, having found out some Pretenses, he came with an Army of Two hundred thousand Men, and associated to himself Sixty thousand of the Rebellious *Cossacks*; who carried all before them, like a Flood, spoiling, burning, destroying all that they met with, sacking the strong Holds, and Cities, not leaving one Corner in all *Lithuania* unsearched. Never was greater Tyranny committed in those Parts before. There was no regard of Tears, and Lamentations: No Pity shewed to yielding Persons; all, without discretion, were cut to pieces. The common Multitude were slaughtered out of hand; But the Gentry, and Nobility were carried away; and upon deliberation, were either hanged, or burnt alive. Every Corner being filled with Massacres, made the Blood run, like Streams, through the Streets of Towns, and Cities.

But the condition of the *Ministers of Christ* was most miserable; For as many, as were taken, were, with most exquisite Torments, put to several kinds of death.

*Adrian Chylinsky*, a Man most conspicuous both for his old Age, as also for his Piety, and Learning, whereby he deserved eminently of the Church of *Christ*, being surprized at his own House, had his Hands and Legs tied together, and then rosted alive, leisurely by degrees, there being but some Chips, and Straw, gathered about him. Two of the same Name, a Father, and a Son, called *Smolsky*, both Ministers of *Christ*, near *Vilna*, the chiefest City in *Lithuania*, had their Heads most cruelly sawed off with a Sickle. Another Minister, in a Town called *Holowczyn*, whose Name was *Slawinski*, had a new Torment put upon him: For they cut him by pieces, so long as he lived. Many other Ministers were amongst the high Mountains exposed bound, and naked, to the Snow, and extream cold Air; which made their noble Souls forsake their miserable Tabernacles: And by this kind of death, this last Winter, there were destroyed about Fifteen hundred innocent Souls; who, seeking for shelter, were in their flight over-taken. Those, that were most healthy, or strong, were sent away to be made Slaves; but others were either slay'd alive, or cut into pieces. The number of those, that were thus miserably put to death, as also the several kinds of Torments, which poor innocent Creatures were put to, no History can describe.

In this juncture of Affairs, all the Ministers of *Christ* were forced to forsake their Dwelling-places. And there is above Forty, of whom it is not known, what kind of death they suffered: But that they are dead, is certain; because they are not found, nor were they carried into Captivity. The Churches, for the most part, as far as the Enemy could reach, were destroyed by Fire: All the Bells were carried away; so that there are but few left in the whole Dukedom. The desolate Fields, and Water only were left, as Witnesses of the insolency of a barbarous Enemy; For all Dwelling-places, and Woods were pulled, and cut down, and burnt to Ashes.

One would think, that the Land had been by this time chastised sufficiently, and that the sharp Rod of our Correction should have been broken: But God was not yet pleased to put a period to our Calamities; For every year our Country had a New Enemy raised upon it, and so that little, which the former had left, the succeeding Enemy devoured: For in the Year 1655. the multitude of our Enemies was augmented, by the coming of the *Swede*; whose Armies, by reason of the vicinity of these Three Provinces, *Borussia*, *Curland*, and *Liesland*, which they had in their power, have, for the space of Five years, afflicted our Country also. And, without any respect of the Protestant Religion, they used us as Enemies: And, by their coming into the Country, they made us liable to be



be more hated by those of the *Roman* Religion, than before; although after that all the Polish Armies had forsaken their King, and that His Sacred Royal Majesty had withdrawn himself out of his Kingdom, by reason of the power of the Enemies, who pressed all places, and being absent for a very long time in *Silesia*; yet the *Lithuanian* Churches, all that time, remained still constant, and faithful to their Gracious King.

All this came upon us, undoubtedly, because of the Sins of our Country; yet the Wrath of God did still burn against us; For, a while after, he did send another Enemy, out of another Corner, to wit, the Prince of *Transylvania*; in whose Army, besides the *Hungarians*, and *Transylvanians*, there were *Moldavians*, *Valachians*, *Servians*, and other Eastern barbarous Nations; who came with great hopes, that they should be enriched with our Fortunes; and Goods.

This brought a new Calamity upon that which remained; For they made havock of all, wasted, and destroyed all without distinction. The Churches, that remained, they robbed; The Houses they rifled, and burnt; The People were driven into Banishment; And those that could not fly, were murdered.

It cannot be sufficiently lamented, much less uttered, what in such long continuance of our troubles, amongst so many Eastern, Western, Northern, and other Enemies, our Native Country, the Church, and every Member thereof, have suffered. The dead, and the unborn, were then accounted blessed: The weaker Sex was reputed as the most Infortunate; For we have seen many Illustrious, and Noble Families so exhausted, and brought to extremity; that they have not had Bread to eat. We have seen Noble Men, and Matrons, Virgins, and Children of great Parentage, mancipated under the pleasure and servitude of the *Muscovians*, *Tartarians*, *Cossacks*, and others; under which both they, and many Ministers of the Gospel to this day do groan heavily.

In consideration of those extremities, which indeed are extraordinary, we cannot but adore the just Judgments of God thus poured upon us by reason of our Sins, and deplore our sad condition: And the more by reason of the small hopes of Restitution, or deliverance from such a Devastation. For, though we are brought very low already, having been made subject to many Waitings, great Terrours, and Troubles, as having had Death before our Eyes continually; yet there is still matter of new Troubles at home, especially to those, that desire to serve God in simplicity, and purity: To this particularly one Calamity followeth another, as the Waves, in a tempestuous Sea, come one upon another.

Our very Neighbors do hate, and persecute the Remnant of us still, with as much eagerness, as our foreign Enemies did: They deprive us of our Churches yet remaining: Those Lands which were given for the maintenance of Ministers, and Schools, they give away, as if they had been their own: Our Ministers are banished; and such as remain, are beaten and misused; the threatnings of our total Exilement are increased. In a word, all the Reformed Protestants are accounted as the Off-scouring of the World, and the original cause of all the troubles, which are hitherto befallen to the Country. Hence it is, that they are hated, abused, threatened more and more: And whatsoever may be found odious amongst Men, all that is put upon them, for to make their calamities the greater.

We do not question, but that all that shall read, or hear of these things, and have the least spark of Christian Charity left in their Hearts; or take to heart the affliction of *Joseph*, will take Compassion on us being affected with the truth of that Worship, Doctrine, and Godliness which did shine amongst us, even in the midst of our troubles.

For our parts, we have no other recourse, but to the goodness of our God, and the sympathie of the Members of his Church; and therefore following the practice of the Apostles of *Christ*, and the example of the Churches in the

Palatinate,

*Palatinate, Bohemia, and others; which being in the same condition, some few years ago, implored the aid of their Fellow-Members of the Reformed Protestant Church; we do likewise make our recourse to your Goodness and Charity. For we are perswaded, that God hath in these Times made these Kingdoms, and Churches more happy and flourishing, then others; that they might be a place for refuge, and a Port of safety for those, that suffer Ship-wrack for the Name of Jesus elsewhere.*

Look therefore, we beseech you, upon us, as Objects of Pity; and for the Love of God, for the sacred bonds of Unity in *Christ Jesus*, stretch forth your Hands, that the Vineyard of the Lord may not be utterly destroyed. Send suitable comforts to those that are comfortless; strengthens the hands of the feeble; support the weak; supply the wants of the needy with your liberality; not doubting, but that the Lord, who is the rewarder of all good deeds, and who takes all the works of Charity, bestowed upon the Members of his Militant Church, as if they had been bestowed upon himself, will be your sufficient reward, and at the Great day of Accounts will put you in mind of such Works for your eternal comfort. These are the Prayers, and desires of those; who in the Name of all the *Lithuanian Churches*, have sent their Messenger to you, who solicits this in their Name, as having been an Eye-witness, in many places, of their distressed condition, and partaker of their Evils.

*John de Kraino Krainski, Minister  
of Gods Word, and the Messenger  
of the Churches,*





Of the late Persecution of the Church of Christ in Poland, Anno Christi 1656.



**T**HE All-wise and holy God, whose ways of Providence are always Righteous, though often secret, and unsearchable, hath made it the constant lot, and portion of his people in this world to follow his Son in bearing his Cross, and suffering Persecutions. For they that are born after the flesh, do always persecute them that are born after the spirit. But scarcely have any sort of the Churches Enemies more clearly followed the pernicious way of Cain herein, than hath that Antichristian Faction of Rome, That Mother of Harlots and Abominations; whose Garments are died red with the Blood of Saints, which they have always cruelly shed, and made themselves drunk with. And amongst those chosen and faithful witnesses, the Lord seemeth very signally to have raised up those Christians, who (though dispersed in divers Countries) have been commonly known by the name of *Waldenses*, who for some Centuries of years have lived amongst their Enemies as Lambs amongst Wolves, to bear their testimonies to the Truths of Christ; against the Apostasies, and Blasphemies of Rome; For which they have been killed all the day long, and accounted as Sheep for the slaughter.

One part of this little flock, and remnant which the Lord hath left, and reserved, are scattered partly in the Valleys of *Piemont*, of whose Tragical sufferings you have had a faithful account in the precedent Chapter: The other part of this poor, but precious remnant, have been dispersed in the Kingdoms of *Bohemia*, and *Poland*, whose sufferings, together with the Lords signal Providences about them, are now to be spoken of, as they have been related to the Lord Protector O. C. and the State here by Two godly Persons delegated by those persecuted Churches, which are now the sad Monuments of their Enemies rage, and of the Lords sparing mercy.

These sometime flourishing Churches were by degrees worn out by the constant underminings, and open outrages of the Antichristian party; Being first driven out of *Bohemia* into *Poland*: And then after their taking root, and spreading in *Poland* into a numerous company, they were forced out of their chiefest Cities there, and at last by the Jesuited and enraged Popish Army, were persecuted in their few hiding places with fire and Sword.

Their Ministers were tortured to death by most exquisite, and unheard of Barbarism, by cutting out of the Tongues of some, pulling out the Eyes, and cruelly mangling the Bodies of others. Yet did not their rage and brutish cruelty reach only to the Ministers, but to private Persons also; yea, even to Women, and to young Children, whose Heads they cut off, and laid them at their dead Mothers Breasts.

Nay their rage brake out, not only against the living (nor one of whom they spared that fell into their Hands) but also against the dead, plucking the

Bodies of Honorable Persons, and others out of their graves, tearing them to pieces, and exposing them to publick scorn.

But the chiefest eye-fore, and object of their fury was the City of *Lesna*, which after plundering and murdering of all whom they found therein, they burned to ashes, and laid it in the rubbish: Only the Lord in mercy having alarm'd the City by the report of their Enemies approach, the greatest part of the Inhabitants (being Three Famous Churches) saved themselves by flight, and are now wandering up and down in *Silesia*, the Marquisate of *Brandenburg*, *Lusatia*, and *Hungary*, poor, destitute, afflicted, and naked; the relation whereof you have in this ensuing Narrative written in *Latin* by some of themselves; and called *Lesna Excidium*.

*The History of the destruction of Lesna faithfully related:*

**L***esna*, a City of Great *Poland*, almost Thirty Years ago began to be Famous both far and near; But now being suddenly and utterly razed hath nothing left beside the Name and Fame thereof. For the fuller discovery of this business from the beginning, we must briefly relate the original and progress of this Town.

When above Seven hundred Years ago, *Mieczislaus*, then Duke of *Poland*, took to Wife the Daughter of *Boleslaus* Duke of *Bohemia*, and together with her received the Christian Faith, it happened that among those of the *Bohemian* Nobility that accompanied him, there was one *Peter de Bernstein*, whom, because he was a Person endowed with many Vertues, *Mieczislaus* was willing to detain him in *Poland*, and to that end bestowed upon him rich possessions, the chief whereof was a Village called *Leszyna*, (*i. e.* a Grove of Hasle-trees) upon the very confines of the lower *Silesia*, being situate Twelve Miles from *Wratislavia*, Five from *Glogaw*, and Ten from *Posnania*. From this place therefore of his residence, *Peter de Bernstein* taking the rise of his denomination, according to the custom of the Nation, he and all his Posterity were called *Leszcynii*, and were afterwards admitted to all sorts of Dignities in the Realm; so that of this Family there were never wanting some or other that were Captains, Governors of Castles, Palatines, Marshals, Chancellors, Bishops, or Arch-Bishops, even to this day: And besides this, for their noble management of affairs in several Embassies to the *Roman* Emperor, they were adorned with the title of Earls of the Empire, which they still enjoy. But *Leszcyna* it self begun by little and little to change its name, and by contraction was called *Lessna*, and their neighbor *Germans* called it *Lissa*. This Village, something above One hundred of Years ago had the dignity and title of a Market Town granted to it by the Famous King *Sigismund*, and Tradefmen were invited hither out of the neighboring *Silesia*, and so the use of the *German* Tongue was brought in together with them.

As for Religion, it was reformed in *Lesna* about the same time, by the most illustrious Count *Andrew*, Palatine of *Bernstein*, according to the Rites of the *Bohemian* Confession, which it hath retained to this day, and became as it were the *Metropolis* of the Churches of that Confession, throughout all the greater *Poland*. And when, after the Year 1620. a very sharp persecution was raised against the Professors of the Gospel in *Bohemia*, and not long after the Ministers and Nobility were banished, they were fain to seek refuge in *Poland*, whom that most pious Noble Man, the Lord *Raphael de Lesna*, Palatine of *Belfe*, received under his protection, appointing *Lesna*, *Wlodawa*, and *Baranovia* for their places of refuge. But for as much as the greater part did seat themselves at *Lesna* because of the nearness thereof, and not long after a far greater company flocked thither



thither out of *Silesia* (for there also the butchery of Souls grew wonderful fierce, in the Years 1628. and 1629.) it came to pass that *Lesna*, by the addition of many Streets, grew into a large City, having Three Market places, Four Churches, a large School, above Twenty Streets, One thousand six hundred Houses, Two thousand Freemen of the City, and abundance of other company. There was built also a very fair Church for the service of God according to the Rites of the *Augustane* Confession, which had over it Three Pastors, Learned Men; and a School for the Mother tongue with some School-masters, besides the Free-School, which had a Learned Man of the forementioned Confession appointed over it, by the Title of *Prorector*.

The Citizens also having ordered themselves according to the best policy they could, there were found out handsome ways for a publick revenue that made no noise, and were little felt, and without any Mans damage or burden, so that they were able for some Years to maintain Workmen for the compassing of the City about with a Bulwark and Trench, and for the building of Gates with Walls and fair Turrets: And lastly, there was built a very fair Court-house in the middle of the Market place of the old City; There was scarce the like in all Great *Poland*, except at *Poznanis*. In a word, Civility, Trading, Merchandize (for all things were here bought and sold) and Religion did so flourish here, that this City did not come behind any City in *Poland* for its admirable pleasantness. All this was matter of joy, not only to those pious Christians that were scattered out of several places for the Gospels sake, and here gathered together under the protection of God, but to others also that came hither from all parts, as strangers: But it galled the Enemies of the Gospel extremely, so that it made them leave no design unassayed for the overthrow of this City of refuge for the godly.

At the first (*Anno* 1628, and 1629.) they made use of several accusations and slanders to King *Sigismund* the Third, suggesting to him that it was a confluence of all sorts of Men that were Enemies and Traytors to his Majesty: That it was good to nip them in the Bud, &c. But through the prudence of that great Senator, the Lord of the place, whose wisdom went beyond their envy, and who knew well enough how to counter-work all malicious projects of that kind, all those their Battering-rams were at that time used in vain.

But, *Anno* 1653. after that the *Svedes* were broken by the Emperors Army in *Germany*, and were driven out of *Silesia*, new plots were hatched at *Glogau* to send out One or Two of the Emperors Regiments, who should suddenly invade *Lesna*, sack the Town, and put the Inhabitants to the Sword, or at least scatter them. But it pleased God so to order it, that this plot was discovered by some of themselves Two days before the appointed time, and so vanished into smoak, though the smoak of their devices did not yet cease to rise. For after the death of the most illustrious Prince Palatine of *Besse*, when his Estate was divided amongst his Sons and Heirs, and the County of *Lesna* fell to the illustrious Lord *Boguslaus*, his Third Son, then newly returned from travelling, the Plotters were not wanting so to lie in wait to insnare this candidate of great Wisdom and Vertue, that after they had wearied him for some years with the promises of Honors, (unto which there was no Door of entrance but by entertaining the *Roman Catholick* Religion) at last they enticed him to profess Popery. But however they heaped many Honors upon him, procuring him some Captainships, afterwards the Generalship of Great *Poland*, and lastly the Arch-Treasurership of the Realm, yet could they not procure his hatred of the Professors of the Gospel, and the dissipation of his Subjects, which was the thing they hoped for: But he still preserved intire to his *Lesna* those privileges both Civil and Religious, which his Father, of blessed memory, had promised, offered, or confirmed to them. They attempted therefore this other device: The Bishop of *Poznanis* ventured to redemand the old Parish Church, because it was of ancient foundation, and pretended that it might not any longer be left to the use of *Heretics*.

The Lord Treasurer answered, That his Grandfather (*Andrew Palatine of Brenstein*) had built another Church for the *Catholicks* (whose number was very small in the Town, scarce ever above Three or Four Citizens) to exercise their Religion in, and endowed it with revenues to that purpose, that the greater number of Citizens might enjoy the greater Church. But all was in vain, though he doubled the maintenance of the *Roman Parish Priest*: For *Anno 1652.* they brought the Lord Count before the Tribunal of the Realm, where the cause must needs go against him, the very same Persons being Accusers, Witnesses, and Judges, yet he obtained that this Church should not suddenly be taken away from his Subjects the Inhabitants of old *Lesna*, until they had built themselves a new one. This building they presently set about with the help of forreign Churches: (according as they were in a capacity to help, things being every where in confusion) But when the Adversaries saw that it went on apace, and that this was like to be bigger than the other (for so great now was the multitude of Citizens of this Confession, that the old Church was not able to contain them) they began again to mutter and threaten, *That this might not be endured, that the Hereticks should have a bigger Church than the Catholicks; That they did not build this also for the Catholicks, &c.*

At length the irruption of the *Swedes* into *Poland* (*Anno 1655.*) gave them the long wished for occasion of oppressing and rooting out, not only the *Lesnians*, but also all the Professors of the Gospel (or as they were wont to be called, the *Dissenters from the Roman Religion*) throughout *Poland*. For although the Papists themselves had transacted with the *Swedes* at their coming out of *Pomerania* (in the agreement of *Uscia*) and had delivered to them expressly and by Name the chief Cities, *Poznan*, *Kalisch*, *Fraustat*, *Meseritz*, and *Lesna*, and the rest, after some weak resistance, had yielded themselves up to the *Swedes*, yet while the King of *Sweden* was slowly, and as it proved, dangerously busied in *Prussia*, they took counsel together for the resuming of their Arms, to fight for the liberty of their Country, and the *Catholic* Religion (as they call it) to drive the *Swedes* out of the Country, and to root out all the *Dissenters* in gross.

That this their purpose might make the quicker progress, and be set on the more strongly, there were Jesuits and Monks sent out every way, to intimate these things to the multitude, and to encourage them to so glorious an undertaking, compelling those that were slow with the Thunderbolt of Excommunication, and promising the relaxation of the pains of Purgatory, and eternal rewards to them that were forward. To this end King *Casimir* being recalled out of *Silesia*, they commanded the Nobility to flock to him, and to give the King of *Sweden* a meeting in his return out of *Borussia*. The Communalry also they stirred up against the Professors of the Gospel, making themselves their furious Leaders; And such was their success, that in *Lower Poland* a great number of Families (it is not yet known how many, because the furious tumult still continues) almost within the compass of a moneth (in *February* and *March*) were miserably Butchered; Men and Women, young and old being murdered without distinction, all, save such as could escape in the neighboring parts of *Hungary*, and so save their lives by flight. But the Nobility of the greater *Poland*, most of them having retired themselves into *Silesia*, began there to gather themselves into small companies, in the beginning of *April*, and to break forth; By whose coming, the rest being encouraged, made a great slaughter of the *Swedes* that were garrison'd in the small Towns, so that General *Muller* was fain to go forth with an Army of *Swedes* to restrain them.

As for *Lesna*, the Hereditary Lord thereof, the Treasurer of the Kingdom, was gone into *Borussia* to salute the King of *Sweden*, some way to take care for the safety of his Country: But about the beginning of *April* he returned to *Lesna* without seeing him, the King then being full of action, and ranging up and down. This business procured much more envy both to himself and the City,



as if he had plotted with the *Swedes* against his Country, having never been true and faithful either to the Church or his Country: Therefore they breathed out flames, and belched out threats so much the more fiercely both against him and his City. However there were not wanting such as by private messages gave him hope of pardon, if he would but withdraw himself from them; as afterwards he did: But the Enemies prepared themselves to destroy that so populous a City by force (if they could) or else by flames, furnishing themselves with many sorts of weapons for that purpose.

Of this doing although the Inhabitants of *Lesna* had notice by several messengers, yet a fatal security prevailed with them to think that there was no fear of such an Enemy as was not furnished either with Infantry or Artillery for such a design. Upon *Easter* day a party of *Poles* broke into some territories (belonging to an eminent Professor of the Gospel) near *Lesna*; For whom they made diligent search, but finding that he was from home (for he had retired himself to *Lesna* for Religion sake) they plundered all his movable Goods, and took his Servant (*Martin Maltz*, a *Bohemian*) and hanging a great stone about his neck, threw him into the River that ran by, and so drowned him.

On the Third Holy day in *Easter* the report was very hot that the *Swedes* had lost all, and that the King was slain: Upon which account, when the Lord Treasurer did betake himself to *Wratistavia*, in *Silesia*, the Citizens of *Lesna* were something afraid, although the Commanders of the *Swedes* that were there in Garrison (being Three colours of Horse) did encourage them; As did also the Administrator of the City and County of *Lesna*, who requiring a new the Oath of fidelity from the Citizens, did promise them to stay with them, and bid them be of good courage. Being lifted up with this hope, and drawn on with the promises of new Auxiliary Forces to come very suddenly to them, they promised themselves all manner of security, so that no Man took any care to get out of the way, or to carry any thing of his Goods to a safer place: yet they kept strong guards night and day, sometimes the third part of the Citizens, and sometimes half being upon duty. The *Swedish* Horse also ever and anon made excursions to see what the Enemy was a doing, and whether they were near. But they never brought back any other news, but that there were no footsteps or signs of any Enemy appearing: Yea, even that very day in which the *Poles* came in the afternoon, the *Swedes* returned with good booty, but not a word of the Enemy.

But about Three days after, upon Thursday, April the 17. an Army of the *Polonian* Nobility, mixed with a rout of Peasants, shewed themselves unexpectedly out of the Woods, and anon they drew forth into the open Field, and set themselves within sight of the City, about Five or Six Furlongs from the Suburbs. When this was perceived, the Alarm was given, and the Citizens hasten to their Arms, and placed themselves on the Walls; yet not knowing who they were, and with what intent they came, and wondering much, why, according to the custom, they did not send forth a Trumpeter. (For that which they did bruit abroad afterwards, and many perhaps believed, that the *Lesnians* gave the occasion of hostility by killing their Trumpeter, is just nothing: Heaven and Earth will bear witness that this was devised merely to belour over the hainousness of the fact :) At length they begin their work with firing a Brick kiln, that stood not far from the Suburbs. Then the *Swedish* Trumpeters (about One hundred and fifty in number) which were already detached and gone out of the City, going a little farther, encountered with the Enemy in little skirmishes, for the space of Two hours, in which many of the *Poles* and some of the *Swedes* were slain. But while the *Swedes* were earnest with the Citizens for some help, as it were to defend the Suburbs from further burning, some were drawn forth (about Seventy of the younger Citizens) who seeing themselves rashly and confusedly among the Horsemen, which when they saw, they feigned a flight, returning towards the Wood: But as soon as they perceived

perceived that they had drawn them far enough from the Walls, they wheeled about, some fetching a compass to come behind the *Lesnians*, and so to get between them and home, and the rest returning straight upon them, fell on in a full Body. The *Swedish* Horse when they saw this, turned their backs, leaving the Foot to the mercy of the Enemy; But the *Poles* followed them so close at heels, that Two Colours (about Four hundred Men) passed through the Suburbs to the very Gate, and wanted but little of entering the City it self with them, had not some good confident Fellow, ventured to step in between, and bar the Gate against them, while others of the Citizens sent a shower of Bullets among them, and so beat them back: So the *Poles* being glad to stop, yea, and retire (just at Sun-set) set fire on the outward parts of the Suburbs, and burnt some Granaries and Wind-mills, thereby making the whole night light to us; while themselves returned through the Wood to *Oseczno*, which the *Germans* call *Storcknest*. The City being thus filled with fear, spent the whole night without sleep; The Men in watching upon the Walls, and the Women in gathering themselves together in the Market places and Church-Yards, and other open places, and there wearying Heaven with *Psalms* and Prayers to God.

When the morning came, and no Enemy appeared, the Citizens went forth and fetched in the slain to bury them; among whom were found about Forty Citizens; but above a Hundred of the *Poles*, and among them their chief Commander himself, *Cresky*, who formerly had taken Pay under the *Swedish* General *Banier*, and was accounted more expert than the rest: In the mean time it was hotly reported that the Administrator of the Country and many of his Retinue were wanting and gone; whereupon the courage of the Citizens began to fail, and they went to the Senate, to desire leave to send away their Wives and Children, that if the Enemy should come again they might be the more courageous in defending themselves, not being daunted with the out-crys and tears of the Women. Some dissuaded them with good reasons, saying, That those that should be sent forth under pretence of convoying the rest in safety, would not return again, and so the rest of the Citizens should be left in greater fears; That the *Spartans* of old were wont to take their Wives and Children to the War with them, that having them in their Eyes, they might fight the more stoutly for their safety. But all was in vain, though the *Swedish* Commanders also endeavored to hinder the flight of the richer sort, which they could not do, being overcome with the crys of the multitude. There were some *Ecclesiasticks* also who desired leave to depart for a few days, because that the Antichristian fury was bent chiefly against them: But the Senate left it to their consciences, whether in such a case they could leave the people then when they would most need instruction and comfort; especially if wounded and dying. But the others persisted in their importunity, and there went out before Noon about Three hundred Waggon, which were all that could be got in the City.

After this there followed some quietness, with hopes that the Enemy would return no more, having found by experience how well able the *Lesnians* were to defend themselves and theirs; and perhaps they had never returned indeed (as it was known afterwards) had they not been encouraged by that flight of the Citizens: For Two days after, the Twenty eighth of April, there was a Letter delivered to the Consul from the Commanders of the *Polish* Forces, in which they demanded the surrender of the City, and gave them hope of good usage; But if they would not embrace that offer, they then threatened to destroy them with Fire and Sword, having now such an addition of Foot Soldiers, that they were able to take the City by storm. They added moreover that they had received a Letter from the Lord Treasurer, wherein he intreated them to spare his *Lesna* upon their submission, saying, That he had already given them a command to set open their Gates. If ever there were indeed any such command, it must needs



needs have been suppressed by some one, so that the Citizens never know of it; otherwise they would have provided a little better for the safety of themselves and their Goods. But so it must needs be, that our sins (through others treachery) should be brought to punishment.

This message of the *Poles* to the Senate, did wonderfully daunt the Citizens; For these things were not kept secret, but before the Consul could call together the Senate and the Commanders of the Soldiery, the report thereof had run through the whole City, as also that there was very little Gunpowder left, and they had not wherewithal to defend themselves; so that the Citizens being taken with a *pannick* fear, cast away their weapons and courage together, and betook themselves to flight; especially when presently after, they who were on the Guard, discovered the Body of the Enemies coming the same way they came before; For they forsaking every Man his station, hastned home, advising their Wives, Children, and Neighbors to flee, themselves leaving their weapons upon the Walls, or at the Gates; or afterwards casting them away in the Fields, that they might not be a burden to them. When the *Swedish* Soldiers saw the Citizens thus in amaze and running away, they also soon mounted, not to meet the Enemy (as before) but to run away too from the Face of the Enemy.

Then followed the Senate in such a trembling fit of fear, that every one run out at the Gate that was next him, or over the very Forts and Ditches; so that in one hours space, a most populous City was left destitute of Inhabitants: Save a company of sick and aged people, and a few others that could not so suddenly get away, or for some other cause were necessitated to await the issue. But all hastened to those *Moorish* Woods, by which *Poland* is parted from *Silesia*, in such confusion, that when the nearest passes (towards *Thorlang* and *Krosken*) were not wide enough, they tumbled by Troops to other passes (*Striswik*, *Brybusch*, and *Hundsfloch*) that were more remote. The *Swedish* Troops went to *Fraustad*, and from thence, taking the Garrison along with them, towards *Meseritz*: But the passage through the *Moors* was very difficult, in regard that the company crouding one upon another, as if the Enemy were just at their heels, did not only many of them stick in the deep Mud (in vain crying out for help to those that passed by, every one being solicitous only for his own preservation) but were also mired and lost! Here Children lost their Parents, and Parents their Children, Wives their Husbands, and one Friend another: so that they could scarce find one another again; in Two, Three, and Four days time.

The Enemy by a Trumpeter, who was sent to *Posnanie* Gate enquired what the Citizens meant to do; To whom *John Kolechen*, a learned Citizen, and well acquainted with many of the Nobility (in confidence whereof, having sent away his Wife he adventured to stay) came forth and answered, That the Gates stood open, the *Swedish* Enemies were gone, and the rest of the Citizens stood to their courtesie, and desired their favor.

A little after that, came the illustrious *Grzymaltonsky* with many of the Nobility to the same Gate, and when the aforesaid *Kolechen*, with another in his company, had gone out to them and scarcely perswaded them that the City was forsaken, and that there was no treachery; they went in, and when they were disposed into the next fair Houses, they were entertained with a noble Supper (which was prepared to sweeten them a little, if it might be) and had plenty of Wine out of *Dlugosses* Cellar, who was a rich Senator.

At last when they were half Drunk, they set upon *Kolechen* with threats, and would have made him their Prisoner, but that he escaped wonderfully out of their Hands, and saved himself by flight. But they durst not stay all night in the City, for fear the *Swedes* and Citizens should set upon them unawares out of some *Ambuscado*; And so they returned to their own company, and in the morning with many Hundred Waggon they came back, killing all they met, and setting themselves to plunder the City. Here then you might have seen

strange

strange examples of barbarous cruelty on the one side, and blockish folly on the other. For though no Man made resistance, yet like mad Dogs they flew upon all that either came out, or were drawn out of the holes wherein they had hid themselves. Of some they pulled out their Eyes; Of some they cut off their Noses and Tongues; Of others they cut off their Hands and Feet; Others they stabbed and slashed, and so butchered them with innumerable wounds, that it could not be known who they were: And (which was more) they spared not his Highness, Prince *Frederick*, Landgrave of *Hassia*, though dead, whom they had slain half a year before at *Costena*, and who was decently Embalmed by the *Lessians*, and kept laid up in the Chappel of the New Church upon a Scaffold, till he might be transported to his own Country: They first rifled his Coffin, which was handsomely adorned, taking away his silver and gilt Keys, and all the silk that was about it; Then they set upon the Princes Corps, and took away his silk Robe, lined with Ermines, and so left him once again naked, and lying on the ground. But (after the burning of the City, his Body being found in the same place, untouched by the fire) he was clothed again by the ancient *Lesnians*, and put up in his Coffin, and buried in a certain place, where he is still honorably kept. But that mad rabble shewed abundance of folly in this, that whereas they might have made *Lesna* their nest (the *Swedes* having Garri-soned themselves in the strongest places of the Province,) or at least might have gathered together the richest of the plunder; (For there was such abundance of Victuals, Wares, Householdstuff of all sorts, and Treasure that was brought hither from other places, as to a place of safety, that a Thousand Waggons could scarce have carried it away in many days) yet such was their over-eager desire of their destroying this hated City, that the very same day, yea before noon, they set fire to the City and Suburbs in every Street, (for the Waggons which they brought with them were not empty, but loaded with Torches, Pitch, Straw, and such other combustible matter) and so cruelly destroyed that most pleasant City, together with all that abundance of all sorts of things that was in it.

This fire lasted Three whole days, and there were those that took care that nothing should scape it; for when the New Buildings of the New Churches, did not easily take fire, they brought Straw, Pitch, and dry Wood, and put under the Roofs and the inside of the Steeples, and so forced them to take fire: And they came again upon the third day (1. May) and whatsoever was left they set fire to again. They burnt also the very Wind-mills, whereof there were Seventy about the City; and a very pleasant Park of the Countesses, which lay close by the Castle; that every place might be filled with spectacles of cruelty, and at length it might come to be said, *En cineres ubi Lesna fuit!*

*where fairest Lesna stood of old,*

*Now nought but Ashes we behold!*

The Citizens sadly beholding these flames some Miles off, ran thither next day by Troops; whether out of a desire of quenching the fire, (if it were possible) or else to save something out of the flames; (for most through fear had gone away empty handed) but the Enemy came upon them; and although they stoutly defended themselves, and slew many of their Enemies, yet many of themselves were slain; and many others also on the days following, when some Villages that belonged to the County of *Lesna*, and were inhabited by professors of the Gospel, were in like manner burnt down. There perished in these flames many aged and sick people, that could not get away; besides such abundance of Houses, Household-stuff of all sorts, precious Wares, Corn, (many Thousand Bushels whereof were brought hither) Libraries and other things, that the loss

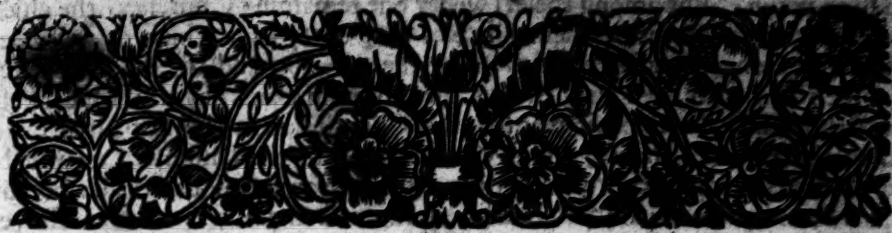


loss would amount to many Tuns of gold; and many Thousands were thereby reduced to meer beggary. But that which was saddest of all, was, that the Church of the faithful, that was here gathered together out of divers places and Countries, to enjoy the pure worship of God, was so utterly overthrown, that it cannot but cry out with *Sion* of old, when it was raised by the *Babylonians*; Lament. 1. and 3. *O all ye that pass by, behold and see, if there be any sorrow, like unto my sorrow, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger! For he hath sent a fire into my Bones, and it prevaieth against me; He hath made me a desolation, so that I am not able to rise up; my Children are desolate, because the Enemy prevailed. Sion spreadeth forth her Hands, and there is none to comfort her. I called for my Lovers, but they deceived me. Mine Enemies chased me sore, like a Bird, without cause. They have cut off my life in the Dungeon. Thou drewest near in the day that I called upon thee: Thou saidst, Fear not; it is of the Lords mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not.*

It must not be concealed what wonder hapned the first day of the burning of the City about evening, at *Czarna* (which is the first Town of *Silesia*, next to *Lesna*, about Two Miles distant) Some of the *Lesnians* went out to look upon the sad smoke of their Country; and as they were looking, there fell from the clouds which carried the smoke over *Silesia*, together with the soot, a Leaf of burnt Paper, which when they took up, they found to be a Leaf of the *Bohemian Bible*, containing the Sixth, and part of the Seventh Chapters of *Matthew*; where those words of *Christ* came first to sight, *with what measure ye meet, it shall be measured to you again*; with many other of *Christs* exhortations to trust in the fatherly Providence of God. This Leaf was presented to the Lord of the place; and a *Lesnian* Physician, who was there by chance, that read and interpreted it, and divers others, can bear witness to the truth hereof; And the Lord of the place laid it up among his rarities! What now should *Sion* do, but cry out under the cruel oppression of the Enemy, *Render unto them a recompence, O Lord, according to the works of their hands*, Lament. 3. 64. And indeed God began to revenge his peoples wrongs the fourth day after, when they furiously assaulted *Costena*, a Town four Miles from *Lesna*, where they were often repulsed stoutly by the *Swedish* Garrison; and having suffered a great slaughter (about Five hundred of them being wanting) they were forced to retire in great confusion. The like also they met withal at *Kalissia*, and other places, being slain and put to flight by the *Swedes*. Herein it hapned unto them much after the same manner, as it did to *Tilly* formerly when he had ruined *Magdeburg*; the God of vengeance manifesting himself the avenger of his people: And now they begin to acknowledg and upbraid one another with their folly; The Nobles, in that they have spoiled their mart and treasury; and the Clergy, in that it is hapned otherwise than they intended. For their purpose was, utterly to ruin the *Hetics* (as they term them) with their nest; But now that they see the nest spoiled, and the Birds saved, it is much more matter of grief and vexation than of joy to them. For here God performed what he promised of old to *Baruch*, *I will give thee* (in the midst of thy Countries ruins) *thy life for a prey*, Jer. 45. 5. So God gave to Thousands of his Worshippers, who were snatched out of the midst of those ruins, their life for a prey, having set bounds to the fury of the Devil, which he could not pass; as he did of old, when he gave *Job* into his Hands, as to all that he had, but so, that he should spare his life. Blessed be the Name of the Lord. Truly we have cause to say with *David* (*Psalms* 124.) *If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us; Then the waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our Soul; Then the proud waters had gone over our Soul; Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth: Our Soul is escaped, as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are escaped; our help is in the Name of the Lord, who made heaven and Earth.* Oh the wonderful

wonderful providence of our God ! which then saves when he seems to have forsaken, and then makes alive where he seems to have killed. *we had been undone, if we had not been undone ;* We had been undone in our lives, those furies gathering together soon after, in far greater troops, if we had not been undone in our estates, which were left to them for a prey by our flight (which the fatherly providence of God, fore-seeing greater evils, procured, by sending that fright among us.) Blessed be the Name of the Lord again and again : We notwithstanding, with other afflicted ones, in what Nation soever, whom that proudest Babylonian flood of waters seeks to swallow up, will not cease to cry, *How long, O Lord, wilt thou be angry with thy people ? How long shall thy jealousy burn like fire ? O remember not against us former iniquities ; let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us, &c. Psalm 79.* And with the Souls of those that were slain for the Word of God, that lie under the Altar of Christs merits, for whose Faith we are killed, *How long ( O Lord ) holy and true, dost thou not judg and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth ! Rev. 6. 9, 10.*





The Delegates of these poor persecuted Protestant Churches coming over into *England*, to move for a Contribution towards the relief of their distressed Brethren, Published this ensuing Narrative.

*The utmost Fury of Antichrist against the Protestants or Reformed Church of the Bohemian Confession in Poland, set down in a brief (but faithful) Narrative, and according to the truth of the matter.*



THE Spoule of *Jesus Christ*, she who in the Cradle was besprinkled with the Blood of a Protomartyr, hath always brought forth into the World, Men like *Abel*, or *Stephen*, that so there might never be wanting some to cry from the earth unto God, and that the wounds of that Rose which lies among the Thorns of Persecution might not be concealed. Every age, and every year in each age, and every moneth and day in each year, hath produced new inundations of Blood unto this day; And yet the little flock of the Lord hath always encreased under Persecutions, one while here, another there, shifting their Seats and Habitations.

While it pleased God by the means of *Wickles* to kindle the light of the Gospel in *Great Britain*, *John Hus* asserted the truth of *Jesus Christ* in the midst of the thick darkness of Popery in *Bohemia*, many Thousands being stirred up by God to receive it, who despising all the cruelty of Tyrants, received it with joy, until by Gods assistance they took rooting in the Kingdom, and grew up into flourishing Churches. In a short time after, Antichrist breathing out his fury, the Truth was banished out of *Bohemia*, and the Confessors being driven out, transplanted the Gospel into *Poland*; where being favorably entertained by King *Sigismund*, they in a short time encreased to so great a number, that being little inferior to the Papists, they were able to boast of an equal authority and priviledges with them. Hence it came to pass that the Kings at their Coronations were wont, not only to promise, but solemnly to swear protection to such as disagreed from the *Roman* Religion, and therefore they proceeded not to open Persecutions, save only in those Cities where the Jesuits had seated themselves in power (to wit) *Cracovia*, *Posen*, *Lublin*, *Vilna*, &c. where, by their disciples, and by stirring up the common people to fury, the Churches of the Reformed Professors were a good while ago demolished, and divers Ministers cruelly massacred.

Nevertheless the malice of the Enemies being no whit allayed, they were many ways afflicted, first indirectly, afterwards by pretences under colour of Law, until those Churches being worn out by degrees, and overthrowen, were not many years ago reduced to a very inconsiderable number, especially when at in the Reign of the late King, the Enemies being confident they might do any thing, brought things to this pass at length, that there were no more than

Twenty one Congregations remaining in the Greater *Poland*, and those also ready to perish. But among these Twenty one remaining Churches, the chief, and as it were the Mother of them all, was that of *Lesna*, which was divided into Three Congregations, the *Bohemian*, the *Polonian*, and the *German*. Each of which had their own Pastors, but the Communicants jointly were about Two thousand: Therefore it was that this Church was in the first place exposed to the Enemies malice, and of late designed to the slaughter, as well by reason of its being very much frequented and grown famous, as also because of the Synod there usually celebrated, as likewise there was a famous University and Printing-house, and Books frequently published to the World.

When therefore in the year 1655. the *Swedish* Army out of *Pomerania* drew near to the borders of *Poland*, and the Nobility were summoned to Arms, according to the custom of the Country, it came to pass that the Papists brake forth into many furious expressions, crying out, That the Hereticks had invited the Enemy, and therefore they were first of all to be put to the Sword and extirpated; which reports, though most falsely scattered abroad (for the searcher of the Heart and the Reins knoweth, that we never so much as dreamt of it) yet they easily found credit among the sworn Enemies of the Gospel, who sought nothing more than our ruin. Hereupon they who first consulted to agree with the *Swedish* Army, being terrified by its power, concluded about the surrender of all Great *Poland* into the Kings protection, and namely, the Royal Cities of *Posen*, *Calisen*, *Meserick*, &c. to which also *Lesna* was expressly added: In a little time after they endeavored to cast off the *Swedish* Yoke, and turned their Arms not against the *Swedes*, but first against our Evangelical Professors, as conspiring with the *Swedes* upon the account of Religion, and none of them scrupled to take revenge upon them.

They first of all set upon those of *Lesna*, with resolution of putting all to the Sword, and destroying that Heretical City by fire, and they had effected both, unless God, by sending some persons before, who by signifying the coming of the Enemy, and with what intent they came, had possessed the Citizens with a Panick fear, so that leaving all their Estates, they every Man fled; And thus within the space of one hour, a most populous City abounding with all manner of wealth, was left without Inhabitants, who in a miserable condition wandered then into the neighboring Woods and Marishes into *Silesia*. But the *Polish* Nobility with their Army, entering the City, did what they pleased, slaying a number of decrepit old people, and sick persons that were not able to save themselves by flight; Then the City it self was first plundered, and afterwards so destroyed by fire for Three days together, that no part of it remained beside rubbish and ashes. In what manner they would have handled the Citizens, especially their Pastors, they shewed by their Heroick actions performed in other places, by the most savage slaughtering of divers Ministers of the Church, and other faithful Members of *Christ*, of both Sexes; For of all that they laid hold on, they gave not One Man quarter, but very cruelly put them to death with most exquisite tortures. They endeavored to force Master *Samuel Cardus*, Pastor of the Church of *Czwertzen*, to renounce his Religion, after they had taken him, and miserably handled him with all manner of cruelty; But he, stoutly resisting, they first put out his Eyes, and led him about for a spectacle, then they pulled off his Fingers-ends with Pincers; But he not yet condescending to their mad fury, they found out a new kind of torment, poured molten Lead into his mouth, and at length while he was yet half alive, they clapt his Neck between folding Doors, and violently pulling them together, severed his Head from his Body.

They took *John Jacobides*, Pastor of the Church of *Dembnick*, and *Alexander wartens* his Colleague, and another that was in company with them, as they passed through the Town of *Lubin*, and hurrying them up and down for divers hours, and grievously handling them after the manner of Tyrants, then last of all



## The Persecution of the Church in Poland

all they cut their Throats with a Razor, threw them headlong, while they were yet breathing, into a great Pit, which had been before-hand prepared for these Martyrs, and stiled them by casting down Dung and Dirt upon them. They great while pursued *Andrem Oxlinum*, a young Man designed for the Ministry, whom, after long seeking, they at last found in the open Field, and in the end, having taken him, they cut off his Head with a Sitch, chopping it into small pieces, and the dead Carcase also they flast in a barbarous manner. The same fate befel *Adam Milta*, a Citizen of *Lesna*: But they more grievously handled an old Man of above Seventy years, whose Name was *Simon Priten*, and many others, whose Names it were too tedious to relate. Of that barbarous execution which they did upon the weaker Sex, there were besides other examples, horrid Trophies of cruelty erected in the said City of *Lesna*: A pious Matron there, who was the Mother of Three Children, not being able quick enough to leave the City, and being slain in the open Street, they cut off her Hands and Feet, and cutting off her Childrens Heads, they laid Two of them at her Breasts, and the Third by her side. In like manner, another Woman having her Hands and Feet cut off, and her Tongue cut out, being inclosed and bound in a Sack, lived the space of Two days, making most miserable lamentation. Grief forbids us to add more; For they behaved themselves so furiously towards us, that there remains not an example of any One Man saved of all those that happened to fall into their Hands.

It is notoriously known how that fury of theirs tyrannized also over the dead; some they dragg'd out of their graves, and cut in pieces, as at *Zichlin*; others they exposed naked for a publick Spectacle, as at *Lesna*; of which outrageous action we had an example, even in the dead Body of the most Serene Landgrave of *Hassia*, which was drawn out of the grave, who was heretofore slain in a most barbarous and tyrannical manner at *Roselan*, but buried by our Friends at *Lesna*. The like was acted also upon the Body of the most Noble *Arcizevius*, heretofore the valiant Admiral of the *Hollanders* in *Brazile*, which was likewise dragg'd out of the grave, and being stript of the grave-clothes, was found after the firing of *Lesna*. There are divers other examples, which the Christian Reader may find in the Book, Entituled, *Lesna Excidium*, faithfully written, and lately set forth in Print; But they are such examples only as are commonly known; For who is able to relate all things in particular? As burning Men alive, drowning others with Stones tied about their Necks, &c.

Now *Lesna* being destroyed, the fury of the Enemy proceeded to the Persecutions of others, they in a short time utterly demolished all our Congregations, not only driving away the Pastors, but also either burning or leaving most of the Temples desolate, as at *Karmin*, *Dembnick*, *Skoschy*, *Czricuzin*, &c. yea and the Auditories themselves were either slain (as in the Town of *Skoschy*, where there was a very flourishing Church of the *Bohemian Exiles*; Sixty Persons, both Men and Women were cruelly put to death) or else they were scattered abroad, so that there remained not one place wherein the Worship of God may be celebrated. Lo, this is the most miserable state and condition of our Churches; moreover our Countrymen, to the number of Five thousand, besides Youths and Children, being dispersed in banishment (which hath now befallen most of us the second time) especially throughout *Silesia*, as also through the *March*, *Lusatia*, *Hungary*, &c. find no comfort, but much misery, and are there exposed to the hatred and envy of Men. We that are Pastors dare not openly Minister to our Auditories with the Word and Sacraments, but only in private Meetings, or in Woods among Fenny places, God only seeing us, who is witness of these calamities, and our comfort in extremities.

Indeed being thus destitute of all things, we lead a wretched life in banishment, being afflicted with hunger and nakedness, and are become next to the most miserable *Waldenses*, the greatest spectacle of calamity to the Christian world; For so it hath seemed good to that Sovereign Wisdom that governs all things,

that

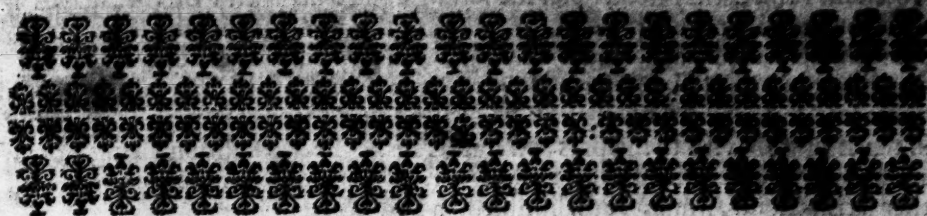
that we should be inheritors of the Cross and Persecution of those Men from whom we have derived the original of our Doctrine and external Succession: For truly we are the remaining Progeny even of the *Waldenses*, with whom being raised from the Ashes of blessed *Huss*, and with whom combining into the same holy Fellowship of the Faith and Afflictions of *Christ*, we have for Two whole ages and more, been perpetually subject to the like storms of Calamities, until at length we fell into this calamity, greater than ever was known in the memory of our Fathers, and which threatens us with utter destruction, unless God prevent it, this business constrains us to amazement and tears, greater than can be expressed in words, to set forth our affliction and sorrow: *If therefore there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of Love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any Bowels and Mercies*, we desire that this affliction of *Joseph* may be recommended, especially to all that are of the household of Faith. Let them not suffer those to perish whom the same Faith, and the same Spirit of *Christ* hath joyned with them in so near a Relation; we beseech them in the Name of *Christ*, that they would rather make haste to relieve those who are ready to perish, we being assured that we suffer this Persecution upon no other account, than for the confession of the Truth, from those Enemies, who have acted such things as these are against us in times past, and are now at length by Gods permission, pouring out their fury upon us.

*Signed in the name of the said distressed Churches, by their  
Delegates and now Exiles for the cause of Christ;*

Adam Samuel Hartman, *Pastor of the Church of Lesna  
in Poland, and Rector of the famous University there.*

Paul Cyril, *a late Member of the University of Lesna.*





A BRIEF  
 REPRESENTATION  
 OF THE  
 PROTESTANT CAUSE  
 I N  
 G E R M A N Y.

In what Case it hath been; since the Peace of *Munster*; and how it stood in the Year 1657. And how it is now this present Year 1659.



THE Justice of the late Civil Wars in *Germany*, which were composed at the Peace concluded in *Munster* and *Osnaburg* in the year 1648. was grounded upon this; That the Protestants were necessitated to enter into a League or mutual union together, for the maintaining of their rights and privileges in the Empire, against the infections thereof, and manifold disturbances of their profession, which contrary to former agreements at Imperial *Dyets*, did befall unto them in many places by the Popish and Jesuits practices, whereof they could obtain no redress by any peaceable Treaties: Therefore finding that there was a design formed in the *Conclave*, and by the House of *Austria*, to be put in execution, tending by little and little to wear out and deprive them of their liberties; They formed an union among themselves, to stand upon the defence of their rights, and to oppose the power of the House of *Austria*, by whose means, both in *Germany* and in *Bohemia*, the Jesuits did drive on the design of rooting out Protestants. The Head of this union (who by his place was bound to appear in it) was the Elector *Palatine*: But he being a soft Man, of no experience in War, and beset in his counsels and enterprises with such as did betray him, the cause was soon overthrown; and by his overthrow, the intended Persecution against Protestants to root them out, what by power, and what by policy, was openly carried on by the House of *Austria*; which moved the King of *Denmark Christian* the IV. and after him the King of *Sweden*, to come upon the Stage: The *Dane* was soon overthrown, but God gave such success unto the *Swedes*, to the *Landgrave* of *Hessen* their associate, and to the *French*; (who joyued with them to ballance the power of *Austria*, after the Elector of *Saxony* had made his Peace at *Prague* with the Emperor, and deserted the Protestant interest:) That from the death of King *Gustavus*, they continued the War with various successes till the year 1648. at which time the *Swedish* being Masters in *Bohemia*, and the Emperor brought so low, that he saw little hopes to recover his strength without a Peace, he yielded to the conditions which the Protestants and the *French* stood upon.

The *Swedish* stood upon their satisfaction, and to keep a foot in the Empire, to be able upon all occasions to secure or help the Protestant party; And the Protestant.

Protestant Princes they stood upon the settling of all things and of themselves in their former rights and possessions, as before the War; And chiefly upon this point the reformed party, and the *Landgrave of Hessen*, who headed them, stood that thence forward the Reformed Protestants (*alias* called Calvinists) should have equal freedom and liberty of Conscience, for the exercise of their profession in the Empire, with the Papists and Lutherans. This condition being obtained, and a way determined to give the aggrieved parties in point of damage further satisfaction, Armies were dismissed, a new convention of States was held at *Nuremberg*, to settle the remaining matters within the Empire, which at *Munster* and *Osnaburg* could not well be handled, by reason of the Treaty with foreign States, and afterward a *Dyet* was called at *Ratisbon*, to confirm all what formerly had been treated on and concluded, and to put the remainder of grievances in a way to be rectified: To which effect at the dissolution or rather adjournment of the Imperial *Dyet* at *Ratisbon*, a Committee of Deputies from all the States of the Empire, of equal number of both parties, (that is, so many of the Protestants as of the Popish party) were named to meet at *Franckford*, and prepare (by way of disquary of rights) the matters then remaining undecided, that at the next Session of the *Dyet*, there might be a full decision and determination of them.

But before these Delegates did meet, the Elector of *Mentz* did broach a new quarrel with the Elector *Palatine*, tending to abridg him of much of his right, and to make him inconsiderable to the Protestant party; But the King of *Sweden*, his cousin, (for he is a younger Brothers Son of the House *Palatine*) and the *Landgrave of Hessen* his Brother in Law, did appear for him so far, that the Emperor and the Elector of *Mentz* fearing a new breach on his behalf, did leave him unmolested.

Soon after the compofure of this quarrel, the Committee of Imperial Deputies, met according to the appointment of the last *Dyet* at *Ratisbon*, and they have continued at *Franckford*, debating and disputing one with another concerning their respective rights, in the several cases which remained undetermined. This meeting of Deputies hath agitated matters in the years 1655—56—57. till these new affairs were come into consideration, which the King of *Sweden* his War with *Poland* hath occasioned. For from that time that he went into *Poland* and prospered there, the Deputies, although they did not dissolve their meeting, yet did in a manner alter the course of their treating one with another, as looking much upon the event of that War, till the death of the late Emperor hath altered the Scene, and a *Dyet* for the election of a new Emperor hath been called.

The King of *Sweden*'s War with *Poland*, did alarm the Popish party in *Germany*, and the House of *Austria* extreamly: And did terrifie the States of the *Low-Countries*, lest if he should be Master of the *Baltick* Sea, their Trade should be thenceforward under his power, with whom they had no friendly correspondence, by reason of some reciprocally conceived injuries, for which they could not trust him. This moved those of *Holland* who are the chief Traders in those Seas, to stir up Enemies against him, and openly to appear for, and correspond with *Dantzick* to oppose him: And it is known to the *Swedish*, that they have dealt underhand with the *Muscovite*, with the *Polish* King, with the *Austrians*, and above-board with the King of *Denmark*, to combine against him; By which means, after that he had conquered *Poland*, his Forces were distracted, first to oppose the *Muscovite* in *Livonia*, who besieged *Riga*; and afterward to put himself in a defensive posture against the *Austrians*, who came to the assistance of the King of *Poland*; and lastly, to retire from *Poland* into *Germany*, to oppose the *Danish* Forces, who had invaded his Territories of *Bremen*.

Being come into *Germany* upon this design, he did conquer from the King of *Denmark* the last Summer, all *Holftein* and *Juland*, and although by these conquests he was able to live in his quarters in the Winter; yet his Enemies being round



## The Persecution of the Church in Poland.

round about him on all hands; and he having neither money, nor convenient places to recruit his Army in; it was expected, that in the spring, the Combination of his Enemies who compassed him about, would have swallowed him up: But God was pleased to appear for him, and direct him in a way to escape and overcome these difficulties: For in *January* last, he formed his design to assault the other Territories of the *Danish King*, namely the Islands, which lie between *Germany* and the Continent of *Sweden*, and to that effect had prepared his Men to march over into *Fuenen*, either by a Bridge of Ships if the Sea were not frozen so as to bear; or over the Ice, if it should be strong enough: Having then notice gotten, that towards the latter end of *January* the Ice did bear, he took of Horse and Foot not above Six or Seven thousand, and therewith did march over the Sea into *Fuenen*, where the *Danish King* had placed his chief forces to defend the place. And although some dangerous and dreadful accidents did befall him in that his march over the Sea, yet he went on and fought the *Danish* Forces, who were more in number than he had with him, which on firm land stood in a readiness to receive him, and beat them, took the chief Commanders Prisoners, and the spoil of the Island, which is one of the richest that belongs to that Kingdom.

Having made himself Master of that Island, he went forward to the next Island over the Sea, called *Langland*, where he found a Body of Five hundred Men to resist him, but being charged, they were instantly defeated; so he went from thence to the next called *Laland*, and from thence to *Falster*, and from *Falster* to *Zeland*, the frost still continuing to make a Bridge for him in all these marches. And from the time he came into *Fuenen*, till he entered *Zeland*, he spent only Five or Six days. In *Zeland* (where the King of *Denmark* was at *Copenhagen*) Mr. *Medows*, the publick Minister of the State, sent from hence to reside with the King of *Denmark*, came to him and desired him to admit the King of *Denmark* to a Treaty; This he condescended unto, and by the interposition of Mr. *Medows*, and of the *French* Ambassador (for he would not admit the *Hollands* Ambassador to be a Mediator) the peace was concluded about the Twentieth of *February*, after Twelve days treaty. The conditions, That he restoreth to the King of *Denmark* all what he had taken from him in *Germany*, namely, *Holstein* and *Jutland*, and the Islands of *Fuenen*, *Langland*, *Laland*, *Falster*, and *Zeland*; And in lieu thereof the King of *Denmark* quits unto him all his rights in the Provinces of *Haland* and *Schonen*, and of *Bliken*, which are the Continent of *Sweden*, on the North side of the *Sound*; And doth moreover surrender unto him the Island of *Bornholm*, and the Lordships of *Bahusen*, and of *Drunthen* in *Norway*, which lie most convenient to cause the Trade of *Sweden* to flourish. Some other conditions there are, but less considerable.

The Peace being thus concluded and ratified by both Kings, the King of *Denmark* Feasted the King of *Sweden* for certain days, and at several times both Kings were together alone for the space of Two or Three hours at a time, whereby it is conceived that they have contracted a nearer and stricter alliance together, than the publick Treatise can mention. This being done, the King of *Sweden* went into his own Country; and hath convoked the States of his Kingdom at *Gottenburg*, to dispose of his affairs with their advice, and to take up further resolutions in time to come.

This unexpected and miraculous success of the *Swedish* Kings enterprise, hath disappointed all the counsels and plots of his Adversaries against him, for which he is obliged to none but unto God alone: And from hence his Friends have just cause to gather, that God hath raised him out of his straits, and redoubled his strength to make further use of him towards the advancement of the common cause of Protestants, in whose behalf he concluded the Peace at *Munster*, and which he thinks himself in conscience and honor obliged to maintain for the Protestant interest, *sanguinem altera pars paciscens*, as in a Letter of his to the Emperor he did express himself. So that it seems the Protestant

cause in *Germany* will find in him a Protector of so much courage and resolution, and conduct, as any that could be expected or desired: And it is known to all that know him, that he is earnestly bent to take away the differences, and advance the reconciliation of Protestants within themselves: And that he makes no difference between *Lutherans* (as they are called) and *Calvinists*, but makes use of both alike, according to their abilities, as he finds them fitted for employment to foreign affairs: For within the Kingdom of *Sweden*, no foreigners, and none but *Lutherans*, are to be admitted to the civil charges of trust; others are employed in military charges, both there and elsewhere, according to their deserts.

But presently after the Elector of *Brandenburg* was by subtle Artifices withdrawn from the King of *Sweden*, and joyned with the Emperor, and the King of *Poland* against him: The King of *Denmark* was prevailed with to break his late made League, and the States of the *United Provinces* have joyned with the *Dane* against him; And God having taken away his great Friend *Oliver*, Lord Protector, he hath conflicted with many and great difficulties, and yet hitherto God hath upheld him from sinking under them. What the issue will be, time must discover.

THE



A

MARTYROLOGIE,  
CONTAINING  
A COLLECTION  
Of All the  
PERSECUTIONS

VVhich have Befallen the  
Church of ENGLAND,

Since the  
Plantation of the Gospel

To the END of  
Queen Maries Reign.

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The Third Edition, Corrected, and Enlarged.

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By Samuel Clarke, late Pastor of St. Bennet - Fink, London.

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*He hath ordained his Arrows against the Persecutors, Psalm. 7. 13.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for William Birch, at the Peacock at the Lower-end of Cheap-side, 1677.







THE  
PERSECUTIONS  
OF THE  
CHURCH  
OF  
ENGLAND,

From the first Planting of the

GOSPEL,

To the end of Queen *MARY*'s Reign.

CHAP. I.

*The Persecution of the British Church till the coming in of the Saxons.*



Historians do not agree amongst themselves, neither of the time when, nor of the Persons by whom the Gospel was first planted in *Britain*. *Nicephorus* saith, that *Simon Zelotes* having preached long in the Western parts of the World, came at last into *Britain*, by whose Ministry many in this Island embraced the Gospel of *Jesum Christ*, yet was *Simon* at the length Crucified by the Heathens. Others say, that *Paul*, the great Doctor of the *Gentiles*, when he was sent by *Festus* to *Rome*, after he had made his defence before the Emperor was dismissed, whereupon he went into *Spain*, and afterwards into *Britain*, and preached the Gospel of *Christ* unto them. *Dorotheus*, and some others add, that *Paul* made *Aristobolus*, of whom he makes mentions *Rom. 16. 10.* the first Bishop of *Britain*: who having propagated the Gospel in this Island, at last, with many of his Disciples, suffered Martyrdom in the second year of the Emperor *Nero*. Others affirm, that *Philip* the Apostle, being busied in Converting and Baptizing many in *France*, sent his entire Friend, *Joseph* of *Arimatea* with Twelve other of his Disciples into *Britain*, where they laid the foundation

*Lib. 2. c. 10.*

*The first Preachers of the Gospel.*

of the Christian Faith, after which divers other Preachers coming hither, they much confirmed and propagated the same.

*Tertullian*, who lived in the second Century, speaking how the Gospel was spread abroad by the Ministry of the Apostles, amongst other places he reckons up those parts of *Britain* to be subjected to *Christ*, which the *Romans* could never conquer. *Origen* in his fourth Homily on *Ezekiel*, hath these words, *Britanniam in Christianam convertit religionem*; That *Britain* had embraced the Christian Faith.

King *Lucius*  
the first Chri-  
stian King.

Idolatry de-  
stroyed.

The Scripture  
the best rule  
for Laws.

*Anno 180.* of theseabouts, (though Authors do not agree of the year exactly,) King *Lucius* Reigned in *Britain*, who hearing of the miracles and wonders done by the Christians in divers places, sent letters to *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, desiring to receive the Christian Faith. The good Bishop hearing the request of the King, and glad to embrace the opportunity, sent to him Two Preachers, *Eaganus* and *Damianus*, by whose faithful endeavors it pleased God that the King and many of his People were Converted and Baptized: The Temples of Idolatry, and other Monuments of *Gentilism* were subverted: Thus Religion with true Faith increased, and Superstition with all the rites of Idolatry decreased; many Bishops were ordained and set over the people, and all things settled in good order: After which, this godly King sent again to *Eleutherius* for the *Roman* Laws, according to which he desired to govern his people; To which request *Eleutherius* returned this Answer, *That for the Roman and Imperial Laws they might have their defects and faults, but the Law of God could not*: Whereupon he advised him to study the Scriptures, and out of them, by the Council of his Realm, to enact Laws for the Government of his Kingdom; For (saith he) *you are Gods Vicar in your Kingdom, and therefore it behoves you to unite your People, to call them to the faith and service of Jesus Christ, to cherish and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend them from all such as would do them wrong, &c.*

Persecution  
begins be-  
times.

This Faith thus received by the *Britains*, continued and flourished amongst them, by the space of Two hundred and sixteen years, even till the coming of the Pagan *Saxons*: But all this while the *Roman* Emperors had not embraced the Christian Faith; whereupon much trouble and persecution was raised up by them and their Agents against the Christian *Britains*, especially after the death of King *Lucius*, who dying without issue, the Barons and Nobles could not agree about a Successor, so that whilst they contended and strove who should have the Crown, the *Romans* stepped in, and took the Crown from them into their own Hands, whereupon ensued great misery, and ruin to the Realm: Sometimes the Idolatrous *Romans*, sometimes the Christian *Britains* Reigned, according as Gods Providence ordered the success of their Wars.

*Amphibolus*.

*Albane* Con-  
verted.

The first remarkable Persecution that I meet with, was under *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian*, at which time the rage of the Heathens was so great against the Christians, that in *Britany* and some other places there are Seventeen thousand Martyrs reckoned up, that suffered for the Name of *Christ*. In the time of this Persecution there was one of the Clergy called *Amphibolus*, sought for to be drawn to Prison, who to escape the fury of the Adversaries, hid himself in the House of *Albane*, a worthy Citizen of *Vernlam*, [now *St. Albans*.] This *Albane* was for the present an Heathen, but observing his Guests, day and night to continue in watching and prayer, it pleased God so to work upon him by this example, that he began to hearken to the godly instructions and exhortations of this Minister, and forsaking his blind Idolatry he became a Christian with his whole heart. At length the Persecutors had intelligence, that *Amphibolus* lay hid at *Albanes* House, whereupon Soldiers were appointed to make diligent search for him in that place: *Albane* hearing of their coming, apparelled himself in his Guests and Masters Clothes, offering himself to the Soldiers, by whom he was bound, and carried before the Judg, who at that time was sacrificing to his Idols: *Albane* being brought before him, the Judg perceiving the fraud, said



## The Persecution of the Church in Britain.

said unto him; Forasmuch as thou hadst rather stand among the Rebel and Traitor to our gods, then deliver him up to the Soldiers, that he might undergo due punishment for his blaspheming of our gods; look what torments he should have suffered if he had been taken, the same thou shalt suffer if thou refuse to practise the rites of our Religion: Albane little regarded these threatnings; But being fortified with the spiritual Armor of God, told him plainly to his Face, That he would not obey his Commandment: Then said the Judge, Of what Hou'e and stock art thou? Albane answered, It matters not of what stock I am, but if thou desirest to know my Religion, be it known unto thee that I am a Christian, and that I employ myself in the practice of their holy exercises: Then the Judge demanded his Name? My Parents (said he) named me Albane, and I honor and worship the true and living God that made all things of nothing: The Judge being enraged hereat, said unto him, If thou desirest to prolong thy life, come and sacrifice to our gods; Albane answered, This sacrifice that you offer to the Devil profits you nothing, but rather purchaseth for you eternal pains in Hell fire: The Judge being more incensed hereby, commanded the Tormentors to beat him, thinking that stripes might prevail where words would not; But he shewed himself, not only patient, but joyful in the midst of all his torments; The Judge seeing that neither words nor blows could remove him from his constancy, commanded him to be beheaded. The Executioner observing his fervent Faith and Prayers, fell down before his Feet, casting from him the Sword, desiring rather to be executed for or with him, then to do execution upon him, and so was made a Fellow of that Faith, whereof before he was a Persecutor; The other Officers were astonished, and trembled to behold this strange Providence, but at last one of them took up the Sword, wherewith he cut off the Martyr's Head.

There suffered also about the same time *Aaren* and *Julian*, Citizens of *Leicester*, and many others both Men and Women, in sundry places, who endured most cruel and bitter torments in all parts of their Bodies, and at last, triumphing over all with invincible patience, resigned up their Spirits to Almighty God; Many others to avoid the rage and fury of their merciless Persecutors, fled into Woods, and hid themselves in Mountains, and Dens, and Caves of the Earth, waiting patiently till God should free them by the destruction of their Enemies.

About the same time also *Augustus*, Bishop of *London*, who was now grown very old, obtained the Crown of Martyrdom. Yea the rage of the Adversaries ceased not in the slaughter of the Saints, but they sought out the Books of the sacred Scriptures, and burnt them publickly, Churches were subverted, and Christianity was almost extirpated out of the whole land.

But *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian*, finding that after all their Bloody butcheries, and the Thousands of innocent Christians slain by them, the Faith of *Christ* still increased, being tired with shedding of Blood, at last they devided themselves of the Imperial dignity, and *Constantian*, and after him *Constantine* the Great, succeeding in the Government of our *Britain*, the Church here had Peace, and the faithful Christians, which in times of danger had hid themselves in Dens, and Desarts, came forth, and shewed themselves abroad, repairing the Churches formerly demolished and thrown down to the ground, built others anew, attending the service of God in Peace, whereby the Church flourished, and the Gospel was mightily propagated: which blessed Peace, through Gods mercy continued till the *Arrian* Heresie, which overspread a great part of the Christian world, flew over into our *Britain* likewise, which caused new storms and fluctuations in the Church: But holy *Constantine*, by calling seasonably the *Nicene* Council, somewhat qualified and abated the animosities of some, and the unbridled spirits of others. But shortly after the death of that good Emperor, the *Arrian* Heresie began to revive, and the *Britains* which were always naturally given to affect novelties, too greedily embraced it, who raised up the *Picts* and *Scots* (two Barbarous and Heathen Nations) to persecute

Albane's Courage and Constancy.

His patience.

Albane the Persecutor of England.

Aaren, Julian.

Augustus.

Dioclesian.

The Church's progress in times of Peace.

The danger of Heresies.

Persecution by the Picts and Scots.

England exhausted of Men by the Roman War. The Britains send to Rome for help.

A Wall built between us and the Scots.

They send again for help.

A Stone-Wall built.

A cruel Persecution.

Divisions destructive.

They send again to Rome.

Repentance obtains mercy.

scourge to them and this Kingdom which had been often exhausted of the flower of all her youth, upon several occasions led away by the *Roman* Emperors in all their Wars, was now unable to defend her self against their violent irruptions: For which cause, for divers years together, the *Britains* were miserably oppressed, and wasted by those Two Nations; This occasioned them to send their Embassadors to *Rome* with lamentable complaints, requesting, and begging aid, and assistance of them against these their cruel Enemies: The *Romans* at last, moved with pity, sent them a Legion of Soldiers, who encountering with the *Picts* and *Scots*, overthrew them, slew many, and drove the rest out of the confines of the *Britains*, and withal advised them to build a Wall from Sea to Sea across the Land, which might keep out these evil Neighbors: This was assented to, and the Wall being finished, the *Roman* Soldiers returned home again.

As soon as the *Picts* and *Scots* heard thereof, they presently in a number of Boats landed on this side the Wall, invaded the borders, over-ran the Country, and bare down all before them.

Then did the *Britains* send new Embassadors to *Rome*, who made grievous moan, imploring their aid, beseeching them not to suffer their miserable Country utterly to be wasted, and destroyed by these barbarous Heathens, &c. Hereupon there is a Legion of Soldiers again sent into *Britain*, who in harvest time coming suddenly upon these destroyers, made a great slaughter of them, and such as escaped, they chased by Sea into their own Country; which being done, they told the *Britains* plainly, that it was not for their ease to take such long, and tedious journeys for their sakes; that they should expect no more assistance from them, and therefore they exhorted them to arm, and exercise themselves, that of themselves they might be able to resist these their Enemies; and for their further encouragement they assisted them in building a Wall of Stone Eight foot broad, and Twelve foot high, from the East to the West Sea, just where the Emperor *Severus* had formerly cast up a Trench, all which was done upon the publick and private charges of the *Britains*. Also by the Sea-side Southwards at the place where their Ships lay at harbor, lest their Enemies should land thereabouts, they built up Bulworks at a competent distance each from other, all which being finished the *Romans* bid them farewell, intending to return no more.

But God yet intended a further scourge to the *Britains*; wherefore as soon as the *Picts*, and *Scots* understood that the *Romans* had taken their final farewell, they came in great multitudes to assault the Wall, which for a while was defended with faint Hands, and trembling Hearts by the *Britains*: But the *Scots*, with certain grapples that they had devised, pulled some part of it to the ground, and in other parts so assaulted the *Britains*, that they put them to flight, and in a barbarous manner followed, killed, and destroyed them more cruelly than ever they had done before: whereupon the *Britains*, being driven out of their Habitations and possessions, fell to robbing and spoiling one another, increasing their outward miseries by their intestine discords, so that the whole Country was brought to that extream poverty that they had no sustenance but what they got by hunting, and killing of wild Beasts.

In the Eighth year of the Reign of *Theodosius junior*, the *Britains* sent to *Rome* again, setting forth their piteous Estate, complaining that the barbarous Enemy drove them upon the Sea, the Sea again upon the Enemy, so that death and destruction attended them on all hands: But the *Romans* having their Hands full at that time, being scarce able to defend themselves against the barbarous *Hunnes* under *Attila*, refused to send them any succor, returning the Embassadors without relief:

The *Britains* being thus frustrated of their hopes from *Rome*, and being forced thereto by Famine, they took courage to themselves, and began to seek unto God; and when all Earthly hope failed, so much the more to put their whole trust



trust and confidence in God, who useth not to fail those that trust in him; and so from the Hills and Brakes where they lurked, they many times invaded their Enemies, first resisting, and afterwards overthrowing them, which for many years before had lived upon the spoil of their Country. The *Picts* hereupon began to keep themselves quiet at home, save only that now and then they would make inroads into the land, so that shortly after the land enjoyed great peace and quietness, and the *Britains* falling to Husbandry, through Gods blessing, the Earth yielded such abundance, that there was never the like plenty of grain seen before: But behold the wickedness of Mans heart! The *Britains* enjoyed Peace and Plenty, they fell into all manner of loose and licentious living, whereof all sorts of lewd and abominable practices folled, especially cruelty, hatred of the truth, and loving of lies, insomuch that if any Men were more humble and faithful embracers of the truth then others, the other would work them all the despite and mischief that could be, as the common Enemies of their Country: And these sins abounded, not only amongst the Laity but Clergy also, and the chiefest of all sorts gave themselves over to drunkenness, pride, contention, envy, and such other wickedness, utterly casting from them the sweet and easy yoke of *Christ*. Then did the Lord send a terrible Pestilence amongst them, whereof such multitudes died, that the living were not able to bury the dead, yet for all this they remained so hardned in their sins, that neither their Friends death, nor their own danger could mollifie their obdurate hearts, or work them to a Reformation of their wicked lives, whereupon a more grievous stroke of Gods vengeance fell upon the whole sinful Nation, as in the sequel will be made to appear.

Peace and Plenty.

So the Lord sent a great Pestilence.

A great Pestilence.

## CHAP. II.

### The Persecution of the British Church under the Heathen Saxons and English.

**T**He *Britains* being again infested with their old ill neighbors, they consulted what was best for them to do in such a strait, and instead of turning to God with all their Hearts, and reforming their wicked lives, they, with their King *Portigerne*, resolved to demand aid of the *Saxons*, to repel the fury of these Northern Nations, by which foolish counsel the Lord intended to plague this wicked People, as the story following will evidently shew.

Anno 429. The *English* and *Saxons* being sent for by the said King into *Britain*, they landed in Three long Ships, and by the Kings appointment, encountering with the *Picts* and *Scots*, they got the Victory, whereof they sent home word to their Countrymen, withal informing them of the fertility of *Britain*, and of the Cowardliness of the Inhabitants: Hereupon a far greater number of the *Saxons*, and better furnished for the War, arrived in *Britain*, and joyning with the former Band, they formed a stronger Army then all the power of the *Britains* was able to overcome: These therefore by the *Britains* had a place allowed them to dwell in, upon condition that they should fight for them against their Enemies, receiving wages of the *Britains* for their pains: The chief Captains of these *Saxons* were *Hengist*, and *Horsus*, and greater companies of those people daily resorting hither, they suddenly enter'd into league with the *Picts*, whom they had now driven further off, and began to turn their Forces upon the *Britains*. And first they required more store of Victuals of them, seeking thereby to pick a quarrel with them, and threatening that if they did not presently send them in more store, they would break their amity with them, and spoil the Country about them, and no sooner was it said but they performed it indeed: And thus by the hands of these Pagans, God avenged the quarrel of his Covenant upon

A great number of Saxons.

They quarrelled with the Brits.

upon his wicked people: And this fire of Gods wrath being once kindled, he employed these Idolaters, as once he did the *Caldeans* against the *Jews*, to scourge his Apostatizing people, so that the destruction made by them in this land overspread the whole Island, none being able to resist it.

The Saxons  
sent for.

All Edifices both publick and private were demolished, the Ministers were slain while they were employed in the service of God: The Reverend Bishops, and their flocks were cruelly murdered, without respect to their dignity, neither were there any to inter their slaughtered Bodies: Some being pursued into the Mountains were there murdered; others almost starved with hunger, were fain to creep out of their Caves and Dens, and to buy their food at their Enemies Hands, by whom they were either presently murdered, or deprived of their liberty for ever: Others with heavy Hearts left their Native Country, and fled beyond the Seas: Others being driven from House and Home, wandered up and down in Mountaines, and Woods, and Desert places, exposed to hunger, cold, nakedness, and all sorts of misery, and to fill up the measure of their wretchedness, Two hundred seventy one, or (as some stories say) Four hundred and sixty of the ancientest and chiefeest Barons and Nobles of the land, were trained to *Almsbury* to meet with the chiefeest of the *Saxons* about a Treaty of Peace, by whom they were most treacherously, and perfidiously all slain at a place called *Stoneheng*: By the which Monuments it seems that the Noble *Britains* were there buried.

Base treachery.

Yet not long after the *Britains* began to take courage to themselves coming out of their Caves where before they had lien hid, and with one consent humbling themselves before Almighty God for their sins, and calling upon him by fervent Prayer, they chose *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a gentle-natured Man, and of the ancient Blood of the *Romans* to be their Captain. This *Ambrosius* had a *Brittain* to his Mother, and was educated in the Christian Religion by *Guithline*, Bishop of *London*: Under him the *Britains* assembling themselves, provoked the *Saxons* and *English* to fight, and (through Gods mercy and goodness,) obtained a great Victory over them, and from that day forward they obtained many other Victories against the *Saxons*.

Repentance.  
*Ambrosius*  
made King of  
the *Britains*.

*Uter Pendragon*.

At last *Ambrosius* died of Poison, and his Brother *Uter*, surnamed *Pendragon* succeeded him, Anno 497. who fighting against *Ofta* and *Cosa*, the Two Chieftains of the *Saxons*, took them both Prisoners, and brought them to *London*, there to be kept: But they, breaking Prison, fled into *Germany* for more aid; In the mean time there daily came over abundance of *Saxons* in several Companies, with whom the *Britains* had divers conflicts and bickerings, sometimes winning, sometimes losing, as the Lord in his wise Providence saw fittest to order it.

A great Persecution.

At last came back *Ofta* and *Cosa* with a great Army out of *Germany*, and joyned with the other *Saxons* against the *Britains*. Here began the miseries of *Britain* afresh, whilst the Idolatrous *Saxons* prevailed in number and strength against the Christian *Britains*, oppressing the people, demolishing their Churches, murdering their Bishops and Ministers, sparing neither age, sex, nor person, but wasting Christianity almost through the whole land: And, as an aggravation of their miseries, their King *Uter* was sick, and could not come forth in defence of his Subjects; yet at last being sore grieved with the lamentable destruction of his people, he caused himself in his Bed to be carried into his Camp, where God in mercy gave him a wonderful Victory, *Ofta* and *Cosa* being both slain in the Battel; shortly after which Victory *Uter* died of Poison, as his Brother had done before him.

*Ofta*, and *Cosa*  
slain.

Anno 516. came in *Stuph*, and *Wigarius*, Two other Captains of the *Saxons* with a new Army, who so violently assaulted the *Britains*, that they of the Western parts were not able to resist them: Then the Providence of Almighty God raised up for the *Britains*, King *Arthur*, the Son of *Uter*, who obtained Twelve great Victories against the *Saxons*. Concerning this King *Arthur* many strange

King *Arthur*,  
his great Vi-  
ctories.



## The Persecution of the Church in Britain.

strange stories are reported, which I omit as being most of them fabulous: But without question under his Reign, and some of his Successors the *Britains* enjoyed much peace and safety.

Yet when they were at peace with others; they again returning to their former sinful courses, fell to War amongst themselves. Notwithstanding, having yet fresh in mind the late calamities which had been so heavy upon them, both Ministers, Peers, and Commons kept themselves somewhat in order: But after their death, the generation which next followed little knowing, and less regarding the storms past in their Fathers days, and having respect only to the present prosperous estate and condition wherein they lived, fell to all manner of abominations: Justice, and Judgment were turned backward, and equity could not enter, and he that refrained from evil made himself a prey: Inasmuch as *Gildas*, our ancientest Historiographer complains, that they fell into all manner of wickedness, whereunto the nature of Man is inclined, and especially into that which is the overthrow of the best states, *viz.* The hatred of the truth, and love of lyes, embracing evil instead of good; and receiving the Devil under the notion of an Angel of light: They also, as a further aggravation of their sin, neglected to preach the Gospel of *Christ* to the *English* and *Saxons* which inhabited in the land amongst them: This hastened the wrath of God upon them, so that they were chased out of their Cities, and Towns, and the land fell into the possession of the *Saxons*, *Anno Christi* 568. By whom the Christian Ministers of the *Britains* were wholly driven out.

Sin the last  
runner of  
judgments

A great Persecution.

*Theonus* Arch-Bishop of *London*, and *Thadeosius* Arch-Bishop of *York*, seeing their Churches wasted, and their people slain, and dispersed, left their seats in *Britain*, and fled into *wales*.

The *Saxons* being thus possessors of the land, divided it into Seven Kingdoms. Yet God left not their cruelty shewed to the *Britains*, and their usurpation of their land long unpunished: For these *Saxon* Kings falling out amongst themselves, cruelly devoured each other, one Warring against another till they were neither able to help themselves, nor to resist their Enemies.

The Hierarchy  
erected.

A just judgment.

The Gospel was first received by King *Lucius*, *Anno Christi* 180. from which time it continued in *Britain* Four hundred and odd years: Then by the *Saxons* it was almost extinct about Forty four years, from whose first coming into this Kingdom till their compleat conquest of the *Britains* were Two hundred and forty years. In sum, from *Christ* to *Lucius* were One hundred and eighty years. The continuance of the Gospel from *Lucius* to the entering of the *Saxons* were Three hundred and two years; The decay of Religion, to the restitution of it by *Austin* were One hundred and forty three years, whose coming into *Britain* was *Anno Christi* 598. And the occasion thereof was this.

Chronological  
notes.

*Pelagius* being Bishop of *Rome*, *Gregory* seeing some Children in the Market-place of *Rome*, being carried thither out of *England* to be sold, and having fair and beautiful Faces, *Gregory* demanded of what Country they were, and understanding that they came out of *England*, and were Heathens, he much lamented the case of the land, the Inhabitants being so beautiful, and Angelical, and yet subject to the Prince of darkness; and asking moreover of what Province they were, it was answered, They were of *Deira*; These People, saith he, are to be delivered de ira Dei, from the wrath of God: And further understanding that their Kings Name was *Alle*; There, saith he, ought Allelujah to be sung to the living God. He was also strongly pressed in Spirit to go into *England* and to endeavor the conversion of these Heathens, But *Pelagius* and the Church at *Rome* would not permit it at that time: yet *Gregory*, after *Pelagius* his death, being chosen Bishop of *Rome*, and remembering his former intentions, he sent *Austin* with about Forty Preachers more to undertake this work.

Austin sent in-  
to England.

As *Austin* and his Company was travelling towards *England*, a sudden fear surprized their Hearts, insomuch that they made a stop, and sent *Austin* back again to *Gregory*, desiring to be excused from that difficult, and dangerous enterprise of converting a Heathenish and Barbarous People, whose language they neither understood, nor were able to resist their rudeness: *Gregory* labored to confirm, and comfort *Austin* against all discouragements, sending him back again to his Companions, and writing by him to them, to exhort, and persuade them not to desist from so godly an enterprise, telling them how acceptable their labors would be with God, and how advantageous to themselves: And this Letter so prevailed with them, that they came at length to the Isle of *Thanet* not far from *Sandwich* in *Kent*, near unto which place also was the Palace of the King.

He arrives in  
the Isle of *Tha-*  
*net*.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

This King was *Ethelbert*, Fifth King of that Province, who a little before had married a Christian *French* Woman, to whom he had promised the enjoyment of her Faith and Religion.

He preacheth  
to the King.

*Austin* being thus arrived, he sent some Messengers, with their Interpreters to the King, signifying that he, and his Fellows were come from *Rome* to bring to him, and his people the glad tidings of salvation; whereby they might eternally Reign in Heaven with the only true God for evermore, if they would hearken to the Gospel which they were ready to preach unto them. The King having heard something before from his Wife of this way, appointed a time, when he would meet with *Austin*, who at his coming, preached unto him: After which the King told him, That the words which he spake were very fair: Yet, saith he, *because to me this way is uncouth, and new, I cannot suddenly depart from my Country Laws wherein I have been so long nurtured; yet since ye are come so far for my sake, you shall not be molested by me, but shall be well intreated, having all things provided for you which are necessary for your comfortable subsistence: we also grant you free leave to Preach to our People, and to Convert as many as you can to the Faith of your Religion.*

He is placed  
at *Canterbury*.  
Many con-  
verted.

Then went they to *Canterbury*, where the King had given them a Mansion for their abode: There they continued Preaching, and Baptizing such as through Gods grace, were converted by their Ministry. The King also at length, having well considered their manner of life, and moved with the miracles that God was pleased to work by them, heard them the more willingly, and at length through their Ministry, and example in their holy lives, he was Converted and Baptized *Anno Christi* 586. and of his Age 36. By whose example multitudes flocked to their Ministry, and being Baptized were daily added to the Church of *Christ*. The King forced none to it, but did most esteem and imbrace those of his Subjects that did willingly offer themselves.

The King con-  
verted.

The success of  
the Gospel.

More Preach-  
ers sent over  
by *Gregory*.

Then did *Austin* send *Laurence*, one of his company, to *Rome* to *Gregory* to acquaint him with the success that God had given them, and to seek for resolution in sundry doubtful, and difficult cases: *Gregory* much rejoiced at the good news, and returned answers to all his questions: He sent also to the Church of *England* more coadjutors and helpers, *Melitus*, *Justus*, *Paulinus*, and *Ruffianus*, with Books, and such other requisites as he judged necessary for the *English* Church. He writ also to *Austin* to encourage, and direct him in the prosecution of that great work which he was engaged in. He directed also concerning the Idolatrous Temples, which he advised not to be pulled down, but to be converted to the use of the Christian Congregations. He also warned *Austin* to take heed that he grew not proud, nor puffed up by reason of those miracles which God was pleased to work by his Hands in converting the People of *England*, but rather to fear, and tremble, lest being puffed up by the outward works of miracles, he should fall inwardly through the vain glory of his heart, and therefore he advised him to repress such swellings by thinking of his manifold sins against God, for which he had more cause to be humbled, than to be puffed up for the other: Telling him that all the Elect of God cannot work miracles, and yet their

Good counsel.



their Names are written in the Book of life, and therefore exhorted him not to rejoyce so much for his working miracles, as to labor to see his Name written in the Book of life, and that he should remember that whatsoever miracle it pleased God to work by him, that it was not done for his sake, but for the conversion and salvation of the *English Nation*, &c.

He also directed another Epistle to King *Ethelbert* wherein he first praiseth God, then commends and encourageth the King, exhorts him to perseverance in the holy profession of *Christ's Faith*, and to be fervent and zealous in the same, and in endeavoring the conversion of his people, the destruction of Idolatry, and in Ruling and Governing his Kingdom in all holiness, after the godly example of that most Christian Emperor, *Constantine the Great*. Lastly, he comforts him with the promises of life, and salvation in the world to come, &c. And finally, intreats him to except of such presents, and gifts as he had sent unto him.

*Miletus* was especially sent by *Gregory* to convert the East Saxons in *Essex*, and it pleased God so to bleis his endeavours, that he converted *Sigebert* the King, who made him Bishop of *London*, and who (together with his Uncle *Ethelbert*) built the Church of Saint Paul in *London*.

Afterward *Austin* with the assistance of *Miletus*, and *Justus*, sent to, and gathered together all the *Britain* Bishops, and Doctors, exhorting and charging them that they should assist him in preaching of the Word of God to the *English* Men, as also to reform some rights amongst themselves, wherein they rather followed the Eastern than the Western Churches. The later the *Britain* Bishops refused without the assent of all them which used the same customs with themselves.

After this also *Austine* gathered a second Synod, unto which came Seven Bishops of *Britain* together with the Sagest Men of that famous Abby of *Bangor*: But they first asked counfel of an old wise, and holy Man amongst them. Whether they should be obedient to *Austin* or no? His answer was, *If he be the Servant of God, agree to him. But how shall we know that?* said they. He answered, *If he be meek and humble, by that you may know that he is the Servant of God. But how, say they, shall we know him to be humble, and meek?* By this, said he, seeing you are the greater number; if he at your coming into the Synod shall rise up, and salute you courteously, by that you shall see his humility: But if he contemn and despise you, despise you him again.

Being thus instructed they went to the Synod, and at their entrance, *Austin*, after the *Romish* manner, keeping his Chair, moved not at all: The *Britains* offended hereat, after some heat of words, rose up, and departed in great displeasure: Whereupon *Austin* said, That if they would not have peace with their Brethren, they should have War with their Enemies, and if they refused to joyn with them in preaching of the Gospel to the *English*, they should suffer death by their Hands.

Surely both parties were much to blame in this business: *Austin* for his proud carriage, and the *Britains* for neglecting their duty upon private discontents to joyn with the other by preaching the Gospel, to seek the conversion of the Idolatrous Saxons; and indeed God suffered them not long to go unpunished for it: For shortly after, *Ethelbert* King of *Northumberland* being a Pagan, and therefore hating the *Britains*, went with a great Army against the City of *Chester* where *Brockmail*, the Major of that place, raised an Army to defend the *Britains*.

There was at this time at *Bangor* in *Wales* a great Monastery, in which were many godly Monks that lived by the sweat of their brows and labor of their hands, that sort of Men being far unlike to Monks in after ages. Out of this Monastery the Monks went to *Chester*, to pray for their Friends good success against the Saxons, and Three days they continued in Fasting, and Prayer: *Ethelfride* the afore said King seeing them so intent on their Prayers, asked what for

Eleven hundred Monks martyred.  
Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

A great Conversion.

Austins death.

of Men they were: and being told that they prayed for his Enemies: Then said he, *Though they bear no weapons yet they fight against us, and with their Prayers and Preachings they persecute us.* Wherefore after he had overcome the Britains, he commanded his Men to fall upon these unarmed Monks, of whom he Martyred at that time Eleven hundred, only Fifty of them escaped with *Brocmaile*, all the rest were murthered. But God left not their death long unrevenged; For this cruel King was not long after slain in the Field by Christian *Edwin* that succeeded in the Kingdom.

*Austin* with his associates continuing to preach to the Saxons, went so far as into *Yorkshire*, where he Converted and Baptized Ten thousand Persons; and shortly after, finding his end to approach, he appointed *Laurentius* to be his Successor, and so quietly departed in the Lord, having continued in *England* about Fifteen years.

King *Ethelbert* had a Daughter called *Ethelburg*, whom he married to one *Edwin*, as yet a Pagan. This *Edwin* being envied and hated by *Ethelfride*, of whom mention is made before, was forced to fly to *Redwald*, King of the East *Angles*; which *Redwald* being partly over-awed, and partly corrupted by Bribes of *Ethelfride*, intended to betray *Edwin* to him; of which conspiracy (as God would have it) *Edwin* was informed by a secret Friend, who perswaded him to fly, and save himself; To whom *Edwin* said, *whither shall I fly that have already sought for shelter almost in all the Provinces of the Realm? And if I must needs be slain, I had rather the King should do it, than some other unworthy Person.*

A Vision.

Afterwards being by himself alone, and solitary, there appeared one to him, who said, *I know well the cause of thy heaviness; what wouldest thou give him that would deliver thee from this fear, and reconcile thee to Redwald again? I would (said Edwin) give him all that ever I could make. And what, said the other, if I make thee a mightier King than any of thy Progenitors? Edwin answered as before. Then said the other, And what if I shew thee a better kind and way of life than ever was shewed to any of thy Ancestors, wilt thou obey and do after my counsel? Yea (said Edwin) with all my heart I will do it. Then the other laying his Hand on his Head said, When this token happeneth unto thee, then remember this time of tribulation, and the promise which thou hast made, and the words which I have said unto thee. And so he vanished out of his sight.*

Presently after came his Friend to him, bidding him be of good cheer; For the Heart (said he) of King *Redwald* which formerly sought thy destruction, now by the Mediation of his Queen is turned; so that he is resolved to keep promise with thee, and to protect thee whatever comes of it. Yea, not long after *Redwald* raised a great Army, and in *Edwins* quarrel went against *Ethelfride*, and gave Battel to him upon the Borders of *Mercia*: In which Battel *Ethelfride* was slain, and *Edwin* was placed quietly in the possession of *Northumberland*; yet all this while he remained a Pagan, though *Ethelburg* his Queen, a godly Woman, and *Paulinus* the Bishop ceased not to stir up, and perswade him to embrace the Christian Faith; But his Nobles and Councillors dissuading him, he was hard to be won. Then did the Lord bring a new affliction upon him, to humble, and bring him home unto himself, the occasion whereof was this.

Ethelfride slain  
Edwin made King.

A special Providence.

*Quicelinus* and *Kinegilsus*, Kings of the West Saxons, envying and hating *Edwin*, suborned a Cut-throat privily to murther him, who watching his opportunity when the King had but a few with him, ran at him with an envenomed Sword, but one of his Servants suddenly stepped between the King and the thrust, and so received the Sword thorow his own Body, the King also being somewhat wounded by the Swords point: The murtherer being apprehended, confessed by whom he was set; and the King lay long sick of the poisoned wound before he was healed: But when he was almost well, he raised a great Host to go against the West Saxon Kings, who had so basely sought his destruction, withal, promising unto *Jesus Christ*, that if he obtained the Victory, he would presently be Baptized;

A Vow.



Baptized; and whereas his Wife was brought to Bed of a Daughter at that time, he caused it to be Baptized, together with Twelve more of his Family. Then went he forth against his Enemies, and thorow the power of *Christ*, obtained a great and glorious Victory, vanquishing and putting the adverse Army to flight, and so returned home with honor and great joy; yet did the pomp and glory of the world so dazle his Eyes, that he had little mind to perform his Vow of being Baptized, only he heard *Paulinus* Preach, and gave over his Idolatrous services, but he told him, That he could not suddenly forsake the Religion of his Forefathers, nor be Baptized but upon mature deliberation; and good advice of his Council.

A Victory of Edwin.

Temptation.

About the same time *Boniface* Bishop of *Rome* sent to him and his Queen some Presents, and hortatory Letters to forsake his Idolatry, and to imbrace the Christian Faith; yet neither would this prevail with him, insomuch as *Paulinus* seeing how he was hardned, and would not be perswaded to be Baptized, he poured out his Prayers incessantly before God for his conversion: After which the former Vision shewed to *Edwin*, was revealed to him; Whereupon *Paulinus* coming to the King at a fit season, layed his Hand on his Head, asking him, if he knew that Token. The King remembring it well, was so affected, that he was ready to fall down at his Feet: But *Paulinus* not suffering it, said to him, Behold, O King, you have vanquished your Enemies, you have obtained your Kingdom, now perform your promise; which was to imbrace the Christian Faith, and to be obedient unto our Lord *Christ*. The King, after consultation with his Nobles, was himself with many other of his Subjects Baptized by *Paulinus* at *York*; and presently after all the Idols with their Altars were cast down, and destroyed.

Power of Prayer.

King Edwin converted.

Idolatry destroyed.

*Paulinus* after this preached and converted many others in *Yorkshire*, and other neighboring Counties, as far as *Lincolnshire*, whom he also Baptized into the Christian Faith, and added them to the Church thereby.

*Edwin* having thus imbraced, and established the Faith of *Christ* in his Kingdom, was so careful in administration of Justice, and government of his people, that a single Woman loaden with Gold might have travelled from Sea to Sea, and none durst molest her. He also caused Brazen Dishes to be chained by every Fountain in the high-ways for the refreshing of Passengers.

King Edwin's justice.

His Charity.

King *Edwin* having after his Baptism, lived Six years in great Peace: The Devil enraged at the progress of the Gospel, raised up *Cedwalla* King of the *Britains*, and wicked *Penda* King of the *Mercians* to make War against him, and God, which doth not always prosper the better cause, suffered them to prevail, so that godly *Edwin* was slain in the Battel, as *Josiah* fighting against *Pharaoh Necho*. After which *Cedwalla* and *Penda* with his Idolatrous *Mercians* raised a great Persecution against *Edwin's* Christian Subjects, sparing neither age nor sex, but in an inhumane manner butchering all: Insomuch as *Edelburg* the Queen, and *Eufled* her Daughter, with *Paulinus* the Bishop, were fain to fly by water into *Kent*; yet did *Paulinus* leave one *James* a godly Man to Preach to those Northern Countries, who, through Gods grace, Converted and Baptized very many till Peace was again recovered, and the number of the faithful much increasing, the Church recovered its pristine beauty.

A new Persecution.

King Edwin slain.

Flight in Persecution.

Afterwards *Oswald* the second Son of *Ethelfride*, succeeded in the Northern Kingdom, which when *Cedwalla* had notice of, he with King *Penda* raised a mighty host, thinking to slay *Oswald* as he had before slain *Edwin*; But *Oswald* hearing the approach of his numerous Enemies, betook himself to Prayer unto God which is the giver of Victory, beseeching him meekly to shew his power in protecting and saving his own people from the power of their enraged Enemies: After which, joyning Battel with *Cedwalla*, and *Penda*, though their Army far exceeded his for number, yet through Gods mercy, he obtained a great and glorious Victory over them, *Cedwalla* himself being slain in the fight.

Oswald made King.

Prayer that he refused to fight.

Power of Prayer.

Much

Much is spoken of this *Oswald* by way of commendation for his fervent zeal in the Christian Religion, for his mercy and charity to the poor, and for his other rare virtues: And for the further propagation of the Gospel amongst his people, he sent into *Scotland* for a godly Bishop and famous Preacher called *Aidanus*: And the King being well acquainted with the *Scottish* language, *Aidanus* preaching in the *Scottish* tongue to the *Saxons*, the King himself interpreted it, not disdainning to expound it to his Nobles, and Subjects in their own language. His tender pitty to the poor was so great, that being upon an *Easter-day* at Dinner with *Aidanus*, and served in Silver, one of the Servitors telling him that there were a great number of poor sitting in the street, desiring an Alms of the King: He caused the meat prepared for himself to be sent unto them, taking a Silver Dish also that stood before him, and breaking it in pieces, he distributed it amongst them: *Aidanus* seeing this, and wondring at it, he took him by the Hand, praying to God that that Hand which was the instrument of such mercy might never rot, which as some Authors say came to pass. Also by the means of this *Oswald*, *Kinigilsus* King of the *West-Saxons* was converted to the Faith of *Christ*, especially by the godly labors of *Berinus*, sent over by the Bishop of *Rome* to preach to the *English*. After which *Berinus*, through Gods grace, Converted and Baptized *Quicelinus*, Brother to *Kinigilsus*, who was King in *Dorsetshire*, together with many of their Subjects.

*Oswald* having Reigned with much prudence and piety, for the space of Nine years, was at last persecuted and slain by wicked *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*. But this cruel Persecutor escaped not long the revenging hand of God: For *Oswie* succeeding his Brother *Oswald* in the Kingdom, raised an Army, and though he had not the third of *Penda's* number of Soldiers; yet through Gods mercy, he fought with him, gave them a great overthrow, and slew *Penda* himself.

*Wolferus*, *Penda's* Son succeeded in the Kingdom of *South-Mercia* on this side *Trent*, who marrying *Ermenilda*, Daughter of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, was shortly after Converted and Baptized: After which, having conquered the Isle of *White*, he gave it to *Sigebert* King of the *East-Angles* upon condition that he should imbrace the Christian Faith, and be Baptized; by which means, and by the ministry of *Finianus*, the *East-Angles* were many of them Converted and Baptized.

But to return to *Oswie*, he was affable, courteous, and liberal to his people, and no less fervent in his Religion towards God. Upon a time he had given to *Aidanus* a princely Horse with rich trappings, and other furniture; and this he did, because *Aidanus* used to travel on foot from place to place to preach the Gospel, and the King was willing by this means to ease him. As *Aidanus* was riding by the way upon this stately Horse, a poor Man met him, craving his charity; *Aidanus* having nothing else to give, alighted from his Horse, and gave it to him, trapped as he was: The King hearing of it, as he was going in with *Aidanus* to Dinner, said unto him, *what meant you, Father, to give away my Horse? Had not I other Horses in my Stable that might have served the Begger well enough, but you must give away that which of purpose I had picked out for your own use?* The Bishop seeming somewhat offended, replied, *why, O King, do you set more by your Horse than you do by Jesus Christ?* The King hearing this, fell down at the Bishops feet; desiring him to forgive him, professing that he would never after blame him for any treasure of his that he should give away: The Bishop seeing the Kings humility, and piety, took him up, cheered him with comfortable words, and presently after was very heavy, and fell a weeping; and being asked the reason of it, he said, *I weep because this King cannot live long: This People is not worthy to have such a Prince, as he is, to reign over them;* which indeed shortly after came

His rare Charity.

A great Conversion.

*Oswald* slain.

*Oswie* succeeds.  
Gods Judgments on Persecutors.

*Wolferus* converted.

*East-Angles* converted.

King *Oswies* commendation.

Charity.

King *Oswies* humility.



came to pass; For *Oswie*, King of *Bernicia* hating him for his goodness, suborned some traiterously to murder him.

At this time the Bishops, and Ministers both of the *Britains* and *English* gave themselves wholly to teaching and preaching the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* to the people, not entangling themselves with the affairs of the world, but both by Life and Doctrine, they were burning and shining lights, and so free from covetousness, that when great possessions were forced upon them, they refused to receive them; yet presently after the Devil cast in a Bone of contention amongst them, about the time for the celebration of *Easter*, the *Britains* and *Scottish* Bishops following the custom of the Eastern Churches, the other of the Western: For the composing of which difference a Synod was called, which yet did not fully put an end to the controversy.

Faithful Pastors.

Satan's subtilty.

A Synod.

About this time, *wolferus* being licensed by *Ethelwold* the King, preached unto his Nobles and People of *South-Sax*, and converted them to *Christ*; presently after which they had plenty of Rain, which had been much wanting for Three years together, which had caused a very great Famine amongst them, in so much as many people being grievously pinched, and tormented with the Famine, used to get sometimes by Forty together, upon the Rocks by the Sea-side, and throw themselves down from thence into the Sea: But now, having imbraced the Gospel, it pleased God to give them Rain, and thereby great plenty, the barren earth becoming very fruitful.

A terrible Famine.

The Blessings of the Gospel.

And thus we have heard how, and by what means the Idolatrous people of the *Saxons* and *English* were converted to God; and induced to imbrace the true Faith of *Jesus Christ*, the *South-Saxons* with the Isle of *Wight*, being the last that gave entertainment to the same.

About this time the Church of *Rome* was degenerated from its pristine purity, and Antichrist was got into his throne: So that the Pope of *Rome* beginning to Lord it over the Churches of *Christ*, he sent *Theodorus* from *Italy* to *England* to be Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, together with many Monks of *Italy* to set up in the *English* Church *Latin* service, Masses, Ceremonies, Letanies, with such other *Romish* trash: This *Theodorus* played *Rex*, placing and displacing Bishops, and Ministers at his pleasure; and in a short time Christianity degenerated into Superstition: Kings and Queens that were religiously affected, left their Kingdoms, and turned Monks, and Nuns, and as error overspread the Land, so did impiety and prophaneness: Kings turned Tyrants, and the People wallowed in all manner of wickedness, which sins made way for a great and grievous plague, and scourge to this nation by the coming in of the Heathen *Danes*, as afterwards we shall hear.

Sin the forerunner of judgment.

Collected out of Doctor Usher de antiquitate Eccles. Brit. Beda's History of the Church, divers Chronicles, and the Book of Martyrs.

### CHAP. III.

Of the union of the Heptarchy under Egbert; and of the invasion by the Danes, and of the Persecution of the English Church under them.

AT this time there were Seven Kings of the *Saxons* Reigning in several parts of this Kingdom, Anno Christi 795. There was also in the Kingdom of *Brightricus*, one *Egbert*, a Noble person of the Royal blood, who being envied, and feared by *Brightricus*, he sought his death, so that *Egbert*, to avoid the danger, fled into *France*, where he remained till the death of *Brightricus*; after which he returned into his Country of the *West-Saxons*, where

Egbert made King.

A special Providence.

Chester won by Egbert.

He erects the first monarchy.

Britain named England.

The Danes first entrance.

The Danish persecution.

Sin the forerunner of persecution.

King Egberts Fatherly counsel.

Tithes given to the Ministry.

where he behaved himself so prudently, and Nobly, that he obtained that Kingdom: But at his first settlement, *Bernulphus* King of *Mercia*, and some other Kings greatly derided and contemned him, making divers jests and scornful rimes of him, which he bore patiently for a time: But when he was well settled in his Kingdom, and was assured of the love and good will of his Subjects, especially God working withal, he assembled his Knights, with whom he went against *Bernulphus*, and though his Adversary had at least Six against One in his Army, yet through the power of God, which is the giver of Victory, he won the Field, and seized upon the Kingdom which he annexed to his own.

After that he made War upon the *Kentish Saxons*, overcame them, and enjoyed their Kingdom: The like he did in *Northumberland*, making these Kings Tributary to him: He won also the City of *Chester* from the *Britains*, whereof they had kept possession till that day: After divers other Battels and Victories, he quietly enjoyed the dominion of the whole Land, which till then was called *Britain*: But he now, assembling his Lords and Peers to *Winchester*, was by their joynt consents and advice, Crowned King of the whole Realm, whereupon he sent out his commissions straitly charging that all the *Saxons* should be called *English*, and the Kingdom *England*.

About this time the Pagan *Danes* came over into *Northumberland*, making horrible destruction wheresoever they came, especially in *Holy Island*, where they spoiled the Churches, murdered the Ministers, with Men, Women, and Children after a most cruel manner, and so departed. But afterwards in the Thirtieth year of King *Egbert*, they returned a second time with a great host, spoiling, and laying waste the Isle *Shepy* in *Kent*. *Egbert* hearing hereof, raised an Army, went against them, and fought with them at *Carrum*: But being overpowered by the *Danes*, he, with his Knights were fain to forsake the Field: Yet in the next Battel, through Gods mercy, he overthrew, and slew a great multitude of them, driving the rest away into their own Country.

The year following the *Danes*, presuming upon their former success, returned again into the West of this Land, where, joyning with the *Britains*, they invaded the Lands of *Egbert*, making great spoil wherever they came; After which time they were still abiding in one part or other of *England* till the time of *Hardekanute*, last King of the *Danish* Blood, and though they were many times beaten, and driven from one place to another, yet they ever gathered new strength and power, and abode still in the Land, exercising such horrible cruelties and villanies against the Christian *English*, as were never exercised before by any of the Invaders of this Land, which was a just hand of God upon them for the superstitions practised amongst them. *Egbert* having Reigned Thirty seven years, died, leaving his Kingdom to *Ethelwolph* his Son, telling him that he should be happy, if laying aside sluggishness, he would govern his Kingdom with diligence, and industry. *Ethelwolph* in his Fathers life-time was made Bishop of *Winchester*, but afterwards, being the only Son of *Egbert*, he was made King; He was a very devout Man, and a great Friend to the Ministers, giving them the Tithe of all his Goods, and Lands, with liberty and freedom from all service, and civil charges: Afterwards he went to *Rome*, shewing much obsequiousness and bounty to the Pope, and as he returned back through *France*, he married the Daughter of *Carolus Calvus*, with whom he came home into *England*: He had two Bishops about him which were his chiefest favorites, *Adelstan* Bishop of *Shireborn*, a Man very well skilled in civil and temporal affairs, and *Swithin* Bishop of *Winchester*, a Man wholly addicted to spiritual and heavenly meditations, and very careful to counsel the King for the good of his Soul. He had been Tutor to the King in his minority, and the King ever after much revered him, and was very willing to hearken to his advice and counsel.

And



## The Persecution of the Church in Britain.

Towards the latter end of his Reign there arrived many more *Danes* in *Hampshire* in Thirty three Ships, through whose barbarous tyranny and cruelty, abundance of *English* Blood was shed, in *Dorsetshire*, *Portsmouth*, *Kent*, *Essex*, *London*, and divers other places: And in a Battel against them, *Ethelwolph* was overcome; yet at length it pleased God that he obtained a great Victory over them at *Okeley*, driving them to their Ships for shelter; But after they had hovered a while upon the Sea, they landed again, committing horrible outrages; The cause of which great affliction an ancient Writer thus lers down.

Invasion by the Danes.

The Danes beaten!

In the Primitive Church of the *English*, Religion did most clearly shine forth, inasmuch that Kings, Queens, Princes, Ecclesiastical Persons, &c. thirsting after the Kingdom of Heaven, forsook all and followed the Lord; But in process of time Piety decayed, and Impiety succeeded in the room thereof, neither was any thing more odious and hateful than holiness and justice; nor any thing in esteem but Civil war and Bloodshed: whereupon the Lord sent amongst them the cruel Heathen *Danes*, like swarms of Bees, which neither spared women nor Children, but for the space of about two Hundred and thirty years, destroyed this sinful Land from one Sea to the other, from Man also to Beast: For in their oft invasions of England, they went not about to subdue, conquer and possess it, but to spoil, destroy, and lay it waste; and if at any time they were beaten by the *English*, it little availed, for that other Navies with greater power were ready suddenly, and unawares to break into other places, and to destroy all before them.

Sin the forerunner of persecution.

But to these he might have added their sin of superstition, and the sin of their Fathers, who falsifying their faith and promise with the *Britains*, had cruelly murdered their Nobles, wickedly oppressed their Commons; impiously persecuted the innocent Christians, injuriously possessed their Land and Habitations, chasing the ancient native Inhabitants out of their Houses and Country: Besides the cruel murder of the Monks of *Bangor*, and divers foul slaughters amongst the poor *Britains*, who sent for them to be their helpers; wherefore Gods just judgment falling upon them, from that time never suffered them to live in quiet from forreign Enemies, till the coming of *William the Norman*.

A just judgment.

Shortly after King *Ethelwolph's* Victory over the *Danes*, he fell sick, and dyed, leaving Four Sons behind him, *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbright*, *Ethelred*, and *Allured*, all which succeeded each other in the Kingdom.

In the time of the Third Sons Reign [*Ethelred*] the *Danes* breaking in on every side, especially about *York*, committed infinite spoil, the City of *York* they sacked, and burnt. *Ethelred* with the help of his Brother *Allured* fought Nine Battels with them in one year. But the *Northumbrians* at that time rebelling against King *Ethelred*, thinking to recover their lost Kingdom, the strength of the *English* Nation was much weakened hereby, and their divisions gave the *Danes* great advantage to prevail against them.

Ethelred.

Towards the latter end of *Ethelreds* Reign, Anno 870. the *Danes* being possessed of the Northcountry, after a cruel persecution, and much Blood shed in those parts, taking Ship they intended to Sail from thence into the *East-Angles*, and by the way they met with another great Fleet of *Danes* under *Inguar*, and *Hubba*, who consulting together, united their forces, and so Landed in *Norfolk*, going on as far as *Thetford*.

A great persecution.

*Edmund* the Vice-Roy of that Kingdom hearing of it, raised an Army, and gave them Battel: But *Edmund*, and his company were forced to forsake the Field; and himself, with some few of his Friends, fled into *Framingham* Castle: Presently after came a Messenger to him, delivering himself in these words.

*Inguar* Prince of the *Danes*, is come most vigorously with innumerable Legions, subduing both by Sea and Land many Nations to him, and being now arrived in these parts, requireth thee to be subject to him, to yield up to him thy hid treasures, and all other the riches of thine Ancestors, and so to Reign under him:

Fides.

A brave  
speech.

The Martyr-  
dom of Saint  
Edmund.

Gods judge-  
ment on per-  
secutors.

King Ethelred's  
great devotion.

The Power of  
prayer.

A great per-  
secution.

Prophaneness.

him: which thing if thou refusest to do, he judges thee to be unworthy both of life, and Kingdom. *Edmund* hearing this proud message of the Pagan, after consultation had with his Friends, returned to the messenger this answer: Go tell thy Lord these words, that *Edmund* a Christian King, for the love of a temporal life, will not submit himself to a Pagan Duke, unless he before will become a Christian.

The wicked, and crafty *Dane* receiving this answer, presently with his Army marched towards the King; who again joyned Battel with him: But the King being again worsted, and seeing the miserable slaughter of his men, fled to the Castle of *Halesdon*, now Saint *Edmundsbury*, where this blessed man, being on every side environed by his enemies, patiently yielded himself to them, and because he would not be brought to deny *Christ*, or his truth, they there most cruelly bound him to a Tree, and caused him to be shot to death: After which they smote off his Head, and threw it into a thicket of Bushes.

After the Martyrdom of this holy Man, the *Danes* having robbed, and spoiled all that Country, they returned to their ships, and after a while landed in *Surrey*, and making pittiful havock all the way, they at last came to *Reading*, which Town and Castle they besieged, and after three dayes took them: But shortly after God met with them for all their cruelty; for *Inguar*, and *Hubba* proceeding in their journey, were met with, and both of them slain at *Englefield*. Yet did their Army keep so close together that the *English* could get no advantage against them. At last King *Ethelred*, and *Allured* forced them to fight a Battel, in which the *Danes* were discomfited, and many of them slain: The rest which escaped fled into a Castle: There the King besieged them, but after a while committed the prosecution of the siege to the Duke of *Barkshire*, and so departed.

When the *Danes* understood that the King was gone, they issued suddenly out of the Castle, and taking the Duke unprovided, slew him, together with many of his people; and then joyning with many other *Danes* that were scattered in other parts, they formed a strong Army. Tidings hereof being brought to King *Ethelred* it put him into a great heaviness, and to aggravate his sorrow another messenger brought him word of the landing of *Osfick* King of *Denmark*, who with a great Host was embattelled at *Ashton*: Thitherwards therefore did *Ethelred*, with his Brother *Allured*, speed themselves with their Army to withstand the *Danes*: When they came near to the place, the King staying somewhat long at his devotion, his Brother *Allured*, with the Van of the Army was joyned in Battel with the *Danes*, whereupon a messenger hastened to the King requesting him to come on with the rest of his Army; But he being imployed in holy Meditation, and Prayer, would not stir a foot till he had ended his service of God: In the mean time the *Danes* fiercely assaulted *Allured*, and his Men, and won the Hill of them, and the Christians were in great danger to lose the Field: But the King bringing on the main Battel, (through the grace, and power of God:) quickly recovered the hill from the Infidels, and so discomfited the *Danes* that he soon put them to flight, and slew the greatest part of them, together with their King *Osfick*, with five of his Dukes, and the rest fled into *Reading*.

Yet after this the *Danes* again resembled their forces, and formed a new Army, and met at *Basingstoke*, and there gave Battel to the King: and had the better of him.

After Two Months the King raised a fresh Army, and at *Merton* fought a great Battel with the *Danes*, but in conclusion the *Danes* had the honor of the Field, and the King being wounded was forced to fly. After which victories the *Danes* fell to spoiling of the Country, killing Man, Woman, and Child of the Christians that they met with: They also prophaned the Churches, making stables of them, and putting them to other vile uses.

The King oppressed by his enemies on every side, seeing his Land miserably



## The persecution of the Church in Britain.

rably wasted by the Infidels, and his own Knights, and Soldiers consumed by the Wars, and himself lying wounded, he sent his Commissions into *Northumberland, Mercia, and the East-Angles*, to raise more forces; But they afforded him little comfort; which struck so to the heart of this good King, that shortly after he deceased, having reigned Eight years, and leaving no issue behind him, his Brother *Allured* succeeded in the Kingdom.

King Ethelred  
deceased.

King Allured.  
His character.

Amongst all the *Saxon-Kings* that were before him, there was none comparable to this *Allured* for excellent, and singular qualities worthy the greatness of a King, whether we look upon his valiant Acts, and incessant Travels which from time to time he sustained against his enemies, during almost the whole time of his Reign, for the safety and preservation of his people, or whether we consider his piety, and excellent virtues, joyned with a publick, and tender care, and zealous study for the peace, and tranquility of his Realm: All which did notably appear by the excellent Laws which he made, and his care for the execution of the same; as also by his own private exercises in the virtuous institution of his life, and by his notable knowledge in good Letters, and a fervent love to, and Princely desire to advance, and propagate the same through his whole Realm; all which Heroical, and excellent properties seldom meet together in one Prince. First therefore to speak of his valiant Acts, and painful Travels which he underwent in defence of his Subjects, against the raging Tyranny of the *Danes*.

King *Allured*, or *Alfred* seeing his Lords and people much wasted, and decayed by reason of the former Wars, he endeavored as well as he could to raise an Army of the remainder, with which, within Two Months after he came to the Kingdom, he encountered with the *Danes* besides *Wilton*, where he gave them Battel: But being exceedingly overpowred through the multitude of his Adversaries, he was put to the worse, although not without a great slaughter of the Pagan Army: Whereupon the *Danes*, seeing how they were weakned, treated with the King, and agreed to depart out of his Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, and accordingly they removed from *Reading* to *London*, where they continued all the Winter following, and in the Spring following they went from *London*, and drew to *Lindsey*, robbing and spoiling the Towns, and Villages all the way as they went; From thence they went to *Repingdon*, where they joyned with Three other Kings of the *Danes*, and so made a mighty Army; which Army they divided into Two parts: One remaining in *Northumberland* under their King *Halden*, the other went to *Grantbridge*, and there abode.

His valour.

The cruelty of  
the Danes.

About this time King *Allured* had a great Fight with Six of the *Danish* Ships upon the Sea; whereof they took One, the rest fled. At the same time went *Rollo* the *Dane* into *Normandy*, where he was Duke Thirty years, and was converted to the Christian Faith and Baptized.

The Danes  
beaten at Sea.

The *Danish* Army that quartered at *Grantbridge* invaded the *West-Saxons* again, taking the Castle of *Warham*: But King *Allured* presently marched against them with a sufficient Army, which the *Danes* fearing to encounter with, fought delays till they could send for more aid: The King forced them to crave truce, and to leave sufficient pledges in his Hands, with promise that they would no more return into his Kingdom, and hereupon he let them go: But they, falsifying their promises, in the Night-time secretly took their journey by Sea towards *Excester*: By the way they lost One hundred and twenty of their small Ships in a Tempest near *Sandwich*: The *Danish* Horsemen went by Land, whom King *Allured* followed, but could not overtake them till they came to *Excester*: Then did they again treat with him, gave him new pledges, and promised peace, whereupon the King departed.

Perfidiousness.

At *Excester* the number of the Pagans did daily increase by the access of new forces, so that after a while they returned back into *Mercia*, keeping a great part of the Land to their own use. Anno 879. The *Danes* having the Rule of all the North of *England*, thought soon that *Allured* should have dominion in the

The English in  
great traikes.

South, whereupon, raising all the Forces that possibly they could, they marched towards *Chippinham* in *West-Sax*, with such a numerous Army that the King and his people were altogether unable to resist them: So that many of the *English* fled over the Sea, others submitted themselves to the *Danes*, and the rest remained with the King.

The Kings  
gratitude.

The King seeing his enemies strength, and his own weakness, withdrew himself with a few of his Nobles into a woody Country in *Somersetshire*, called *Etheling*, where they had no means of subsistence but what they got by Hunting, and Fishing: The place where they abode was in a great Marsh into which there was no access, but by Boat, and had in it a great Wood called *Selwood*, and in the middle a little Plain of about Two Acres of ground: At the Kings first coming hither he espied the Cottage of a Swine-herd, to which he repaired unknown, and was there intertained with such poor Fare as the Swineherd, and his Wife could make him; which so pleased the King, that afterward he set the Swineherd to learning, who profiting much therein, the King at last preferred him to a Bishoprick.

Gods goodness  
to the English.

God at the length pitying the miserable condition of the poor *English* Men, began to enable them to lift up their Heads again; and their first good success was this.

*Halden* the *Danish* King, sailing out of the North with Thirty three Ships landed in *Devonshire*, where he was set upon by some of King *Allureds* Men that kept a Garison near to that place, who slew Thirteen hundred of the *Danes*, and took their Imperial Standard called the *Raven*: King *Allured* hearing of this Victory, came abroad out of his fastness, and there repaired to him great numbers of people out of *Wiltshire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Hampshire*, so that he had a competent Army.

The Kings  
stragem.

Then did the King attempt a bold adventure: For attiring himself like a Minstrel (being skilful in the *Saxon* Poems) with his instrument of Musick he went into the *Danish* Camp, and singing, and playing, he went up and down; taking notice of their sloth, and security, and withal heard much of their counsel: Then returning to his own Men, he acquainted them with all that he had observed: And so privily marching against the *Danes*, in the Night-time he brake into their Camp, slew a great multitude of them, and chased the rest out of his Coasts.

The Danes  
beaten.

His Subjects hearing of his valiant acts, repaired to him out of all parts; with whose assistance, through the help of God, he so overmastered the *Danes*, that he recovered from them *Winchester*, and divers other very considerable places: and in conclusion he enforced them to sue for peace, which he concluded upon certain conditions, one of which was that their King should imbrace the Christian Faith, and be Baptized: and that all such other *Danes* as would not do the like, should depart out of his country.

The Danes im-  
brace the Chri-  
stian Faith.

Shortly after, *Gutrum* the *Danish* King, with Twenty of his chiefeft Nobles came to *Winchester*, where they were Baptized into the Christian Faith: After which King *Allured*, having royally feasted them, gave to this new Christian King *East-Anglia*, containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and part of *Cambridgeshire*: and to the other *Danes* that imbraced the Christian Faith, he gave *Northumberland*, and such of them as refused to imbrace it, departed the Land, and sailed into *France*. King *Allured* enjoying a breathing time from his troubles, fell to repairing his Towns and strong Holds, which were ruined by the *Danes*; and according to the blindness of those dark times, he erected many religious Houses, wherein, though he shewed his religious mind, yet God was not well pleased therewith, and therefore in the Fifteenth year of his Reign, the Pagan *Danes* returned from *France* again, landed in *Kent*, and went on as far as *Rochester*, where they besieged that City, and lay long before it: They also built a great Tower of wood against the Gates, but the Citizens destroyed it, and defended the City till King *Alfred* came to their rescue: At whose approach the

The Kings  
Prudence.

*Danes*



## The Persecution of the Church in Britain.

*Danes* were so affrighted, that they left their *Horses* for haste, and fled by night to their *Ships*: The King immediately sending after them, took Sixteen of their *Ships*, and slew many of the *Danes*: Then returned he in Triumph to *London*, which City he much repaired, and beautified, which formerly had been exceedingly defaced by the *Danes*.

The *Danes* beaten.  
London repaired.

In the One and twentieth year of King *Allureds* Reign, the *Danes* again landed in Four places of his Kingdom, in the North, East, and in Two parts of the West. *Allured* having intelligence hereof, being at this time in the East, he sent messengers to *Ethelred*, Duke of *Mercia*, speedily to raise an Army, and to oppose the *Danes* which were landed in the West, and himself with such forces as he had ready, went against those in the East, whom he pursued so sharply, that he drove them out from those parts: Then they sailed into *Kent*, whither the King also hasted with his Men, and drove them from thence likewise.

After this they landed again in the East with one Hundred ships, where they rested in quiet, for that the King now was gone Westward. A fourth Host of them the same year came to *Chester*, which after a long siege they won: But the countrey presently rising, besieged them so straitly, that at the last they were forced to eat their *Horses* for hunger: And provisions failing, they treated with the *Christians*, agreed to leave the Country, and so sailed into *Northumberland*. Then did King *Alfred* with his Host hast into the North, but when he came near, the *Danes* fortifying, and well furnishing all their Garisons, took shipping, and sailed into *Sussex*, landing at *Lewes*, from whence they marched towards *London*, and when they came within Twenty miles of the City, they built a Castle, which the *Londoners* hearing of, they sent forth some Men at Arms, who joyning with the Countrymen thereabouts, drove the *Danes* from their work, and beat down the Castle which they were building.

*Chester* won by the *Danes*.  
Resisted by the *English*.

Shortly after the King came thither in Person, and to prevent the like danger in time to come, he caused the River *Luis* to be divided into Three streams, so that whereas before it would bear a Ship to that place, it would now scarce bear a Boat. The *Danes* being here forced to leave their *Ships*, and *Wives*, they fled towards *Wales*, and upon the Banck of *Severne* they built them a Castle, thither also the King with his Army pursued them: In the mean time the *Londoners* took their *Ships*, and some of them they brought to *London*, the rest they consumed with fire.

The King's River.

About this time for Three Years together *England* was visited with Three fore judgments; with the Sword of the *Danes*, with a pestilence amongst Men, and with a murrain of Beasts: Yet was not the good King dejected, but thankfully took from the hand of God, what he was pleased to inflict, and manfully pursued his enemies.

Gods fore judgments on the *English*.

In the Twenty eighth Year of the Kings Reign, the *Danes* divided themselves into several parts, some went into *Northumberland*, some into *Norfolk*, some into *West-Sax*, and others of them sailed into *France*: But Gods judgments pursued these cruel Persecutors of his people in every place: For many of them were slain in Fight by the *English*, many more perished by shiprack on the Sea, others were taken, and hanged, and Thirty of their *Ships* also were taken.

Gods judgment on the *Danes*.

Shortly after King *Allured* having Reigned almost Thirty Years, died, having valiantly Atchieved many Noble acts, and personally sustained many great afflictions in the necessary defence of his Realm, and Subjects.

King *Allured* died.

His godly disposition did shew it self betimes, for when in his younger days he found himself troubled with fleshly lusts, instead of seeking to fulfil them in an unlawful way, as most Kings and Princes use to do, he had recourse unto God by prayer, intreating him to help him against them, and besought him that he would send to him some continual sickness for the quenching of those lusts, that so he might be more fit to attend upon the service of God, and more useful in the Government of his Subjects. And God answered his request, visit-

His sickness.

His piety.

ing him with one sickness after another till he came to be Forty five Years old, whereby he was restrained from that intemperance which he so much abhorred: He was also a faithful stuard in the managing of his outward estate, distributing all his rents, and riches into two equal portions, whereof he employed one moiety to uses Ecclesiastical, the other to his Civil affaires, which latter part he again divided into three portions, the first to the maintenance of his Family, the second to workmen, and builders which were employed about his Houses, the third to strangers. The former part he divided into four portions, the first he gave to the poor, the second to religious Persons, the third to *Oxford* for the advance of learning, the Fourth he sent for the relief of foreign Churches. He was as careful, and exact in the expence of his time, dividing the Day, and Night in three parts, spending daily Eight hours, if by Wars, and other great busineses, he were not hindered, in study, and learning, other Eight hours in Prayer and Alms-deeds, and the other Eight in his Meals, and sleep.

His charity.

His care to promote learning.  
His careful expence of time.

His good Laws.  
His justice.

How studious and careful he was in the Government of his Kingdom, appears by those excellent, and wholesom Laws which were devised, and set forth by him, wherein he was very careful to abolish all theft, and Thieves out of the Realm, and did so far attain his desires, that causing brouches of Gold, or at least of Silver and guilt, to be set up in all Cross-ways, there were none so hardy as to take, or steal away the same: He was also so vigilant in overseeing the doings of his Judges, and Officers, that they durst not pervert justice in any case whatsoever. He was very learned himself and a great promoter of Learning in others, and for this end erected many Grammar-schools, was a great Friend to the Universities, sent for learned Men from several Countries; whom he bountifully rewarded, and would suffer none to have any dignity in his Court except he were learned. He translated the *Psalms* and many other good Books himself into *English*: And caused divers others to be translated by other Men. He brought up not only his Sons, but his Daughters also in Learning: Wheresoever he was, or whithersoever he went, he alwaies carried about him *David's Psalms*, and divers Prayers of his own collecting, whereof he continually read, and made use, whensoever he was at leisure.

His piety, and industry.

King Edward.

His Prowess.

After the death of good King *Alfred*, his Son *Edward*, surnamed the *Elder*, succeeded, *Anno Christi* 901. He was not to be compared with his Father in learning, but in material prowess, and civil government he was not inferior to him, if he did not exceed him. He subdued *Wales* and *Scotland*: He reconquered *East-Anglia*, and recovered *Mercia*, and *Northumberland* out of the Hands of the *Danes*: By reason of his continual Wars, his Subjects were so hardened, and enured to feats of Arms, that so soon as they heard of the approach of any Enemies, without expecting Command from the King or the presence of their Duke, they would presently assemble, and Encounter with them, in knowledge, and order of War always excelling their Adversaries. In the beginning of King *Edward's* Reign he had many bickerings with the *Danes*, and one *Clito* his Uncles Son, turning Renegado, and was made their Captain, who did much spoil in several parts of the Kingdom, but at last King *Edward* meeting with him between the two Ditches of Saint *Edmund's* Lands, a great Battel was fought betwixt them, at last *Clito*, with many of his *Danes*, was slain, the rest were constrained to Sue for Peace, which upon certain Conditions, and the payment of a Tribute, was granted to them: But in the Twelfth year of King *Edward's* Reign; the *Danes* repenting of their Covenants, and raising a great Army, met with the King in *Staffordshire*, where two great Battels were fought betwixt them, wherein were slain two of the *Danish* Kings, two Earles, and many Thousands of the Common Soldiers.

A just Judgment.

The Danes beaten.



The King by these means enjoying Peace, applied himself to Building, and repairing Cities, Towns, and Castles rased by the Danes: as *Chester*, which City he much enlarged: He also Built a strong Castle at *Hereford*, another at the mouth of the River of *Avon*, another at *Buckingham*, &c. In these Buildings his Sister *Elfreda* was a great help to him, as also in his Wars against the Danes, against whom she oft fought Valiantly, inasmuch as at one time four of her Life-Guard were slain by her. King *Edward* had seven Children, his Daughters he brought up at the Needle, and Spinning, his Sons to Study, and learning, that so they might be fitter for Government. After a glorious Reign he ended his days, and left his Kingdom to *Ethelstan*, or *Adlestan*.

King *Edward*  
Prudence and  
Policy.  
A Marital  
rags.

King *Edward*  
death.

King *Ethelstan*  
his virtues.

This *Ethelstan* was a Prince of worthy memory, Valiant and Wise in all his Acts, and nothing inferior to his Father *Edward*. He was renounced for his civil Government, and had prosperous success in reducing his Realm into a Monarchy. He expelled the Danes, subdued the Scots, and quieted the Britains, both in *Wales*, and *Cornwal*: He was once in much danger by reason of a conspiracy, the chief contriver whereof was one *Elfredus*; But it pleased God that he escaped the danger: And *Elfred* fled to *Rome* before the Pope to purge himself by his Oath: But forswearing himself, God inflicted a visible Judgment upon him; for as soon as he had taken his Oath, he presently fell down, and being carried away to the English House, he dyed within three days after. *Ethelstan* in the second year of his Reign subdued the Danes in *Northumberland*, and *Constantine* King of the Scots, whom yet upon his submission, he restored to his Kingdom, saying that it was more Honor to make a King, than to be a King.

Perjury pun-  
ished by God.

The Kings Vi-  
dories.

Shortly after the Scots again Rebelling, King *Ethelstan*, assembled his Knights, and marched into *Scotland*, where he subdued his Enemies, and returned home with Victory, and Honor.

A Danish Prince called *Alanus*, having fled out of *England* into *Scotland*, Married *Constantines* Daughter, and after a while gathered a Company of Danes, Scots, and others, with whom making a strong Army, he Shipped them, and entred into the mouth of *Humber* with Six hundred and fifteen Ships. King *Ethelstan*, and his Brother *Edmund* hearing of it, presently raised an Army, and marched against them: At a place called *Brimford* both Armies met, betwixt whom a terrible Battel was fought from Morning till Night, and very many were slain on both sides: But at last, through Gods goodnels, the English got the Victory, and slew *Constantine* King of the Scots with Five other petty Kings, twelve Dukes, and the greatest part of their Army.

The Scots and  
Danes beaten.

After this Victory King *Ethelstan* subdued the Northern Britains, and forced them to pay him yearly Twenty Pounds of Gold, Three hundred Pounds of Silver, Two thousand five hundred Head of Beasts, &c. and presently after he subdued the South Britains.

As yet the Pope of *Rome* had not usurped power over Princes, and therefore King *Ethelstan*, as his Predecessors had done, enacted good Laws, not only for the good Government of the Common-wealth, but of the Church also: He enacted a Law that all should pay the Tithe to God for the maintenance of his Ministry: not only for their Goods, but of their Cattel, Corn, and Fruits of the Earth, saying, Let us remember what *Jacob* said: Of all that thou givest me, I will give thee the Tenth: and what Saint *Matthew* saith, To him that hath it shall be given, and he shall have abundance, &c. He reigneth about Sixteen years, and died without Issue, his Brother succeeding in the Kingdom.

Tithes given to  
the Ministry.

King *Ethel-  
stan* death.

*Edmund* the Son of *Edward* the Elder, being Twenty years Old, began his Reign Anno Christi 940. He expelled the Danes, Scots, Normans, and all Foreign Enemies out of his Kingdom. Such Cities as were in their possession he recovered, and then wholly bent his Study, and endeavor to reform, and maintain the State of the Church. He reigned Six years and an half, and was then slain, leaving Two Sons *Edwin* and *Edgar* behind him: But because they were not

King *Edmund*  
his good reign  
and death.

Edred made  
Protector.

not yet at Age, their Uncle *Edred* Govern'd as Protector Nine years, which place he discharged with great moderation and fidelity, till *Edwin* came to Age, and then resigned the Government to him.

King *Edwin* his  
bad Reign and  
death.

*Edwin* began his Reign *Anno Christi 955*. He was given to the Sin of Uncleanneſs, and many other Vices, for which he was Excommunicated by *Odo* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and hated by his Subjects: He reigned Four years, and dyed.

*Edgar* his Brother being Sixteen years old ſucceeded him, *Anno Christi 959*. He made *Dunſtan* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, by whose leading, the King was somewhat inclined to superstition: But otherwise much addicted to all Vertues and Princely deportments: An excellent Justicer, and sharp in punishing Vices both in Magistrates and Subjects, so that there was never less Theft, Bribery, Extortion and Oppression; then in his daies. Such Provinces and Lordships as were not yet under his subjection, he subdued, and united to his Dominion; making a compleat Monarchy of the whole Realm, with all the adjacent Islands. The Wicked he kept under, Rebels he suppressed, the Godly he maintained, the Modest he loved. He was very Religious towards God, and beloved of his Subjects, whom he Governed in much Peace and Quietneſs.

God bleſſeth  
him.

His Character.

Wolves de-  
stroyed.

His care to  
prevent  
Drunkenneſs.

And as he was careful to ſerve God, ſo God bleſſed him with abundance of Peace and Reſt from all Wars, from which he was called *Pacificus*. He was ſo ſtudious of the welfare of his Subjects, that no year paſſed over his Head, where-in he found not out ſomething that conduced very much to the publick good. He was a great maintainer of Religion and Learning; and whereas other Princes in the miſt of Peace and Plenty, grow uſually diſſolute and looſe in their Lives. He on the contrary ever kept a ſtrict watch over himſelf and others, not ſuffering any of his Nobility, though never ſo great, to violate his Laws with Impunity. He was alſo careful to deſtroy all the Ravenous Wolves out of the Land, cauſing *Leolin* Prince of *wales* to yield him yearly by way of Tribute Three hundred Wolves, ſo that within a few years there was ſcarce a Wolfe left in *England* or *wales*. He alſo built a great Navy, keeping Three thouſand Six hundred Ships of War to ſcoure the Seas in the Summer. In the Winter time he uſed to Ride over his Land in Progreſs, enquiring diligently how his Laws and Statutes were kept, and to ſee that the Poor were no way oppreſſed by the Mighty: and whereas the *Danes* had brought in a Wicked cuſtom of exceſſive Drinking into the Land, whereupon Drunkenneſs and many other Vices enſued; this good King to prevent this Wickedneſs, ordained certain Cups with Pins or Nails ſet in them, enacting a Law, that whatever Perſon Drank beyond that Mark at one Draught, ſhould forfeit a certain Penny; whereof one half to the Accuſer, the other to the place where the offence was committed.

His death.  
His care for  
the Sabbath.

In the Thirteenth year of his Reign, he being at *Cheſter*, Eight Petty Kings came and did their Homage to him, as the King of *Scotland*, the King of *Man*, the King of *wales*, &c. He had alſo divers Vices, which rather belong to Chronologers than to me to Write of. He reigned Sixteen years and then died. Amongſt other his good Laws, he enacted that the Sabbath day ſhould be celebrated from Nine a Clock on Saturday Night, till Munday Morning. After his death, much contention aroſe amongſt his Lords, who ſhould be their King: But at laſt by the perſwaſion of *Dunſtan*, *Edward* ſurnamed the *Martyr*, was choſen, anointed, and Crowned King.

Charity.

This King *Edward* was a Virtuous and meek Prince, very pittiful and liberal to the Poor. In the Fourth year of his Reign he was Hunting in a Forreſt in the Weſt-Country, and having loſt his Company, he Rode to a place where his Mother *Alſrith* with her Son *Egelred* did then live. The Queen-Mother being informed by her Servants that the King was come thither, called one of her men to her, whom ſhe knew to be fit for her purpoſe, acquainting him with her whole intent, and giving him inſtructions for the accompliſhment of the ſame,  
after



after which she went towards the King, and received him very courteously, desiring him to tarry that night with her, but he with the like Courtesie, excused himself, requesting only to see his Brother, and to drink a Cup of Bear as he sat on Horseback, and so away: The Bear was brought, and as the King was drinking, this Bloody Villain suborned by the Queen, strook him into the Body with a two-edged Dagger: The King feeling himself wounded, set spurs to his Horse, and rode that way wherein he supposed to meet with his company, but having lost much Blood, he fainted and fell from his Horse, one of his Feet hanging in the stirrup, by reason whereof his Horse drew him up and down the Fields till he died, and being so found, though the manner of his death was not known, yet was he known to be the King, and was buried honorably at *Warham*, after which he was removed to the Minister of *Shaftsbury*.

Hypocrite

An unnatural Mother.

The Kings death.

After the murther of King *Edward*, the Crown fell to his younger Brother *Egelred*, Son to King *Edgar* by this Queen *Alfrith*. This *Egelred* Reigned Thirty eight years, but his Reign was full of troubles, and great miseries: So that Chronologers speaking of his Reign, say, that it was in the beginning ungracious, wretched in the middle, and hateful in the end. He was but Ten years old when his Brother was slain, yet did he much mourn and weep for him, which so intraged his Mother, that taking Wax-Candles, which were readiest at hand, therewith she scourged him so sore, that he could never after endure Wax-Candles to be burnt before him. At his Coronation, *Dunstan* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* said, that seeing he came to the Kingdom by horrid conspiracy, and the murther of his Brother, the Land should not be without the Sword and Bloodshed, till there came a People of an unknown language, which should bring the *English* into thralldom, neither should this wickedness be cleansed without long vengeance from God upon the Nation for it.

King Egelred.  
His evil Reign.

Queen Alfrith, who was cruel.

A prediction of misery to the Land.

Shortly after his Coronation, a Cloud was seen hanging over the Land, the one half of it looking like Blood, and the other half like Fire. Not long after the *Danes* arrived in sundry parts of the Land, first spoiling *Southernpton*, murdering many of the Inhabitants, and carrying the rest away into miserable captivity. From thence they went into the Isle of *Thanet*, into *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, then into *Sussex*, in all which places they made woful spoil. About the same time also a great part of *London* was consumed with fire. Much variance also fell out between the King and his Subjects, which the *Danes* hearing of, came and did abundance of harm in divers places of the Land, so that the King with great sums of money was forced to buy Peace of them. Besides which miseries the Lord plagued the Land with the Bloody Flux, and Burning Feavers, whereof multitudes died: The like murrian also was amongst the *Bealts*, and for lack of a due execution of the Laws, many Thieves, Catchpoles, and other Oppressors swarmed in the Land. About the year 994, the *Danes* again entred *England* in sundry parts of it, so that the King knew not to what place he should first go to withstand them; and in conclusion he was said to appease their fury with great sums of money. But when that money was spent, these Pagan Persecutors fell to spoiling of the Land afresh in divers places: They also beseged the City of *London*; but being driven from thence by the valor of the Citizens, they went into *Essex*, *Kent*, *Sussex* and *Hampshire*, burning and killing whomsoever they met with, neither had the poor *English* any to relieve them; The King in the mean time giving up himself to uncleanness, and polling his Subjects, and disinheriting Men of their possessions, enforcing them to redeem them with great sums of money: For he paid yearly great sums of money to the *Danes*, which was called *Dane-gelt*, which tributes so increased, that from Ten thousand pounds *per annum*, which he paid at the first, it was in Five or Six years space brought to Forty thousand pounds *per annum*. And as an aggravation of the Subjects misery, the Lord plagued them with Famine, so that every one was forced to pluck and steal from others; whence it was, that partly by reason of the spoil made by the *Danes*, partly by reason of Thieves and

A Prodigium

A great Persecution.

London burned.  
Difficult defence.

Great judgement.

Dane-gelt

A Famine

Divisions dangerous.

Bribers, the Land lay under grievous afflictions: And this was caused in a special manner, by the great divisions and contentions, which were amongst the Nobility, who when they met together in counsel, either agreed upon nothing, or else quickly receded from their agreements, and fell to variance and contentions again.

Oppression.

The *Danes* thus prevailing, they grew exceeding proud and insolent, causing the *English* Men to plow, sow, and do all the drudgery, whilst they sat idle at home, having their Wives at their pleasure, and Children and Servants at command; And when the Husbandman came home, he could scarce get any thing; the *Dane* having all at his will, and feeding himself with the best, when the Owner scarce had his fill of the worst. Thus the common People were miserably oppressed by them, standing in great fear and awe of them, being glad in every thing to please them, calling them Lord *Danes*.

Lord Danes.

Sin the forerunner of judgments.

Anno 1000. King *Egelred* by the evil advice of some of his Friends, began a business which brought a new plague upon the *English*, the Lord thereby justly punishing them for their unjust dispossessing of the *Britains* of their Land; and that was by this means effected. The King this year married *Emma*, Daughter to *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy*; with which marriage the King was so puffed up, that he sent secret and strict Commissions to the Rulers of every Town in *England*, that upon *St. Brice's* day, at an hour appointed, they should suddenly slay all the *Danes*, which was accordingly effected, but afterwards it turned to the great trouble of the Realm. For news hereof being carried into *Denmark*,

The Danes murdered.

Revenge of murder.

*Swanus* the King with a great Host and Navy landed in *Cornwal*; and by the treason of a *Norman*, who by the Queens favor was made Earl of *Devonshire*, the *Danes* took the City of *Exeter*, and beat down the Walls; From thence they marched to *Wilton*, and to *Shirbourn*, cruelly murdering the Inhabitants, and spoiling the Country. But when *Swanus* heard that the King was coming against him with a great Army, he retreated to his Navy, set sail, and arrived in *Norfolk*: There also he miserably wasted the Country, spoiled the City of *Norwich*, burned the Town of *Thetford*, and laid all waste before him; yet at last Duke *Ussatel* met him, beat him, and slew many of his *Danes*. Then did *Swanus* return into *Denmark*, making a great Preparation against the year following to re enter *England*, which accordingly he did, landing at *Sandwich*, wofully spoiling all that Country, and as soon as he heard of any Army of the *English* coming against him, he would suddenly depart; so that when the Kings Army was in one Country, he would presently sail about, and land in another; and when the King prepared to meet them on the Sea, they would either retire home, or with Bribes and Gifts so blind the *English* Admiral, that the Kings Navy could not meet with them; and thus they wearied the poor *English*, and in conclusion brought them into extream misery, and enforced the King to buy his Peace with the payment of Thirty thousand pounds to them; after which *Swanus* returned into *Denmark*.

Treachery.

A great Persecution.

Treachery.

But this Peace lasted not long, for King *Egelred* the year after made *Edricus* Duke of *Mercia*, who was subtile, fawning, and false to the King and Realm. And soon after *Turkillus* a Prince of the *Danes*, landed in *Kent* with a great Army, where they did much harm, insomuch that the *Kentish* Men were forced to buy their Peace by great Gifts, whereupon the *Danes* departed. Notwithstanding which, this grievous Persecution of the *Danes*, continued in one place of the Kingdom or other; neither did the King ever give them any notable Battel: For when he had prepared an Army wherewith to encounter them, this false Earl *Edrick* would always dissuade him from it; so that the *Danes* by robbing and spoiling grew richer and richer, and the *English* poorer and poorer.

*Swanus* hearing of the success of his Subjects in *England*, brake his Covenants formerly made with *Egelred*; and with a mighty Army and Navy he landed in *Northumberland*, proclaiming himself King of this whole Land. In those parts by his bloodshed and cruelty he subdued the People, and caused the Nobles

and



and Rulers to swear fealty to him: Then did he pass the River of *Trent*, subduing and conquering all before him, and forcing the People to give him Pledges, whom he sent Prisoners to his Navy, under the Custody of his Son *Canutus*. Then did he march into *Mercia*, killing and slaying all the way as he went: He took also *Oxford* and *Winchester*: Then he marched towards *London*, but hearing that the King was there, he turned into *Kent*, and besieged *Canterbury*, which at last he took by Treachery, plundering the Inhabitants, and afterwards setting the City on fire. They killed the Monks, slaying Nine by cruel torments, and only keeping the tenth alive, whom yet they kept in miserable slavery. In all, they slew above Nine thousand Men, Women and Children in that place. From the Bishop they first extorted Three thousand pounds, and then brought him to *Greenwich*, where they stoned him to death.

*Canterbury* sacked.

The Arch-Bishop martyred.

King *Egelred* fearing what might be the issue of this Persecution, sent his Wife *Emma*, with his Two Sons *Alfred* and *Edward* to the Duke of *Normandy* for their greater safety. The *Danes* still proceeding in their fury and rage, conquered a great part of *West-Saxony*, and so returned again to *London*, which the Citizens hearing of, sent *Swamus* Pledges and great Gifts, whereupon he left them.

King *Egelred* was by this means chased in the Isle of *Wight*, and with small attendance abode there privately a great part of the Winter, and being destitute of all comfort, he sailed into *Normandy*.

The King driven into *Normandy*.

*Swamus* being assured hereof, grew exceeding proud, raised grievous impositions upon the People, and at last required a great sum of money upon *St. Edmunds* lands: But the Inhabitants being privileged, refused to pay the same, *Swamus* enraged hereby, marched into those territories, spoiling and laying all waste before him; But his sins being come to the height, the Lord strook this Bloody Persecutor; and the People of the Country falling to Fasting and Prayer, *Swamus* crying, roaring and yelling amongst his Knights, died miserably.

Gods Judgment on a Persecutor. The Power of Prayer.

*Canutus* his Son ruled here as King after his Fathers death, but being vexed by Gods judgments on his Father, he granted to the Inhabitants their ancient liberties, and ditched in *St. Edmunds* lands with a deep and large Ditch, quitting the People from all taxes and tributes, &c.

King *Egelred* hearing of the death of *Swamus*, hastened his return into *England*, upon whose sudden arrival *Canutus* being unprovided, fled to *Sandwich*, and there cutting off the Hands and Noses of the Pledges which his Father left with him, sailed into *Denmark*; yet the next year he returned again with a great Navy, landing in the South Country, whereupon the Kings eldest Son, called *Edmund Ironside*, raised an Army, appointing *Edrick* Duke of *Mercia* to meet him with another; But the false Duke, feigning himself sick, came not according to agreement, by which means the expedition was frustrated: It was afterwards proved that *Edrick* had promised his Allegiance to *Canutus*. Hereupon did *Canutus* enter into *West-Saxony*, forcing the People to be sworn to him, and to give him Hostages. In the mean time the King fell sick at *London*, and died.

Cruelty.

Treachery.

King *Egelred* death.

During his Reign, though he was miserably vexed with his Enemies, yet with the Counsel of his Nobles, he set forth some good Laws for the Government of his Subjects, and having information against one of his Judges called *Walgeatun*, whom he loved above all others, that he had perverted Justice, he deposed, and deprived him of all his Possessions.

Injustice punished.

*Egelred* being dead, there was much variance about the Election of his Successor, the *Londoners* with some of the Lords chose *Edward*, the eldest Son of *Egelred*, a valiant and brave young Prince, surnamed *Ironside*, for their King; But the greatest part of the Nobility adhered to *Canutus* the Dane: By reason of this division many great Battels were fought between these two Martial Princes, first in *Dorsetshire*, where *Canutus* was driven out of the Field: Then at *Worcester*, where the fight was so sore, that none could tell who had the better;

Great Battels.

This Battel continued all day, and the next morning began again, but the second day *Canutus* was beaten out of the Field. After this they fought another Battel in *Mercia*, where *Edward*, through the treachon of false *Edrick*, was wounded. After many such Battels, the two Armies again meeting, a Knight of *Edwards* Party stood upon an high place, and said, *we die daily, and none hath the Victory, and when the Knights are dead, the Dukes must either accord or fight alone: Is not this Kingdom sufficient for Two Men, which sometimes sufficed seven? But if neither can't content to take a part, let them fight alone who would rule alone, &c.* These words were well allowed of by both Parties, and the place and time was appointed when the Two Kings should try it out in a single Duell in the sight of both Hosts; and when these Two brave Princes met, they assayed each other with sharp Swords, and lusty strokes: But being both wearied, at last *Canutus* moved for a Reconciliation, which *Edward*, (honoring the valor of his Enemy,) accepted of, and so they embraced and kissed each other, to the great joy of their Armies, whereupon they agreed to part the Land betwixt them, and ever lived and loved like Brethren.

A Duell between two Kings.

Friendship.

The King murdered.

Yet not long after, as King *Edward* was easing Nature, a Son of wicked Duke *Edricks*, being let on by his Father, stabbed him into the Fundament, whereof he shortly after died, having Reigned Two years.

He left behind him Two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edward*, whom wicked *Edrick* took from their Mother, and presented them to *Canutus*, saying, *Ave Rex solus: God bless you our only King.*

Gods Providence.

*Canutus* Reigning thus alone, took these Two Children, and sent them to his Brother *Svanus*, King of *Sweden*, to be slain by him: But he abhorring so wicked a fact, sent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, where the elder died, and *Edward* was married to *Agatha*, the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth's Daughter.

Base perfidiousness.

A just judgment.

*Canutus* being thus established King over the whole Land, called a Parliament of his Lords Spiritual and Temporal at *London*; where he propounded to them, whether in the agreement made betwixt *Edward* and him, there was any mention made of the succession of *Edwards* Children, and these flattering Lords against their knowledge and conscience answered, *Nay*; promising with an Oath, that to the utmost of their power they would resist any claim made by them to the Crown: Hereby they expected great favor from the King; But by the just retribution of God it fell out far otherwise; For *Canutus* seeing the falshood and perjury of those who were sworn to *Edward* and his Heirs, and their treachery to their Native Country, ever after disdained and hated them, exiling many, and beheading others, and God plagued others by sudden death. Amongst these, wicked *Edrick* escaped not his condign reward: For on a time coming to the King, he began to reckon what he had done in his service, and for his sake; as that he had forsaken and betrayed *Egelred*, and slain King *Edward*, with many other such deeds: To whom *Canutus* answered, *Thou hast condemned thy self, and worthily thou shalt die, for slaying thy natural Prince, and my sworn Brother*; and so commanded him presently to be bound Hand and Foot, and thrown into the *Thames*, or, as others say, beheaded.

*Edrick* slain for his treason.

*Hardicanute* born.  
A Parliament at *Oxford*.  
The *Danes* converted.  
*Canutus* his death.

In the mean time *Svanus* King of *Denmark* died, and so that Kingdom fell to his Brother *Canutus*, which *Canutus* hearing of, presently sailed thither, and after he had taken possession of it, and set things in order there, he returned into *England*, and married *Emma* late Wife of *Egelred*, by whom he had a Son called *Hardicanute*: After which he assembled a Parliament at *Oxford*, and agreed that both *English* and *Danes* should be ruled by King *Edgars* Laws, which were judged to be the best and most equal.

Thus the *Danes* being mixed with the *English*, began by little and little to embrace the Christian Faith. And *Canutus* having Reigned Twenty years died, leaving Two Sons, *Harold* and *Hardicanute*: The latter was made King of *Denmark*.



marketh his Father's life-time, and Harold, Sirnamed Hardest for his agility and swiftness, succeeded to the English Crown, Anno Christi 1066. He Reigned but Four years, and then died, whom his Brother Hardknut King of Denmark succeeded.

Harold the  
cruel.  
His death  
Hardknut  
succeeded.

In this time there was one Godwin Earl of Kent, who had done many valiant acts for the Danes against the Norwegians, whereupon he was in great favor with Hardknut. This Godwin was cruel, and of a subtil wit, as he shewed by his dealing with the Two Sons of King Egbert, Alfred and Edward, who coming out of Normandy to visit their Mother Emma, with many Normans in their company, This Godwin, intending by marrying Edward to his Daughter, to set him up to be King, perswaded Hardknut and the Lords, that they should not suffer these Normans within the Realm, and so gat authority to order the matter as himself pleased: Then went he to meet these Princes on Guild-down, where he wretchedly murdered or rather martyred all the innocent Normans, in a most cruel manner, by winding their Guts out of their Bodies: He also put out the Eyes of the elder Brother Alfred, and sent him to the Monastery of Ely, where soon after he was murdered. Emma fearing the treason of Godwin against her other Son Edward, privily sent him back into Normandy: But God not long after revenged the death of these Normans upon the English, when he brought in Duke William to subdue and reign over them.

Earl Godwin  
cruel.  
Normans  
murdered  
there.

Murdered  
and  
killed by God.

Hardknut when he had Reigned Two years, as he was in his mirth and jollity, was suddenly stricken dumb, fell down and died shortly after, being the last of the Danish Blood that Reigned in England.

Hardknut  
dumb.  
His death.

The English Nobility considering the manifold wrongs, and indignities which they had received from the Danes, resolved that never more should any King of the Danish Blood rule over them: They drove out also all the Danes out of the Land, so that they never came any more: The Lord in mercy looking upon the miseries of the English Nation, and vouchsafing to grant them deliverance from the same.

Hardknut  
dumb.  
His death.

The Danes from their first landing in England had now miserably wasted, and vexed it for the space of Two hundred fifty five years: But Hardknut dying without issue, the Nobles sent for Edward out of Normandy, who at his coming was Crowned King: He was of a gentle and soft Spirit, abhorring Wars, and Bloodshed: He Governed the Realm with much wisdom, and justice: He was of a godly and blameless Life, full of piety, mercy, and liberality to the poor: He eased his Subjects of the great tribute of Dane-gelt: He subdued the Scots and Welshmen, which began to rebel against him. During his Reign, William Duke of Normandy came into England with a goodly train, was honorably Feasted by the King, and when he departed, the King presented him with great Gifts, and promised, that if he died without issue, he should succeed him in the Kingdom of England.

Edward made  
King.  
His character.

On a time as Earl Godwin sat at Dinner with the King at Windsor, one of his Sons being the Kings Cup-Bearer, stumbled as he came, and yet recovered again, so that he spilled none of the drink, wherewith Earl Godwin laughed, saying, That one Brother had holpen the other, meaning one Leg had holpen the other. The King hereupon remembring his Brother, slain by Godwin, said, So should my Brother Allured have holpen me, if it had not been for Godwin. Godwin hereupon fearing the Kings anger, took a piece of Bread, and said, So may I safely swallow down this Bread, as I am guiltless of his Blood: But that Bread choked him, and he presently died: God plaguing his perjury hereby.

Earl Godwin  
murdered  
the  
King.  
Perjury  
plagued  
God.

King Edward in the Thirteenth year of his Reign sent into Hungary, for his Cousin Edward the Son of Edmund Ironside, who with his Wife and Children returned into England, but the year after he died at London, leaving behind him Edgar Adeling, and Margaret, (after married to the King of Scotland,) by whom he had Matilda, afterwards Queen of England. King Edward had some purpose of making this Edgar his Heir, but fearing the inconstancy of the English, and

and the pride and malice of *Harold*, Earl *Godwin's* Son; he sent solemn Ambassadors to his Cousin *William* Duke of *Normandy*, assigning him to be his lawful Heir, and Successor to this Crown.

King *Edward's*  
death.

After this, *Harold* as he was crossing the Seas, was driven into *Normandy*, where he swore to Duke *William*, that after the death of King *Edward*, he would keep this Land for his behoof, according to the Will of King *Edward*; and at his return, *Harold* relates this to the King, who was well pleased with it. This virtuous and blessed King *Edward*, having Reigned almost Twenty four years died. He enacted many excellent Laws in his life-time, collecting most of them out of all the Laws made by his Predecessors. They were so just, equal, and profitable for the publick good; that afterwards the People would endure to be governed by none other.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *The Persecution of the English Church under the Papacy.*

*Harold* the Son  
of Earl *God-  
win* usurpeth  
the Crown.

After the death of King *Edward* surnamed the *Confessor*, some of the Nobles would have set up *Edgar Aeling* for their King: But *Harold* contemning the young years of *Edgar*, and forgetting his Oath to Duke *William*, by force and might seized upon the Crown, Anno Christi 1066. But *Harold Herefager*, Son of *Canutus* King of *Denmark*, hearing of the death of King *Edward*, came into *England* with above Three hundred Ships, who joyning with *Tostius* Brother of *Harold* King of *England*, entered the North parts, and claimed the Crown. Against him the Lords of those parts raised an Army, and gave him Battel, but were beaten by the *Danes*; whereupon *Harold* King of *England*, marched with an Army into the North, fought with the *Danes*, and had the Victory: He slew also with his own Hands their King and *Tostius*. Upon this Victory *Harold* grew proud and insolent, and would not divide the prey amongst his Knights, which procured him much hatred.

He beats the  
*Danes*.

Duke *William*  
demands the  
Crown.

Duke *William*  
lands in *Sussex*.

In the mean time, *William* Duke of *Normandy* sent Ambassadors to him to demand the *English* Crown, which by Oath he had promised to keep for him: *Harold* returned answer, That such a foolish promise was not to be kept, especially he being forced thereunto. Then did Duke *William* gather his Knights, and prepare his Navy, and having shipped his Army, he arrived at *Hastings* in *Sussex*, *Harold* being in the North. Duke *William* hastened towards *London*; but when he came thither, he was kept out till he had given security to the Citizens to march through the City without wronging any; which being done, he marched over *London* Bridge into *Sussex*, from which he sent to *Harold*, demanding one of these Three things: First, To deliver up the Crown and Kingdom to him, and to take it back, paying a tribute to him: Or Secondly, To refer the whole business to the Arbitrement of the Pope: Or Thirdly, To try the quarrel in a single Duel betwixt them Two, to prevent further Bloodshed. *Harold* refused all, and marched against him with his Army. This great Battel was fought in *Sussex*, in the place where afterwards King *William* built *Battel* Abbey. In the beginning of the fight the *English* kept so close together, that the *Normans* were like to be beaten; whereupon Duke *William* made his Men give back as though they fled, and the *English* followed so fast that they brake their Array: Then the *Normans*, charging them fiercely, at the last won the Victory; and here by Gods just judgment, *Harold*, who had formerly so cruelly murdered *Alfred*, the true Heir of the Crown, with his *Normans* that attended him, was now himself wounded in the left Eye with an Arrow, whereof he presently died.

A Battel be-  
twixt Duke  
*William* and  
King *Harold*.

Murder and  
Perjury pu-  
nished by God.



He was the last King of the *Saxon* Blood, which *was* had reigned in England for the space of five hundred ninety one years.

Although Religion from the first planting of the Gospel in England, did not remain all this while in its Primitive Purity and Perfection, but in Procell of time it grew from better to worse, declining into much superstition: Yet the corruption of those times was not comparable to that which followed, about the Thousandth year after *Christ*, when Pope *Sylvester* the Second, a Conjuror, by the help of the Devill obtained the Popedom. The Church being now fled into the Wildernes, and hiding her self there, I shall speak no more of the *English* Church, which was so corrupted and degenerated from its Pristine Purity, but only of such Persons in our *English* Nation, as God raised up to oppose the errors and superstitions of those times, and for which they met with Persecution from Antichrist and his Adherents.

St. Bernard who lived about the year 1130, in one place writeth thus: be to this generation, for the sake of the *Pharisees* which is Hypocrite, if you that may be called Hypocrite which for the attendance cannot, and for the impudence desires not to be hid. All are Friends, and yet Enemies; All are Neighbors; and yet every one seeks his own: The Ministers of *Christ*, and yet they serve Antichrist. It remaineth therefore that the *Antichristian* Devil, who walks in the open light, come to deceive the residue, that his heretics persevere in their simplicity, &c. For he is Antichrist, which counterfeits the *Christ*; he is to be the day, but the midday; and extolles himself above all that is called God, and worshipped, whom the Lord *Jesus* will slay with the Breath of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming. And in another place he saith, it remaineth that the Man of sin be revealed, the Son of Perdition. And in another place he thus complains to God, O God, thy near Enemies stand near to stand against thee. All Christian People seem to have conspired against thee, &c. Alas, O Lord God, those are the first and chief in Persecutions who stand near to thee and bear the first and chief place in the Church, &c.

John of Salisbury told Pope Hadrian the Fourth plainly, what the world thought of him and his Prelates: That the *Roman* Church shewed her self, not a Mother, but a Stepmother to all other Churches, For (saith he) in the Scribes and Pharisees, laying insupportable burdens upon Mens shoulders, which themselves would not touch with one Finger, &c. yea the Bishop of Rome himself is grievous to all, and almost intolerable.

And one afterwards complained, that the Church of Rome was come to that state, that it was not worthy to be governed by any, but only by Reprobates.

Robert Grossthead, a learned and godly Bishop of Lincoln, and living Anno 1240. wrote sharply to the Pope, (especially for the evils which he committed in England,) That he was opposite to *Christ*, a Murderer of Souls, and an Heretick in these his courses, &c. Upon which Letters the Pope was exceedingly moved, threatening to cast down this Bishop into the Piv of all Confusion: But some of his wiser Cardinals pacified him, telling him of this Bishops holiness, learning and reputation: And that the meddling with such an excellent Man, might hasten a departure from their Church: For, said they, the things which he proved are full and manifest. This godly and learned Bishop, after divers conflicts and bickerings with the Pope of Rome, and other labors and travels of life, died at Bugden, Anno Christi 1253. Of whom *Matthew Paris* thus writes, Out of the prison of this world which he never loved, was taken this holy Bishop of Lincoln, who was an open Reprover of the Pope and King, a Rebuker of the Prelates, a Corrector of the Monks, a Director of the Clergy, a Fautor of Scholars, a Preacher to the People, a diligent Searcher of the Scriptures, a severe Punisher of the incontinent, a Mall to the *Wicked*, and a Contemner of their doings. When he lay upon his Death-bed, he sent

The Testimony of Bernard against the Pope.

John of Salisbury writes Testimony.

Robert Grossthead Testimony.

Grosstheads death. His character.

for some of his Clergy, had much good discourse with them, complained of the corruptions which were sprung up in the Church, and inveighed bitterly against the manifold abominations of the Church and Court of Rome, concluding thus ; Well may these old Verses be applied to them ;

*Ejus avaritia totius non sufficit orbis,  
Ejus luxuria meretrix non sufficit omnis.*

*Th' whole world cannot suffice their greedy, covetous mind:  
Nor all their drabs and naughty packs, their filthy, lusty kind.*

For his thundering against the Romish Church, and for his publick reproving of the covetousness, pride, and manifold Tyrannies of the Pope, he was excommunicated to the Pit of Hell by Innocent the Fourth, and cited to come to his Bloody Court ; But he appealed from the Popes Tyranny to the eternal Tribunal of Jesus Christ, and shortly after died.

John Patrick  
Erigena.

Yea before this, there were some found in England, who disavowed the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and underwent persecution for the same. Anno Christi 884. There was one John Patrick Erigena, a Brittain, ordained by King Alfred the first Reader in Oxford, who wrote a Book about the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which was afterwards condemned by the Pope, and he martyred for it.

Some branded  
in the Face.

Anno Christi 960. There were some Divines at Oxford branded in the Face, and banished, for saying that the Church of Rome was the Whore of Babylon ; Monckery, a stinking Carrion ; their Vows, Nurses of Sodomy ; Purgatory, Masses, &c. inventions of the Devil.

Arnold Mar-  
tyr.

Anno Christi 1126. There was one Arnold, an English Preacher at Oxford, who was cruelly butchered for preaching against Prelates pride, and Priests wicked lives.

Thirty Wal-  
denses come  
into England.

About the year 1160. in the Reign of King Henry the Second, there came above Thirty of the waldenses into England, one Gerard being their Minister, acknowledged to be a learned Man by the Monk of Newbury, who writes the story : These people laboring to win Disciples unto Christ, were quickly smelt out by the Popish Clergy, and great complaints were made against them to the King ; who thereupon assembled a Council of Bishops at Oxford, before whom these godly persons were convented, and Gerard their Minister spoke for them all, saying, We are Christians, holding and reverencing the Doctrine of the Apostles : Being examined in order, (saith the Monk) of the Articles of the Holy Faith, they held right things, but they would not admit of Salt, Spittle, and Exorcisms in Baptism and the Eucharist, nor of binding with the stole in Marriage, &c. And being urged with arguments, they answered that they believed as they were taught by Gods Word, but would not dispute of their Faith : Being admonished to repent, and to return to the Unity of the Church, they despised that Council, they scorned threats also, saying, *Blessed are they which suffer Persecution for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* Then did the Bishops excommunicate them, and so delivered them over to be corporally punished by the King, who caused the Character of Heretical Infamy to be burnt in their Foreheads, and Gerard their Minister suffered the disgrace of double burning, one in his Forehead, the other about his Chin ; Then were their Clothes cut off to their Girdlesteads, and with flashing Whips they were publicly whipped through Oxford ; They singing all the while, *Blessed are ye when Men hate you, and despitefully use you, &c.* The King further commanded, that none should presume to receive them to House, nor to cherish them with any comfort, whereby they miserably perished with hunger and cold, none affording any comfort to them.

A Council  
against them.

Their crimes  
what they  
were.

Popish cruel-  
ty.

Anno



*Anno Christi 1170.* there was one *Gualo*, Professor of the Mathematicks in *Oxford*, who wrote invectives against the Priests, for their Pomp, Luxury, and wicked impostures.

*Anno Christi 1170.* there was one *Gilbert Foliot*, Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*, who perswaded King *Henry* the Second, after the example of *Jehosaphat*, and other good Kings, to reform the Clergy, and keep them in subjection: He also often resisted, and blamed *Thomas Becket*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to his Face, for which he was much hated, and Persecuted.

*Anno Christi 1200.* *Sylvester Gyrard*, much beloved by King *Henry* the Second, and King *John*, wrote a Book against the uncleanness, and wickedness of the Monks, whereby he stirred up those Hornets against him.

*Anno Christi 1207.* *Alexander*, a Divine of *Oxford*, was sent to *Rome* by King *John*, to defend his authority against the Pope, which he very well did both by Scriptures, and Reasons: He wrote also against the Popes power and Temporal Dominion, for which he was Persecuted, and Banished by *Langton* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and died in exile.

*Anno Christi 1210.* *Gualter Maxes* Arch-Deacon of *Oxford*, a Famous and Learned man, having been at *Rome*, where he saw the Pride and Ambition of the Pope, at his return, Preached vehemently against it, and wrote a Book called the *Revelation of the Romish Goliath*, and divers others against the wickedness of the Clergy, against the Pope, and Court of *Rome*, &c. For which he was much hated, and Persecuted.

*Anno Christi 1255.* *Sebald*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, earnestly contended against the Tyranny of the *Romish* Court: He said, that the Pope was permitted by God for the great hurt of many: He wrote to the Pope to abstain from his accustomed Tyranny, and to follow the Humility of his Holy Predecessors, and after *Peter's* example, to Feed the Flock, not to Pill, Waste, and Destroy them: The Pope contemned his Counsel, and Persecuted them for it.

*Anno 1260.* *William Strengham*, Doctor of Divinity, wrote for the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, as only necessary for Salvation.

*Anno Christi 1270.* *Roger Bacon*, Fellow of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*, a Famous Divine, spake freely against the Antichristian errors of his times, so that Pope *Nicholas* the Fourth condemned his Doctrine, and imprisoned him.

*Anno 1290.* *John Scotus* of *Merton* Colledge, a great School-man, called Doctor *Subtilis*, Preached against the abuse of the Keys, and that Transubstantiation could neither be proved by Scripture, nor good reason.

*Anno Christi 1320.* *John Baronthorp*, Doctor, and publick Reader of Divinity in *Oxford*, called Doctor *Resoluto*, taught against the Pope, affirmed his power to be subordinate to Emperors, and Kings, and inveighed against the deceits and impostures of Antichrist.

*Anno Christi 1326.* *Nicholas Lyran*, a Divine of *Oxford*, amongst other things, wrote a Book *de visione Dei*, against the Pope.

*Anno Christi 1330.* *William Ockam*, Fellow of *Merton* Colledge, called Doctor *Singularis*, wrote against Pope *John* the Twenty third, and against *Clement*, charging him with Heresie, calling him Antichrist, an hater of Christ, an Enemy of the Common-wealth, affirming that the Pope had no power over Civil Magistrates.

*Anno Christi 1340.* *Thomas Bradwardine* of *Merton* Colledge, wrote three Books in defence of Gods grace against free will.

*Anno Christi 1351.* *Nicholas Orum*, Doctor of *Oxford*, Preached at *Rome* before Pope *Urban* the Fifth, and his Cardinals, wherein he discovered and condemned the Papacy, and foretold their destruction: He wrote the Epistle from *Lucifer* to the Clergy, thanking them for sending so many Souls to Hell: He placed his Daughters, Pride, Avarice, Luxury, Fraud, and especially Simony to them, as to their proper Husbands.

Richard Fitz-Ralph.

Anno Christi 1355. Richard Fitz-Ralph, Chancellor of Oxford, and Archbishop of Armagh, wrote against Begging Fryars, and in his publick Lectures set forth their Folly, Fraud, Luxury, Wantonness, Pride, Pomp, &c.

Dr. Killington.

Anno Christi 1360. Richard Killington, Doctor of Divinity in Oxford, defended the Book of *Armachanus*, and wrote many learned Books against the Monks and Fryers.

John Wickliffe.

About the same time, John Wickliffe, Doctor of Divinity, wrote many Volumes against the *Romish* corruption, for which he met with much hatred and Persecution, as also these good men before mentioned had done, the Particulars whereof you may Read in my first Part, in the Life of Wickliffe.

William Wickam.

Anno Christi 1379. William Wickam, Bishop of Winchester, who built a Colledge in Oxford, another at Winchester, was a great Enemy to the *Romish* Locusts, and professed, that notwithstanding all the good works which he had done, yet that he trusted in the merits of Christ alone for Salvation.

Philip of Repington.

Anno Christi 1382. Philip of Repington, of Merton Colledge, declaimed boldly against the erroneous and impure Doctrine of the Church of Rome; against the *Roman Pharaoh*, Mens traditions, Masses, Pilgrimages, Auricular Confession, &c. wherein Doctor Rigges the Vice-Chancellor, and the Proctors joyned with him.

Alexander Carpenter.

Anno Christi 1429. Alexander Carpenter, of Baliol Colledge, wrote a Book, wherein he sharply reprov'd the wicked Lives of Priests and Prelates, calling them Traytors to Christ, Deceivers, Thieves, Liars, Ravehors, Oppressors, Hypocrites, Cursed Tyrants, execrable Antichrists, &c.

John Felton.

Anno 1440. John Felton of Magdalen Colledge, taught the Gospel purely, reproving the Popes Pride and Tyranny.

Dr. Capgrave.

Anno Christi 1460. John Capgrave, Doctor of Divinity in Oxford, complain'd much of the ungodly Tyranny of the Prelates and Priests, who like hirelings expos'd their Sheep to the Wolves, seeking their Wool and Milk, but not the good of their Souls, &c.

Henry Parker.

Anno Christi 1470. Henry Parker, Fellow of All Souls, preached at Pauls Cross against the Pride and Ambition of the Prelates, and at the request of some good People, published his Doctrine to the great disgrace of the Prelates, for which he was cast into Prison, where he lay long, and endured much want.

The Progress of the Gospel, though persecuted.

Thus we have seen in some particulars, how God raised up in those dark times some worthy instruments, who with the hazard of their estates, honors, liberty and lives, publickly oppos'd the corruptions which were crept into the Church, and expos'd themselves to the greatest dangers for the Vindication of the Truth. Neither were these Men alone and singular in their opinions; For, through Gods mercy, their Doctrine was readily embraced by many, so that in the Reign of King Henry the Second, about the year 1174, many of them were persecuted, and some Burnt. But this true Doctrine was more generally received in King Edward the Third his time, when as the Ministry of Wickliffe in Oxford found a good liking, and general applause amongst his Hearers, yea, it had the approbation of the whole University: and when Bulls came thick from Rome against him and his Doctrine, the whole University gave a testimony in favor of him under their Seal, in the Congregation-house: Yea he had many great Favorers amongst the Nobility, Citizens of London, and others: and his Doctrine took such deep root in the Hearts of many, that it could never be extirpated by all the means, which for many years after his death were used by Popes, Princes, Prelates, and their Officers, who from time to time, even till Luthers time, persecuted and endeavored to suppress the same: Amongst which number of the persecuted, these were some, *Utrid Bolton* and *John Ashwerby*, Fellows of Oriel Colledge, both much troubled and persecuted for preaching and promoting Wickliffe's Doctrine, Anno Christi 1380.

Utrid Bolton and John Ashwerby.

John



*John Aylton* Fellow of *Merton Colledge* was persecuted, and at last condemned to perpetual imprisonment for the same, *Anno Christi* 1382.

*Walter Brute* of *Merton Colledge* was persecuted by the Bishop of *Hereford* *Anno Christi* 1390.

*Peter Pateshal*, who had faithfully preached this Doctrine at *London*, and in the Court, was forced by persecution to fly into *Bohemia* for refuge about the same time.

*Henry Crump* Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*, was first an Adversary to, but afterwards convinced, and converted by *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, preached it boldly, for which he was persecuted by the Bishops, who forced him to fly into *Ireland*, yet there also was he long imprisoned by a Bishop about the year 1392.

King *Henry* the Fourth, though otherwise a good and valiant Prince, yet coming to the Crown by Usurpation, desired to uphold himself by the favor of the Pope and his Clergy, who had oft complained of the increase of *Lollards* in King *Richard* the Second his time, but could prevail no further than to have their Books burnt, and their persons imprisoned, but the final determination, what should be done with them, was ever reserved to the King and his Counsel. But now King *Henry*, to engratiate himself with the Clergy, suffered his fiery zeal to burn up to a fiery persecution, enacting a Law that *Lollards* should be burnt at the discretion of the Bishops, whereupon divers suffered Martyrdom, as

*William Sawtree*, a Divine of *Oxford*, and Parson of *St. Siths Church* in *London*, was imprisoned, degraded, and at last Burnt by *Thomas Arundel* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Anno Christi* 1400. This *William Sawtree* desired that his Cause might be heard by the Parliament then sitting, for the commodity of the whole Realm: But the Bishops smelling out the matter, obtained that it might be wholly referred unto them, who convening him before them, examined him upon Eight Articles, the last whereof was about Transubstantiation: To which he answered, that after the words of Consecration there remaineth very Bread, the same Bread which it was before the words were spoken; Whereupon the Arch-Bishop condemned him by the mouth of *Robert Hall* his Chancellor, after which they got a Warrant from the King, directed to the Major and Sheriffs of *London* for his burning.

*William Swinderby* of *Kings Colledge* in *Oxford*, having for a good while taught the Truth at *Leicester*, was at last apprehended and compelled to recant: But after a while, repenting and receiving new strength from God, he renewed his Doctrine, and was Burnt in *Smithfield*, *Anno Christi* 1401.

*William Thorp* Fellow of *Queens Colledge* in *Oxford*, was apprehended for the same, examined, imprisoned, and there at last secretly put to death by *Arundel* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Anno Christi* 1407.

*Lawrence Redman*, *David Sawtre*, *William James*, *Thomas Brightwel*, *William Haulam*, *Radulph Greenburst*, and *John Schut* were all grievously persecuted by the Popish party, *Anno* 1420.

*Sir John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, was persecuted, condemned, and Burnt in *Saint Gile's Fields*, *Anno Christi* 1417. Of whom see more in my Second Part in his Life.

*John Purvey*, a learned Man, that wrote a commentary on the *Revelation*, wherein he proved the Pope to be Antichrist, and Whore of *Babylon*: He complained that many before him, who had impugned the Romish errors, had been imprisoned, killed, and their Books burnt, and that none were suffered to preach, but such as would swear obedience to the Pope: For which he was imprisoned, and secretly made away there, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Anno Christi* 1421.

*William White*, Fellow of *Wickam Colledge*, for his preaching of the Truth was taken, and compelled by the Arch-Bishop to recant, *Anno Christi* 1424. But quickly repenting, and publicly confessing his weakness and inconstancy, with

great lamentation, and renewing his former Doctrin, was at last taken, and condemned to the fire by the Bishop of *Normich*, *Anno Christi* 1428.

*Richard Wiche.*

*Richard Wiche*, Fellow of *Wickam* Colledge, was Burnt the same year for the like Profession.

*Peter Clarke*  
Martyr.

*Anno Christi* 1433. *Peter Clarke*, a Divine of *Oxford*, defended publicly in the Schools the Doctrin of *Wickliffe*, for which he was so persecuted, that he was forced to flie into *Bohemia*: From thence he went into *France*, and was chosen Preacher to certain Christians at *Melda*; and in process of time Sixty two of his Congregation were surpris'd, bound in Carts, and sent to *Paris*: Where Fourteen of them were Burnt, the rest tormented, and put to other deaths, or banished: Mr. *Clarke*, with his Host, *Steven Mangris*, in whose House he used to preach, had first their Tongues cut out, then were hanged, and afterwards Burnt. See this Story in my former Part, in the Persecutions of the Church in *France*.

*Peter Paine.*

*Peter Paine* or *Peacock*, Fellow of *All Souls* in *Oxford*, for his constant preaching against the *Roman* Antichrist, was forced to flie into *Bohemia* to avoid the danger: From thence he with others, was sent to the Council of *Basil*, where he defended his Doctrin stoutly and learnedly Fifty days together, *Anno Christi* 1438.

*Roger Oweley.*  
Martyr.  
*Lady Elinor*  
*Cobham.*

*Roger Oweley*, a Divine of *Oxford*, and Chaplain to the *Lady Elinor Cobham*, the Duke of *Glocesters* Wife, wrote learnedly against the superstitions that were then in practice: And for attempting something with the said *Lady* against the Papacy, he with some of his Friends were hanged and quartered at *London*, and the *Lady* banished into the *Isle of Man*, *Anno Christi* 1442.

*Humphrey Duke*  
of *Glocester*  
Martyr.  
See more of  
him afterwards.

*Humphrey Duke of Glocester*, Son of *Henry* the Fourth, Brother to the Fifth, and Uncle to the Sixth, having been educated in *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxford*, was a great FAVORER of Preachers of the purer Religion: For which the Bishops and their Creatures hated him deadly, by whose means he was taken in the Night in *Bury-Abbey*, cast into Prison, and there murdered, *Anno Christi* 1447.

*Philip Norise.*

*Philip Norise*, a Divine of *Oxford*, inveighed bitterly against the Monks and Friars, calling them Antichrists, Wolves, Thieves, Traitors, Swine, Hypocrites, Hereticks, more pestilent and dangerous than the *Arrians*, *Pelagians*, *Donatists*, *Nestorians*, or other Hereticks whatsoever: For which he was persecuted by the Friars, who complained of him to Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, from whom he appealed to a general Council, *Anno Christi* 1446.

*David Boyse.*

*David Boyse*, Fellow of *Merton* Colledge, a witty, and learned Man, embraced, and preached the sincere Religion, for which he was hated, and persecuted, *Anno Christi* 1450.

*John Collet.*  
See his Life  
afterwards.

*John Collet*, a Divine of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Pauls*: He taught in *Oxford* that Mans justification was by the mere grace of *Jesus Christ*: That Images were not to be worshipped: That Bishops not feeding their flocks are Wolves, &c. *Richard James* Bishop of *London*, and some Friars persecuted him for the same, *Anno Christi* 1507. which was but Ten years before the rising of *Martin Lusher*.

A true Ministry  
in England  
from the first  
planting of the  
Gospel here.

Thus we have seen in sundry passages of this story, and in many particular instances that from the first planting of the Gospel in this Kingdom, which was presently after *Christ's* time, to the time of *Luther*, God preserved a true Church, a true Ministry, and true ordinances amongst the people of this Land, in despite of the Devil, and all his instruments; and though many times the Saints of God were fain to hide themselves and underwent grievous persecutions for the cause of *Christ*, yet God still preserved a seed alive, who when the storm was over, appeared again: And when corruptions and Antichristianity had overspread the greatest part of the Christian world, God from time to time raised up some in this Nation to bear witness against the same, who loved not their Lives to the death, that they might be found faithful to *Christ*, and his Truth: And therefore Doctor *Field* in his Book of the Church, Book 3. Chap. 6. and 8. had good reason to say thus: *Although we do acknowledge Wick-*

*hiffe,*

Doctor *Field's*  
Testimony.



liffe, Husse, Jerom of Prague, &c. to have been the worthy servants of God, and holy Martyrs suffering for the cause of Christ against Antichrist: Yet we do not think that the Church was to be found only in them, or that there was no other appearance or succession of the Church and Ministry, as the Papists falsely charge us: For we firmly believe that all the Churches wherein our Fathers lived, and dyed, were the true Churches of Christ, wherein salvation was to be found; and that they which taught, embraced, and believed those damnable errors which the Romanists now defend, were a faction only in the Church, as were they that denied the resurrection, urged circumcision, and despised the Apostles of Christ, in the Churches of Corinth, and Galatia.

Luther also in his Book against the Anabaptists saith, That under the Papacy there was much good; yea all Christian good, and it came thence to us: As true Scriptures; true Sacraments; a true Ministry; a true Catechism, wherein is the Lords Prayer, Ten Commandments, and Articles of the Christian Faith, &c.

Doctor Luthers  
Testimony.

Calvin in his Institutions, Book 4. Chap. 2. saith, That God suffered not his Church to perish in France, England, &c. having made his Covenant with them: But it continued there through effectual Baptisme, and other remainders: Though for Mens ingratitude he suffered the Building to be much rent, and torn.

Calvins Testi-  
mony.

Beza in his questions saith, The Church was under the Papacy, but the Papacy was not the Church. Master Perkins saith the like in his exposition of the Creed: So Morney De Ecclesia, Chap. 9. with Bucer, and Melancthon teach the same.

Bezas Testi-  
mony.  
Master Per-  
kins, &c.

## CHAP. V.

### The continuation of the Persecution of the English Church under the Papacy.

**W**E have heard in the former Chapter how God raised up sundry faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ in several ages to oppose the superstitions, and errors brought into our Church by the Pope and his adherents, for which they suffered great persecutions: Now let us see how many Lay-men also as well as Ministers embraced the truth, and suffered Martyrdom for the same.

Anno 1409. there was one John Badby, a Taylor, convented before Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, for the crime of Heresie, as they stiled the truth in those daies, and for holding divers Articles repugnant to the determination of the Church of Rome; witnesses were examined against him, after which the Arch-Bishop asked him whether he would renounce, and forsake his opinions: To which he answered, that he would not, but that he would adhere to his answer formerly given in: Hereupon he was shut up a close Prisoner, the Arch-Bishop himself keeping the Key of his Chamber; and a few daies after he was brought again before the Arch-Bishop, and his assistants sitting in Pauls Church London, who condemned him for an open and obstinate Heretick, delivering him over to the secular power: Presently after came the Kings writ for his execution, by vertue whereof, John Badby still persevering in the truth, was brought into Smithfield, put into an empty Barrel, bound with Iron chains, fastned to a stake, having dry Wood put about him: The young Prince, the Kings eldest Son, being present, much pittied the Man, perswading him to have respect to his life, and when intreaties prevailed not, he added menaces, but nothing would shake the constancy of this faithful Martyr: Then did the Prior of Saint Bartholomews in Smithfield bring him with all solemnity

John Badby;

King Henry  
the Fourth

solemnity the Sacrament, demanding of him how he believed in it: He answered, that it was hallowed Bread, but not *Christ's* Body: Then was Fire put to him, and when he felt the Fire he cryed unto God for mercy: whereupon the Prince thinking that he recanted, caused the Fire to be quenched, then asked him if he would forsake his Heresie, promising that if he would do it, he should have riches enough, and a yearly stipend out of the Kings treasury to his full content: But this valiant Champion of *Christ* inflamed with the love of *Christ*, and thirsting after Heavenly treasures, refused those great promises; whereupon Fire being again put to him, he endured the torments with invincible courage, and so in the flames resigned up his spirit unto God.

His constancy.

His Martyrdom.

The Statute *ex officio*.

Unto this Act the Commons in Parliament never consented, as appears by the Parliament Rolls.

Wicked Constitutions.

Persecution increaseth Professors.

William Thorpe.

He confesseth his Faith.

His courage and constancy.

His death.  
John Asheton  
death

The Persecuting Bishops, studying how to suppress the truth of the Gospel, made their addressees to the King, with many flattering preences, and obtained by his means an Act of Parliament, called The Statute *ex officio*, whereby it was ordained, that if any preached, maintained, or taught openly or privily, or writ any Book contrary to the Catholick Faith, and determination of the holy Church, or that should favor any such Preacher, or that should conceal any such Book, and not deliver it up within Forty days, &c. that being lawfully convicted thereof before the Ordinary or his Commissaries, they may imprison him in any of their own Prisons, and there keep him so long as in their discretion they shall think fit: As also that they may charge him with such a fine of money to the Kings use, as they shall think competent, according to the quality of his offence, and if he refuse to recant and abjure his Heretical opinions and practices, or relapse after Recantation, that he shall be delivered over to the secular power, who are required openly to Burn him before all the People, &c.

The Arch-Bishop also set forth cruel, Blasphemous and wicked Constitutions about the same time, against the true Professors of the Gospel: notwithstanding all which, the number and courage of the Faithful was so far from being vanquished, that they multiplied and increased daily, especially in *London, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Herefordshire, Shropshire*, and in divers other places; yet amongst so many, some there were that did shrink and revolt by reason of the severity of the Law: Others feared no danger nor death, so they might be found faithful witnesses to the cause and truth of *Christ*: Amongst which was Master *William Thorpe*, first imprisoned in *Shrewsbury*, afterwards removed to the Castle of *Saltwood*, from whence he was brought before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who charged him for going about many years together, to teach and disperse his Heretical opinions, whereupon he required him to kneel down, and to swear upon a Book to submit to his correction, and to stand to his award: *Thorpe* answered, since you count me for an Heretick, I beseech you give me leave here to make a Confession of my Faith before you: Which the Arch-Bishop assenting to, he made a large and notable Confession of his Faith, after which he added: To the rule and ordinances of Gods Laws I meekly, gladly and willingly submit me with all my heart, and whosoever shall by the same convince me of any error, I am ready and willing to recant. Then the Arch-Bishop said, I will that thou presently swear to me to forsake all the opinions which the Sect of the *Lollards* hold, and that thou shalt neither favor any Man or Woman that holds any of the aforesaid opinions, and that thou shalt publish their names, and make them known to the Bishop of the Diocese, where they live, &c. To this Master *Thorpe* answered, Sir, I may not do this, for it would be the doom of my conscience, if I should be the cause of the death of so many Men and Women, which are now in the way of salvation, who would justly charge me to be a Traitor both to God and them, &c. and therefore from this wickedness keep me and all Christian People Almighty God, now and for ever, for his holy names sake. The Arch-Bishop swore and raged exceedingly at this answer, and cast him into prison, where he either died of sickness, or was made away by the Arch-Bishops procurement. The like end hapned to *John Asheton*, another follower of *Wickliffe's* Doctrin, who was committed to perpetual imprisonment, Anno *Christi* 1381.

John



*John Purvey*, with *Herford*, a Doctor of Divinity, were grievously tormented in the prison of *Walswood*, and afterwards forced to recant at *Pauls Cross*, by *Arundel Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*: But *Purvey* afterwards recovering himself by Gods grace, was again imprisoned under *Henry Chicheley Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, Anno Christi 1421.

Frier *Walden* called this Master *Purvey* the Library of the *Lollards*; and the Glosser upon *Wickliffe*; He was a very learned Man.

King *Henry the Fourth* being dead, his Son *Henry the Fifth* succeeded, who called a Parliament. But when the Bishops perceived that the Gospellers had so many Friends in and about *London*, they caused the King to adjourn it to *Leicester*, where they procured a Law that the *Wickliffists* should be punished as guilty of high Treason, and therefore should be both hanged and burnt.

At this time Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, suffered Martyrdom, the Story whereof read in my second part, in the Life of the Lord *Cobham*.

Anno Christi 1413. which was the first year of the Reign of King *Henry the Fifth*, Sir *Roger Aston*, Mr. *John Brown*, and Mr. *John Beverly*, were persecuted and put to death in *St. Giles* in the Fields for the truth, together with divers others, to the number of Thirty six, all which were hanged with fire made under them, whereby they dyed a double death.

These godly persons, Mr. *Beverly* being their Preacher, in those dangerous times, used to meet in the night in *St. Giles* his Fields, to pray and hear the word preached: Which the Bishops having some notice of, they informed the King of a dangerous Conspiracy which these persons intended, as to rebel against the King, to seize upon the City of *London*, &c. whereupon the King going with many armed Men at midnight, only found these Thirty six persons, all which were executed as before: Yet the number was greater, some escaping by flight; amongst whom was *William Murle*, of *Dunstable*, Maultster, who being afterwards apprehended, was drawn, hanged and burnt. Within few days after their execution, *Thomas Arundel* the Arch-Bishop was so stricken by God in his tongue, that he could neither swallow any food, nor speak for divers days before his death, whereby he dyed in much misery. Concerning whose manner of death, one makes these Observations.

This Man was he that made an Ecclesiastical Law, that the Scriptures (which are Gods Tongue) should not speak, by forbidding *Wickliffs* Translation of them; and therefore God justly made him dumb.

This Man was he that stopped the Mouths, and tied the Tongues of Gods faithful Preachers, who are Gods mouth and tongue to his People; and therefore God plagued his mouth and tongue.

This Man was he that spake proud, threatening, taunting and blasphemous words against Gods truth, and his people, and had swelling thoughts for their destruction; and God made his tongue to swell to his own destruction.

This Man (as much as in him lay) brought a Famine, not out of Bread, but of hearing the Word, and now is he justly famished himself to death. Who can chuse but admire the exceeding Justice of Gods requital?

Anno Christi 1415. there was one *John Claydon* of *London*, Coriari, that was brought before *Henry Chicheley Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, upon the suspicion of Heresie, and upon his examination, he confessed, that for the same cause he had been formerly imprisoned by the Bishop of *London*, by the space of two years in *Conway Castle*, and that at another time he had been Three years in the Fleet for the same, as also that he had divers English Books, which at several times he heard read to him, and wherein he took great delight, &c. After this, his Books being examined, were condemned as Heretical to be burnt in the fire, and sentence of condemnation was passed upon him by the Arch-Bishop, and he was delivered to the secular power, by whom he was carried into *Smithfield*, and there burnt, Anno Christi 1415. With him also was burnt *Richard Turning* a Baker, for the same cause.

*John Purvey*  
*Dr. Herford*

*King Henry the Fifth*

*Sir Roger Aston*  
*Mr. John Brown*  
*Mr. John Beverly*, &c.

*William Murle*

*Gods judgment on Arch-Bishop Arundel*

*John Claydon*

*His Martyrdom*  
*Richard Turning*

A wicked  
Constitution.

About the same time *John Husse* was burnt at *Constance*, and the Gospel began to spread much in *England*, which caused the Prelates to bestir themselves with might and main to suppress it: And at a Convocation held at *London*, *Anno Christi* 1416. the Arch-Bishop made a Constitution, which he sent abroad to all his Bishops and Suffragans, requiring them at least twice every year, to make diligent enquiry after all such persons as were suspected of Heresie, and that in every place where any such were suspected to dwell, they should cause three honest Men, to take their Oaths upon the Evangelists; that if they knew or heard of any *Conventicles*, or if any persons in life and conversation, differing from other Catholick Men, or that held any Heresies or errors, or that were suspected to have any such English Books, or to harbor or entertaine any such person, &c. that they make Certificate in writing of all such persons, with the circumstances whereby they are suspected, to the Suffragans, Commissaries, &c. who were required to send forth Process against them and upon Conviction, either to deliver them over to the secular power, or to commit them to perpetual imprisonment, as the quality of the cause should require. Hereupon many were apprehended, viz. *John Taylor*, of the parish of *Michaels* in the *Quern*, *William James*, Master of Arts, *John Dwerse*, *John Jourdelay*, Master *Roberts*, Parson of *Heggerley* in *Lincolnshire*, *William Henry* of *Tenderden*, *John Gall*, a Minister in *London*, *Richard Monk* Vicar of *Chesham* in *Lincolnshire*, *Bartholomew Cornemunger*, *Nicholas Hooper*, *Thomas Granter* Minister, *Edward Frith* Butler to the Lord *Cobham*, most of which were kept in close imprisonment. Also Master *Benedict Ulleman*, a Citizen of *London*, was apprehended, for scattering some papers, wherein the truth was asserted against Popery, for which he was hanged, drawn and beheaded upon *Michaelmas* day.

Mr. Ulleman  
Martyr.

John Barton.

Also during this Convocation, there was brought before the Bishops *John Barton* a Minister, who was accused by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, for that he had stood excommunicated six or seven years for Heresie, and for that upon Summons he would not appear, nor seek to be reconciled, for which he was committed to prison, till they had further leisure to proceed against him.

Robert Chappel.

His fall.

Also *Robert Chappel*, another Minister, sometimes Chaplain to the Lord *Cobham*, was brought before them, against whom it was objected, that he had been excommunicated Three or four years, and yet to the contempt of the Keys, he continued to preach, and sought not to be reconciled: *Chappel* fearing the issue, abjured his former opinions as Heretical, promising never to hold the same again: Then was he enjoined by the Arch-Bishop to do penance, and to make a publick Recantation at *Pauls* Cross: The like abjuration was obtruded upon many others.

Radulph Mungin.

A great persecution.

There was also one *Radulph Mungin*, a Minister, brought before the Arch-Bishop, and charged with divers Heretical opinions, and because he could by no means be induced to recant the same, he was by the Arch-Bishop condemned to perpetual imprisonment: Many others were driven to forsake their Houses and Families, and to retire themselves into private places, to preserve themselves from the rage of these bloody Persecutors.

King Henry  
the Sixth.

William Taylor.

King *Henry* the Fifth being dead, his Son *Henry* the Sixth succeeded him, being not a year old when his Father died, in the first year of whose reign, *William Taylor*, a Minister, was convented before *Chichely* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and charged with sundry Articles, which they counted Heretical: He drew forth a writing, and tendred it to the Arch-Bishop to justify his opinions to be true: This paper being given to some of the Doctors that were present, was examined by them, and concluded to be erroneous and Heretical, whereupon he was condemned to suffer perpetual imprisonment, and yet through favor they promised to release him, if he would put in sufficient security, and swear that he would never hold, nor favor such opinions afterwards, and so he was committed to the Custody of the Bishop of *Worcester*, who had authority to release him upon the conditions aforesaid: But during his abode with this Bishop, there passed some



some writings betwixt him, and one *Thomas Smith*, a Priest of *Brissen*, about the Question of worshipping the Saints, by occasion whereof he was again brought before the Convocation, *Anno Christi* 1422. and his writings being shewed to him, he refused to revoke the same, for which he was condemned of Heresie, and presently after a Writ came from the King, *De Heretico comburendo*, and so he being committed to the secular power, was carried into *Smithfield*, where he was burnt, dying a faithful Martyr of *Jesus Christ*.

His Martyrdom.

About this time *Henry Chicheley*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, wrote to Pope *Martin*, that the *Wickliffs* in *England* were grown to be so many, that they could not be suppressed without an Army.

*Anno Christi* 1422. This Arch-Bishop held a Synod, wherein was brought before him one *Henry Webb*, who was accused for preaching up and down without a Licence, for which he was condemned to be whipt stark naked in the procession, in the Cathedrals of *Pauls* in *London*, *Worcester* and *Bath*, which was accordingly executed.

Henry Webb whipt.

Also about the same time *John Florence*, a Turrier, dwelling at *Skebbin* in the Diocess of *Normich*, was convented before the Bishops Chanceller, and charged with holding sundry Heretical opinions, for which he was enjoined Three Sabbath days in the Cathedral Church of *Normich*, to be whipt before all the people; the like also to be done to him in his own Parish Church Three other Sabbath days.

John Florence cruelly whipt.

Between the year 1428. and 1431. there were about the number of One hundred and twenty Men and Women in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, brought and examined before the Bishop of that Diocess, for the profession of the Christian Faith, some of which escaped more easily, but most of them were cruelly handled, and some of them burnt.

One hundred and twenty persons.

*Anno* 1424. There was one *William White* a Minister, and a follower of *Wickliffe* Doctrine, a Learned and Godly Man, that spent his time in reading, writing and preaching, for which he was apprehended and carried before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, before whom for a time he stoutly and valiantly defended the truth; but at last, through the cruel menaces of his Adversaries, and his own weakness, he began to be faint; yet after a while, through Gods grace, he became more stout and strong in *Jesus Christ* than he was before, confessing his former weakness, and heartily repenting of the same: And thereupon he wholly Employed himself in preaching to, and converting the people unto the true Doctrine of *Christ*, for which he was again at last apprehended, and carried before the Bishop of *Normich*, by whom he was convicted, condemned, and burnt, *Anno Christi* 1428. When he was at the Stake, he began to speak to the people, to exhort and confirm them in the truth, but one of the Bishops Servants smote him on the mouth, and forced him to hold his peace, and so with much meekness and patience he received his Crown of Martyrdom. This Master *White* having married a Wife, she being a good Woman, and following the footsteps of her Husband, went about, doing privately all the good that possibly she could, for which she was persecuted, and suffered grievous things from the same Bishop of *Normich*.

William White.

His Martyrdom.

His Wife persecuted.

About the same time there was a Godly Minister, and another ancient Man, called Father *Abraham*, burnt at *Colchester* for the truth.

Two burnt at Colchester.

There was also one *Thomas Pie* and *John Mendam*, examined before the Bishop of *Normich*, by whom they were censured to be openly whipt Six Sabbath days in their Parish Church, and Three Market days about the Market-place of *Harleston*, carrying in their Hands a Taper of a pound weight, &c. Many others were served in the like sort.

Thomas Pie and John Mendam whipt.

*Anno Christi* 1430. *Richard Hoveden*, a Citizen of *London*, holding and professing the opinions of *Wickliffe*, was convicted for the same, and when by no means

Richard Hoveden convicted.

means he could be brought to recant them, he was condemned and burnt hard-by the Tower of London.

Master Nicholas.

Also the same year Master *Nicholas*, a Canon of *Ely*, was forced to endure Three whippings about the Cloister of the Cathedral Church in *Norwich*, and was afterwards kept in prison, for turning his Face from the High Altar, and reproving those that did reverence to the Sacrament.

Thomas Bagley.

Anno Christi 1431. *Thomas Bagley*, a Minister, being a valiant Disciple of *Christ*, and adhering to the Doctrine of *Wickliffe*, was condemned at *London* by the Bishops, degraded and burnt in *Smithfield*.

Richard White Martyr.

Anno Christi 1439. One *Richard White* or *Wiche*, a Minister, was apprehended and examined, and when he would not be drawn from his opinions, he was condemned to be burnt at the Tower-hill for Heresie: At the place of execution he foretold that the Postern of the Tower should sink, which shortly after came to pass, and so in the flames he resigned up his Spirit unto God: The people much admired him for an holy Man.

A Prophecy.

Humphrey Duke of Gloucester.

His Character.

Anno 1447. The Duke of *Gloucester*, who was Son to King *Henry* the Fourth, Brother to King *Henry* the Fifth, and Uncle to King *Henry* the Sixth, was chosen Protector in his Nephews minority. He was of a meek and gentle disposition, a lover of the Commonwealth, a supporter of the poor Commons, wise, discreet, studious, a lover of Religion, a Friend to virtue, and an enemy to pride, especially in the Clergy, which made him to be much hated of them, and in the end brought him to an immature death. His learning was rare and memorable, and his discreet wisdom no less exemplary, whereof take this instance: The King in his minority, being under the Government of this good Duke, was to go to *St. Albanes*, against which time a Beggar with his Wife, were suborned to come thither by the Bishops, where he begged up and down Five or Six days before the Kings coming, saying, that he was born blind, and never saw in all his life, and that he was warned in a Dream to come from *Barwick*, where he had always lived, to *St. Albane*, from whom he should receive his sight; But having been at his Shrine he yet remained blind, and therefore he would go and seek him at some other place. But when the King was come, and the Town full of his Retinue, this blind Beggar going again to the Saints Shrine, had his sight restored to him: This miracle was much observed by the Popish Clergy, and a *Te Deum* solemnly sung, and nothing was talked of in the Town but this miracle: Duke *Humphrey* hearing of it, sent for the Beggar, and shewed himself joyful for the recovery of his sight, exhorted the Man to humility, and to thankfulness to God for restoring his sight, &c. and then looking upon his eyes, asked him if he had never seen any thing in his life before? The Beggar and his Wife both answered, No; I believe you, said the Duke, For I think you cannot see well now; Yes, said the Beggar, I thank God and his holy Martyr, I can now see as well as any Man: What colour then, said the Duke, is my Gown? The Beggar told him, as also the several colour of other Mens Gowns, naming all the colours to the Duke; whereupon the Duke bid him be gone like a Traitor, For if he had ben blind always, how knew he so readily the Names of all colours; but this more exasperated the Prelates against him.

Popish Imposture discovered.

Amongst his Enemies *Henry Beauford*, Cardinal, and Bishop of *Winchester* was the chief, who drawing to his side *William de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, they conspired with the Queen to deprive him both of honor and life: For which end a Parliament was summoned to be kept at *Bury*, far from the Citizens of *London*, who much loved the Duke of *Gloucester*, and when the Lords and Commons were met, and amongst them the Duke, neither thinking harm to others, nor suspecting danger to himself; the second day after the Parliament began, the Lord *Beaumont*, then High Constable of *England*, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham* and some others arrested the Duke of *Gloucester*, and put him into Ward, which caused much murmuring amongst the people, and the next night after he was found dead in his Bed, being,

He is arrested and murdered.



## Church under the Papacy.

as it was commonly reported, smothered between Two Feather-Beds, having prudently Governed this Realm for the space of Twenty five years : But Gods judgments followed all the Contrivers and Actors of this murther : The Queen, who thought hereby to preserve the Honor of her Husband, and her own state, on the contrary lost her Husband, and he lost his Kingdom, and the Kingdom lost *Anjou, Normandy, Aquitaine*, and all they held in *France*, except *Calice*: The year after the Cardinal, the chief Contriver of the Dukes martyrdom, was stricken by God with an incurable disease, who hearing that he must needs die, murmured and grudged exceedingly, that having so much riches he must yet leave all, saying, That if the whole Realm would purchase his life, he was able either by his policy to get it, or by his money to buy it : *Therefore, saith he, Fie, will not death be bribed? will money do nothing? &c.* The Duke of *Suffolke* also did not long escape unpunished ; For in a Parliament he was accused as a Traitor to the Kingdom, a Murtherer of the Duke of *Glocester*, and a Robber of the Kings Treasure : For which the King at last was forced to banish him for Five years, thinking that in that space the peoples hatred of him would be allayed : The Duke took shipping in *Suffolke*, intending to go into *France*, but being presently encountred by a Man of War belonging to the Tower, was taken and carried into *Dover-Road*, where on a side of a Ship-Boat one struck off his Head, *Anno 1450.* and thus God suffered not the innocent Blood of that good Duke of *Glocester* to go unpunished.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

Death not to be bribed.

Not long before the Dukes death, he had complained to the King his Nephew, of sundry injuries which the Cardinal of *Winchester* had done, not only to him, but to the King and whole Kingdom, which he put into writing in Twenty four Articles, and presented them to the King ; King *Henry* committed the examination hereof to his Council, who (being for the most part Clergy-men,) the business was shuffled up, and the Duke entrapped, as we heard before : Also to aggravate his affliction, they caused his religious Dutcheſs, the Lady *Elinor Cobham* of witchcraft and treason, as if to advance her Husband to the Crown, she had practised by forcerery and enchantment to destroy the Kings Person : And hereupon they enjoyned her in a disgraceful manner to go through *Cheapside* with a Taper in her Hand, and to do Penance in three publick places of the City, and afterwards to be committed to perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of *Man*, under the custody of Sir *John Stanley* Knight.

The Dutcheſs accused.

During the life-time of the Duke of *Glocester*, there was one *Rainold Peacock*, who publickly in the Universities disputed against *Annas Peter-pence*, and other the jurisdictions of the See of *Rome*, freely declaring his judgment about the same, and was protected therein by the said Duke ; But after the Dukes death he was persecuted by the Prelates and their instruments. He was a very learned Man, translated much of the Scriptures into *English*, and wrote many Books : The Duke made him first his Chaplain, then Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and afterwards Bishop of *Chichester* ; The Arch-Bishop summoned him to appear before him ; when he came, the Arch-Bishop with divers other Bishops, labored by all means either to reduce him or destroy him ; many terrible menaces and threatnings they gave him, many fair and flattering promises they made to him, so that at the last they drew a Recantation from him ; yet afterwards, through Gods mercy, he recovered and repented of his Recantation, for which he was cast into Prison, and at length was condemned for an Heretick, and as the report went, was privily in Prison made away.

Rainold Peacock.

His Confession.

Privily murdered.

It is observed, that from the time of King *Richard* the Second, in every Kings Reign that succeeded him, there was some good Man or other that suffered martyrdom by burning at a Stake.

King *Henry* the Sixth being deposed and murdered, King *Edward* the fourth succeeded him, in whose time there was one *John Goose*, of *Huffe*, *Anno 1473* that was called before the Bishops, and accused for Heresie, by whom also he was condemned, and delivered to the Sheriff of *London* to be burnt : The Sheriff

John Goose.

His Constancy.

An excellent Speech.

His Martyrdom.

King Henry the Seventh.  
Joane Boughton.

Her Constancy.

Her Martyrdom.

Babram.  
Martyr.

William Tilsworth.

Popish cruelty.

A great persecution.

Roberts.

Thomas Bernard.  
James Melton.  
Thomas Chase.

His Constancy.

Privily murdered.

Thomas Norris.

Laurence Guest.

being a charitable Man took him home to his House, laboring much with him to recant his Heresies, and thereby to deliver himself from death: *Husse* answered that for his Religion he was at a pass, and neither could, nor would recant the same, But desired the Sheriff to give him some meat, for that he was fore an Hungry: The Sheriff commanded meat to be brought him, whereof he did eat heartily, saying to the standers by, *I eat now a good and competent Dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shower ere I come to Supper*: When he had dined he gave thanks, and required that he might forthwith be led to the place of execution, where in the flames he meekly resigned up his Spirit unto God.

*Anno Christi 1494.* There was one *Joane Boughton* Widow, Mother to the Lady *Young*, being about Eighty yeares old, that was accused for Heresie in holding many of *Wickliffs* opinions: She was so stout, and constant a defender of the truth, that all the Doctors in *London* could not turn her from one of her opinions, and when they told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy, and Heresie, she set light by all there threats, and when she was in the flames she cryed unto God to receive her soul into his holy Hands, and so quietly yielded up the Ghost.

*Anno Christi 1498.* There was a godly Man, and faithful Martyr of *Christ* burnt in *Norfolk* called *Babram*: And the year after another old godly Man was burnt in *Smithfield*.

*Anno Christi 1506.* There was one *William Tilsworth* convented before Doctor *Smith* Bishop of *Lincoln*, by whom he was condemned for Heresie, and burnt in the Town of *Amersham*: At his burning his onely Daughter, a faithful Woman, and married to one *Clarke*, was compelled with her own Hands to set fire to her dear Father: And at the same time *John Clarke* her Husband with many others did penance, bearing Fagots, many others were burnt in the Cheek with an hot Iron, bearing the marks of our Lord *Jesus Christ* about with them.

Presently after there was one Father *Roberts*, a Milner of *Missenden*, burnt at *Buckingham* for the testimony of the truth: At the time of whose burning, above Twenty persons were compelled to bear Fagots, and to do Penance.

About Two yeares after *Thomas Bernard*, an Husbandman, and *James Melton*, a laborer, were both burnt at one fire for the truth at *Amersham*.

*Anno Christi 1506.* There was also in *Amersham* one *Thomas Chase*, a Man of a godly, honest, and sober behavior, and one that could not abide Idolatry, and superstition; for which being maligned by some wicked Men, he was brought before the Bishop at *Wooburne*, who propounded many questions to him, which he intermixed with many taunts, jeers, and reproaches; *Chase* answered him stoutly defending the truth, and opposing Idolatry for which he was by the Bishop put into his Prison called, *The little ease*: There he lay cruelly bound in Chains, Jives, and Manacles, and almost pined with hunger. The Bishop also sent his Chaplains often to him with checks, taunts, rebukes, and threatenings, floutings, and mockings, all which the Godly Martyr bore with invincible patience, and constancy, remembring often that of his Saviour: *Blessed are they that suffer persecution for Righteousnes sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* When the Bishop saw that by his cruelty he could prevail nothing against him, but that rather he was more fervent, and zealous in defending the truth, and that he patiently bore all his wickedness; He consulted privily to put him to death for fear of an uproar amongst the people, and accordingly shortly after he caused him to be cruelly strangled, and pressed to death in the Prison, who called most heartily upon God to receive his Spirit: The Bishop causing it to be bruited abroad that he had hanged himself in Prison.

*Anno Christi 1507.* There was one *Thomas Norris*, who for the profession of the Gospel was condemned by the Bishop and burnt at *Norwich*: Not long after there was in *Salisbury*, one *Laurence Guest*, who for denying the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. was convented before the Bishop: He had good Friends, and therefore



therefore the Bishop was loath to burn him, but kept him Two years in Prison: This *Lawrence* had a Wife, and Seven Children; and therefore the Bishop, hoping to overcome him by fatherly affection to his Children, when he was fastened to the Stake, his Wife, and Seven Children were brought to him: But, through Gods grace, Religion overcoming nature in him, he remained constant, and unmoveable, and when his Wife began to exhort him to favor himself: He desired her not to be a block in his way, for that he was in a good course running towards the mark of his Salvation: And fire being put to him, he renounced his Wife, and Children to follow *Christ*, and in the midst of the flames resigned up his Spirit unto God.

*Christ preferred before Wife and Children.*

*His Martyrdom.*

*A Woman Martyr.*

About the same time there was at *Chipping Sadbury*, a Godly Woman convented before the Chancellor, who was Doctor *Whittington*, before whom she made a resolute, and good confession of her Faith, not shrinking for any of his terrible threats, so that at last he condemned her to be burnt. Against the day of her execution multitudes of people flocked together to *Sadbury*, and amongst the rest, Doctor *Whittington* came to see her executed. This faithful Woman, and true Servant of *Jesus Christ* nothing daunted with the sight of the Stake, nor shrinking at the torments of the fire, quietly slept in the Lord: At the same time there was a Butcher in another place of the Town slaying a Bull, which Bull was fast bound with a Rope ready to be knocked on the Head; The Butcher missing his stroke, the Bull brake loose just as the people were coming from the execution of the holy Martyr: The people seeing him coming, severed themselves and made a lane for him to pass through: The Bull went on without hurting Man, Woman or Child, till he came to the place where the Chancellor was, against whom he ran very furiously, and with his Horns hitting him on the Belly, ran him quite thorough; and tearing out his Guts with his Horns, he trailed them about the street, to the great astonishment of the people that beheld it.

*Gods Judgment on a Persecutor.*

Under the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, there were divers godly persons in *Coventry* persecuted, and forced to abjure: And King *Henry* the Seventh being dead, and his Son *Henry* the Eighth succeeding, there was one *Richard Fitz-James* Bishop of *London*, who convented before him many poor people, charging them with holding many Heretical opinions, for which they were excommunicated and imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant, and for further penance were enjoined to wear a Fagot painted on their sleeves all their life after. This was *Anno Christi* 1510.

*Henry the Eighth.*

About the same time there were some others, who having through frailty been forced to recant, being afterwards pricked in conscience for it, and overcome by the manifest truth of Gods most sacred Word, became as earnest and zealous Professors of *Christ* as ever they were before, and for the same Profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and at last cruelly burnt; Amongst whom were *William Sweetings*, and *John Bruster*, who were both burnt together in *Smithfield*, *Anno Christi* 1511. The crimes wherewith they were charged, were for denying the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament; For reading forbidden Books; and for keeping company with persons suspected for Heresie.

*Recovery after falls.*

*William Sweetings, John Bruster.*

About the same time *William Carder* was convented before Arch-Bishop *Warham*, and his Chancellor, *Cuthbert Tonstal*, and they brought such witnesses against him as were before abjured, whom they knew, that for fear of being reputed relapsed, durst not but disclose whatsoever they knew of him, by whose testimony they condemned him to be burnt.

*William Carder.*

*Agnes Grebyll* also was convented before them, against whom they put in Twelve Articles, which she denying put them upon the proof: Then they called for *John Grebyll* her Husband, and *Christopher* and *John Grebyll* her Two Sons, who had been before abjured, causing them to depose, the one against his Wife, the other against their natural Mother; yea, afterwards they caused these Two young

*Agnes Grebyll.*

*Her Husband and Sons brought in against her.*

young Men to give in evidence against their own Father also: The Woman was so grieved hereat, that she repented the time that ever she bare these Children of her Body; and so she was condemned to be burnt. Her Husband with Two others were brought in to testify against Robert Harrison, upon whose testimony he also was condemned, and so these Three persons were all burnt, May 2. 1511. *Ex Registro Cantuar.*

Mr. Stile burnt  
with the Re-  
velations.

Shortly after Mr. Stile was condemned, and with him a Book of the Revelations, which he had in English; when he was carried into Smithfield, and saw the Book tied together with him to the Stake, he cried out, O Blessed Apocalyps, how happy am I, that I shall be burnt with thee, and so they were both burnt together.

A capital  
crime to read  
the Scriptures.  
Blasphemy.

About the same time Five other persons were accused in this manner. We object to you, that divers times, especially upon a certain night, three years ago, in Robert Durdants House of Yvercourt near Stanes, you erroneously and damnably read in a great Book of Heresie, all that same night certain Chapters of the Evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions, and conclusions of Heresie. *Ex Registro Episc. Lond.*

John Brown.

There was one John Brown passing from London in a Gravesend Barge, in which Barge there was a Priest, and Brown sat hard by him: whereupon the Priest said to him, Dost thou not know who I am? Thou sittest too near me: Brown answered, No Sir, I know not who you are. I tell thee, said he, I am a Priest: what Sir, said Brown, are you a Parson, or a Vicar, or a Ladies Chaplain? I am, said the other, A Soul-Priest, and sing for a Soul; I pray you Sir, said Brown, where find you the Soul when you go to Mass? I know not, said the Priest. And where do you leave it when you have done Mass? I cannot tell, said the Priest. Brown replied, If you neither know where the Soul is when you begin, nor where you leave it when you have done, how then do you save a Soul? Go thy ways, said the Priest, thou art an Heretick, and I will be even with thee: And accordingly when they came to Land, the Priest taking two others with him that were present in the Boat, went and complained to Arch-Bishop Warham, who sent a Warrant presently to apprehend Brown; when the Messenger came, Brown was carrying in Dinner at his Wives Churching, and being apprehended, the Messenger bound his Feet under his Horse-belly, and carried him away to the Arch-Bishop, neither his Wife or Friends knowing whither he went, nor what they would do with him: The Arch-Bishop cast him into Prison, where he lay about Six weeks: Then was he carried to Ashford where his habitation was, and there set in the Stocks all night, his Wife hearing of it, came and sat by him all night, to whom he shewed how cruelly he had been handled by the Arch-Bishop, telling her, that he could not set his Feet to the ground, for they had burnt them to the Bones, to make him to deny Christ, which said he, I durst not do, lest my Lord Christ should deny me hereafter, therefore good wife, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up my Children vermouthly, and in the fear of God; And so the next day this godly Martyr was burnt, calling upon God, and saying, Into thy hands I commend my Spirit; Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. This was Anno Christi 1517.

Popish malice  
and cruelty.

Richard Hune.

Anno Christi 1514. There was one Richard Hune, Merchant-tailor of London, who had a Child at Nurse in Middlesex: The Child dying there, the Parson demanded a bearing sheet for a mortuary: Hune pleaded that it was not due, the Child being but Five weeks old: The Priest hereupon cited him into the Spiritual Court; Hune advising with his learned Council, was directed to bring a Writ of *Præmunire* against the Priest and his Abettors, which accordingly he did: But the Popish Clergy being much netled at these proceedings, and fearing that it would tend to their great prejudice, they make a diligent enquiry after Hunes life and carriage, and at last frame Articles against him, wherein they charge him with Heresie, for which, by Fitz-James, Bishop of London, he was cast into Lollards Tower, and none of his Friends were suffered to come to him. At last he

was



was carried before the Bishop at *Fulham*, and thereby *Horsey* the Bishops Chancellor, was accused of Hereſie; After examination, the Biſhop ſent him back to *Lollards Tower*, and *Horsey* within Two nights after, ſuborned ſome wicked Cut-throats, who going in the night into Priſon, took *Hune* and hanged him, blazing abroad that *Hune* had deſperately hanged himſelf: The Citizens of *London*, ſuſpecting that he was murdered, cauſed the Corohor to ſit upon him, but whileſt the Jury was buſie about their Office, the Biſhop proceeds *ex officio* againſt the dead body in caſe of Hereſie, ſuppoſing thereby that the Jury durſt not but find him guilty of his own death, and after the Cauſe heard, the Sentence definitive was pronounced againſt the dead body, and it was delivered over to the ſecular power, and the next day after publickly burnt in *Smithfield*.

Privily man-  
cheard.  
Popiſh Mag.

Notwithſtanding theſe proceedings of the Biſhop, the Jury went on, and made diligent enquiry after the manner of his death, and the Cauſe was oft heard before the Privy Council, the King himſelf being ſometimes preſent, and at laſt the Bishops Chancellor, and Two other Officers were found guilty of the murder, and an Indictment was drawn up againſt them, but by Cardinal *Woolſes* means the Indictment at the Sefſions was caſt out; yet though the Chancellor by this means eſcaped the puniſhment of the Law, his Conſcience ſo tetrified him with the inward guilt of murder, that he went to *Exceſter*, and durſt not ſhow his Face in *London* again afterwards.

Gods Judg-  
ment on a  
Perſecutor?

A great Perſe-  
cution.

About this time there were multitudes of good Men and Women perſecuted for the truth, and at laſt through weakneſs were forced to recant, yet ſome there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made more ſtrong in the profeſſion of his truth, and conſtant unto the death: Of which number was *John Stilmann*, who was apprehended and brought before *Fitz-James*, Biſhop of *London*, Anno 1518. who after examination ſent him to *Lollards Tower*: After a while he was brought forth before *Dr. Hed*, the Bishops Vicar General, and being charged for relapſing into Hereſie after his former Recantation, he denied it not, but boldly profeſſed that he would adhere to the truth, even to the loſs of his life: Hereupon he was condemned and delivered the ſame day to the Sheriffs of *London*, by whom he was carried into *Smithfield*, and there openly burnt, Anno *Chriſti* 1518.

John Stilmann  
Martyr.

About the ſame time *Thomas Man* was apprehended and brought before the Biſhop of *London*, and afterwards was examined alſo by *Dr. Hed* in the Conſistory, where he was charged with fundry Articles, moſt whereof he granted to be true, the reſt he denied: Then did *Dr. Hed* pronounce Sentence of condemnation againſt him, delivering him over to the Sheriffs of *London*, by whom he was immediately carried into *Smithfield*, and there burnt. Amongſt other things, he was accused for going up and down into divers places, and Countries of *England*, to diſperſe and teach his errors: And himſelf confeſſed that he went Weſtward, where he found a great company of well-diſpoſed perſons, being of the ſame judgment with him about the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and eſpecially at *Newbury*, where was a glorious and ſweet Society of faithful perſons, who had continued in Peace Fifteen years together, till they were betrayed by a falſe Brother, whereby Six or Seven ſcore were forced to abjure, and ſome others of them were burnt: From thence he confeſſed that he went to *Amersham*, where he found a godly and great Company, who had continued in that Doctrine and the truth Twenty three years. Againſt theſe a great perſecution was raiſed by *William Smith*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Anno 1507. at which time many of them were abjured; He alſo confeſſed that he had been an inſtrument under God, to turn Seven hundred perſons to his Religion and Doctrine, for the which he thanked God.

Thomas Man.

A Church in  
*Newbury*.

Seven hundred  
converted to  
one Man's  
Religion.

*Robert Coſin* was convented before the Biſhop of *Lincoln* for perſwading *Joane Norman*, not to go on Pilgrimage, nor to pray to the Saints, &c. for which he was condemned and burnt at *Buckingham*.

Christopher  
Shoemaker.

Many true  
Professors be-  
fore Luthers  
time.

A great Perse-  
cution.

Robert Bartlet.

Richard Bart-  
let.

Papish wick-  
edness and  
cruelty.

Papish policy.

John Screvener  
Unnatural  
cruelty.

Anno Christi 1518. Christopher Shoemaker of Missenden, was accused for reading part of the Gospel to John Say, and teaching him that the substance of Bread remained after Consecration: Against Pilgrimages, and worshipping of Saints, &c. for which he was condemned and burnt at Newbury. Yea before the name of Luther was heard of, there were multitudes of Men and Women in England, which professed the truth, and disavowed the superstitions of Popery; whereupon arose a great persecution in Buckinghamshire, Amersham; Uxbridge; Henley, Newbury, in the Diocese of Lincoln, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolk, Norfolk, and in divers other places.

After the death of Smith, Longland succeeded in the Bishoprick of Lincoln; who was a cruel Persecutor of the poor Saints of Christ: Those that first were accused before him, were Robert Bartlet, and Richard his Brother; Their crime was, for that having abjured under Smith, they were now returned again to their former opinions; and that they used to meet in the House of one Thomas Harding, whose Wife seeing Robert Bartlet come in, said, that she was glad that he was converted to the grace of Christ, requiring him that he should never forsake that which he was called to; for if he did, there was no sacrifice left for him. Also seeing Richard Bartlet coming, she said, *I hope he will be a good Man, but he hath so much mind of buying and selling, and taking of Farms, that it takes off his mind from all goodness*; Upon this information Robert and Richard were examined upon their Oathes before the Bishop, and at last were forced to confess, that Robert had read to Richard a Portion of Scripture, and that one William Tillyworth had told them, that the Images of Saints were but stocks and stones: And that Thomas Mastal had taught them, that the real presence of Christ was not in the Sacrament: And that Richard had learned some part of the Epistle of James by heart, &c. Robert Bartlet acknowledged likewise, that his Wife was of the same opinions with himself, and that if she had not been so, he would not have married her: He also confessed that he had taught his Sister not to worship Images, and had taught her part of the Epistle of St. James: He also detected many others that used to meet together to read and confer about the Word of God, &c. Then was Agnes Wells, Sister to Robert, examined upon sundry captious Interrogatories, which she refused at first to answer to, but at last was compelled to detect her self, and many others. By reason of this cruel Inquisition, multitudes of persons, both Men and Women, living in and about Amersham, were brought before the bloody Bishop, and their greatest crimes were, for reading some portions of Scripture in English; yet did the Bishop put them to their Oathes, and compel Parents to accuse their Children, and Children their Parents; Brothers to accuse their Sisters, and Sisters their Brothers; yea, Husbands to accuse their Wives, and Wives to accuse their Husbands: And the Bishop perceiving that the number of these Hereticks was very great, and that their opinions did daily disperse more and more, that it was almost past his power to redress it, he therefore had recourse to King Henry the Eighth, who was yet young, requesting his aid for the suppressing of these men: Hereupon the King sent Letters to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Officers, to be aiding and assisting to the Bishop in this matter: And so the Bishop, being armed with the Kings authority, and incited by his own cruel disposition, neglected no time, but sitting upon his Tribunal-Seat, called before him, not only such against whom he had proof, but many others that were never so little suspected or noted to incline towards those opinions, whom he caused to abjure, and enjoined them most rigorous penance: The others that had relapsed, though he had promised them favor upon their detection of others, yet without all pity he read the Sentence of condemnation against them, and delivered them over to the secular power by whom they were burnt. And at the burning of one of them, called John Screvener, his own Children were compelled to set fire to their Father.

Hitherto the Christian world had lain for the most part in miserable darkness: But it pleased God, that about this time the Art of Printing was found out



out, which incontinently furnished the Church with the instruments of learning and knowledg, which were good Books, which till now lay hid and unknown, and then followed the grace of God, which stirred up good wits to discern the light, by which darkness was discovered: Truth began to be distinguished from Error, and Religion from Superstition: God also raised up divers excellent Men, that being furnished with the help of good letters, defended strenuously the cause of Learning against Barbarism, and of Truth against Error, of which number were *Piccu*, and *Franciscus Mirandula*: *Laurentius Valla*: *Franciscus Petrarcha*: Doctor *Wesalinus*: *Revelinus*: *Grocinnus*: Doctor *Collet*: *Rhenanus*: *Erasmus*, &c. who by their learned Writings, and laborious Travels opened a Window of light unto the World, thereby making way for others that came after: And immediately, according to Gods gracious appointment, came *Martin Luther*, and his Followers, by whose Ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full reformation of his Church.

Ecc

CHAP.



## CHAP. VI.

*The Persecution of the English Church after the rising of Martin Luther.*

A persecution  
in Coventry.



Anno Christi 1519. there were divers persons apprehended in Coventry, viz. Mistris Smith, Robert Hatcher, Archer, Hawkins, Bond, Wrigsham, and Langsdale, for teaching their Children and Servants the Lords Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Belief in the *English* Tongue, whereupon they were put into Prison, and some into Dungeons under ground: From thence, after a while, they were sent to *Mackstock-Abbey*: And in the mean time their Children

were examined by the Warden of the *Gray-Friers* in *Coventry* concerning their Belief, and what Heresies their Fathers had taught them, charging them upon pain of death not to meddle any more with the Lords Prayer, &c. in *English*. Shortly after those good people were brought back to *Coventry*, where they were condemned to be burnt: Onely Mistris Smith was dismissed for the present, and because it was dark-night, *Morton* the Summoner would needs go home with her; But as he led her by the arm, he heard the rustling of a paper in her sleeve, whereupon taking out the paper he found that it was the Lords Prayer, the ten Commandments, and the Creed in *English*: Then said he, *Ah Sirra, come, as good now as another time*, and so he brought her back again to the Bishop, who immediately condemned her, and so they were all six burnt together in the little Park.

Six burned.

Robert Silkeb.

Popish cruelty.

There was also one *Robert Silkeb*, who at the apprehension of the other ran away: But Two years after being taken, and carried to *Coventry*, he was presently condemned, and burnt the next day. When these persons were thus Martyred, the Sheriffs presently went to their Houses, seizing upon all their goods, not leaving their Wives, and Children any thing to subsist on.

Thomas Harding.

Anno Christi 1523. there was one *Thomas Harding* living at *Chesham* in *Buckingham-Shire*, who on *Easter-day*, when other people went to Church to commit Idolatry, he went into the woods; there solitarily to worship the true, and living God, in spirit, and in truth; and whil't he was reading an *English* Book of Prayers, one spied him, who immediately ran to the officers to informe them what he had seen: Hereupon some ran to his House to search for Books; and searching very narrowly under the boards of a floore, they found some portions of the holy Scriptures in *English*: Then was this godly Father with his Books carried before Bishop *Longland*, who with his Chaplains mocked, and derided him.

*Thomas Harding* seeing their uncivil behavior, said little, but comforted himself in the Lord: Then was he sent to the Bishops prison called the *Little-Ease*, where he lay with hunger, and pain enough, till the Bishop called him to judgment, and condemned him to be burnt, appointing one *Rowland Messenger*, Vicar of great *wickam* to see execution done: This Vicar, with a rabble

like



like himself, carried him to *Chesham*; where all that night he continued in prayer, and holy meditations, and the next morning was carried with Bills, and Staves to the place of execution; many followed him, whereof some bewailed his death, others rejoiced at it: When he was tyed to the Stake, he desired the people to pray for him, and forgiving his enemies, and persecutors, he commended his spirit into the Hands of God, and so took his death very patiently, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, and saying, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*: When fire was set to him, one threw a Billit at him wherewith he dashed out his Braines, being above sixty years old.

His Martyrdom.

*Anno Christi 1528. John Rainmund a Dutchman* was abjured in *London*, for causing Fifteen Hundred of *Tyndals* New Testaments to be printed at *Antwerp*, and for bringing Five Hundred of them over into *England*.

*Anno Christi 1529. Sigar Nicholson*, Stationer in *Cambridge*, was hung up by the privy members, for having in his House some of *Luthers*, and other prohibited Books, and not presenting them to the Ordinary.

Sigar Nicholson  
(for Popish cruelty)

Also *Paul Luther*, a *Gray-frier* was abjured, for saying in his Sermon, that it was pittie that so many Images were suffered in Churches, &c. and that there was no need to go on pilgrimages: And that if a Man were near drowning, of any other danger, he should call only upon God, for the Saints in Heaven can neither hear, nor help us.

The same year *William Tracy*, Esquire, of *Todington* in *Gloucestershire*, dying, made a most Christian Testament, but because he would have no Funeral Pomp, Mass, &c. But trusted in God alone through *Christ*, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* shewed the said Will in the Convocation-house, when his Son brought it to be proved, whereupon he was adjudged to be taken out of his Grave, and burnt, which was performed Two years after his death.

Mr. Tracy's body burnt after death.

*Anno Christi 1530. Thomas Hitten*, a godly Minister at *Maidstone* in *Kent*, was convented before Arch-Bishop *Warham*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and accused of Heresie, wherenpon he was kept long in prison, and cruelly tormented by them, and when by no means they could prevail to turn him from the truth, he was at last by them condemned, delivered over to the secular power, and burnt at *Maidstone*.

Thomas Hitten  
Martyr.

*Anno 1532. Thomas Bilney*, *Jeffery Lome*, *Garret Barnes*, and some others, were cruelly persecuted by Cardinal *woolsey*, and at last forced to abjure; But of Mr. *Bilneys* recovery, troubles and martyrdom; See his Life in my first Part.

Master Bilney

There was also at the same time one *Thomas Arthur* a Minister, brought before the Cardinal, and divers other Bishops, where he was accused for exhorting his people, to pray for those which were in prison for the truth. Item that he told his people, that if he were persecuted for preaching the Gospel of *Christ*, yet there were Seven thousand more that would preach it: Therefore, saith he, good people, think not that if these Tyrants and Persecutors put a Man to death, the preaching of the Gospel is therefore to be forsaken. As also that he said, that every Christian is a Priest, to offer up spiritual sacrifice unto God, &c. For these and such other things he was forced to recant, and submit himself to their correction. About the same time the Bishops procured of the King a Proclamation, for the abolishing of divers Books printed beyond Sea, and sent over into *England*: As also for the punishing of all such, as preached any thing against the dignity and ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, whereupon ensued a great persecution, and much trouble to the poor innocent flock of *Christ*.

Thomas Arthur

Humane frailty.

Popish malice.

A great persecution.

*Anno Christi 1532. Richard Bayfield*, a Monk of *Berry*, was converted by Doctor *Barnes*, and much edified by Two godly Citizens of *London*, Brickmakers, and Wardens of their Company, Master *Maxwel*, and Master *Stacy*, who by their holy conversation, and private instructions were the instruments of the conversion, and edification of very many Men, and Women: The occasion of Master *Bayfields* conversion was this: Doctor *Barnes* used oft to resort to the Abbey of

Richard Bayfield.

**He is whipt.** Berry to one Doctor *Ruffam*, who had been his fellow-student at *Louane*: At this time *Bayfield* was chamberlain of the House to provide lodging for strangers: He delighted much in Doctor *Barnes* his talk, and of the two Citizens above named: And at last Doctor *Barnes* gave him a New Testament in *Latine*, and the Citizens gave him one in *English* of *Tindals* translation, with some other good Books: *Bayfield* for Two years space so studied these Books, and profited thereby, that for the same he was cast into the Abby-prison, and there cruelly whipt with a gag in his mouth, and then set in the stocks, where he continued in torments Nine months before Doctor *Barnes* could get him out, which he procured by Doctor *Ruffames* means, and so *Bayfield* was committed to Doctor *Barnes* to go with him to *Cambridg*: There he profited so much in learning that he never returned to his Abbey again, but went to *London* to *Maxwel*, and *Stacy*, who kept him privately a while, and then conveyed him beyond Sea, Doctor *Barnes* being then prisoner in the Fleet for the truth of *Christ*.

**His flight.** *Bayfield* joyning with Master *Tindal*, and Master *Frith*, profited exceedingly in the knowledge of the truth, and carrying over much substance with him, was very helpful to them, he sold also all their Books, and the *Germans* Books for them, both in *France*, and *England*; At last coming to *London* to one Master *Smiths* in *Aldermanbury*, he was betrayed, and from thence dogged to his Warehouse, where his Books lay in *Mark-lane*, and there apprehended, and committed to *Lollards* Tower, from whence afterwards he was removed to the Bishops Coal-house, and there more cruelly handled than he had been in *Lollards* Tower: For he was tyed both by the neck, and middle, and Legs, standing upright by the Wall: He was also tormented to enforce him to accuse thole that had bought his Books of him: But he would accuse none, and stood to the confession of his Faith even to the end, though he was put to his Tryal in the Consistory, and urged to abjure, which he utterly refused, and in disputation put them to great shame. And being asked for what intent he brought thole books into the Realm, he answered: To the intent that the Gospel of *Christ* might be promoted, and God the more glorified amongst Christians, confessing further that he had sold, and dispersed many of these Books to sundry persons in the Kingdome, and to divers in the Diocels of *London*. At last they proceeded to his sentence, at which time he boldly said unto them: *The life of you of the spirituality is so evil, that ye be the Hereticks; and ye do not only live evilly your selves, but maintain the like in others: Ye also hinder that it may be known how Men ought to live, &c.* Then was he condemned for an Heretick, and degraded, and so delivered over to the secular power. When the Bishop of *London* had degraded him, he smote him so hard on his Breast with his Crosiers staff, that he struck him down backwards in a swoond, and broke his Head: But when he came to himself again, he praised God that he was delivered from the malignant Church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true Church of *Jesus Christ*, militant here on earth, and trusted anon to be in Heaven with *Jesus Christ*, and the Church triumphant for ever: And so by the Sheriffs he was carried to *Newgate*, where he continued about an hour in prayer, and so went to the fire with a joyful, and courageous heart: Much cruelty was shewed in his burning, for that for lack of fire he continued half an hour alive: And when his left Arme was burnt, he rubbed it with his right Hand, and it fell from his Body: He continued in Prayer to the end without moving.

**Popish cruelty.** About the same time *John Tewksbury*, Leatherfeller of *London* was convicted before *Cuthbert Tonsal* Bishop of *London*, and accused for having *Tindals* Testament, and the Bible written, and some other good Books: Before them he made a good confession of his Faith, yet at last through their subtil dealing, and humane frailty, he was drawn to abjure, and was enjoyed a se-

vere

**His cruel Martyrdom.**

**John Tewksbury.**



vere penance: But it pleased God ere long to recall him to the truth by seeing the courage, and constancy of *Bayfield* at the time of his burning: And so after two years he was again called before Sir *Thomas Moore*, and the Bishop of *London*, where he had many Articles laid in against him, to which he answered very resolutely, and Christian-like; and for which he was condemned; and delivered over to the secular power, and so by the Sheriffs was carryed into *Smithfield*, and there burnt.

*Edward Freefe*, borne in *Tork*, and there prentice with a painter, being of a pregnant wit, and working with his Master in *Bearfe Abbey*; the Abbate liking him bought out his time of his Master, and would have made him a Monk: But the Boy not liking that kind of life, ran away, and went to *Colchester*, where he used painting, married a Wife, and lived like an honest Man, and after a time he was hired to paint some clothes for an Inn; And in the upper part of those clothes, he wrote certain sentences of Scripture; whereupon he was suspected for an Heretick, apprehended and carried to the Bishop of *London* at *Fulham*: There he was cruelly imprisoned with some others of *Essex*, viz. one *Johnston*, and his Wife: *Wylie*, and his Wife: *Father Bates*, &c. These were all fed with Bread made of Saw-dust, and so straitly lookt to that their Wives and Friends could not come at them. After they had thus remained in misery, the Painter upon the suit of his Wife was removed to *Lollards Tower*: But whilst the Woman was thus petitioning for her Husbands remove, being desirous to see him, she being great with Child pressed towards the place where he was; whereupon the Bishops Porter, kickt her on the belly with his foot, so that the Child presently died, and the Woman not long after.

These Persons were set in the stocks a long time: Then loosed, but with Horselocks on their Legs, and other Irons; The Painter would be often writing on the Wall with Chalk, or a Coal, which caused them to manacle his Hands together till his flesh grew higher than his Irons: At last the King was petitioned to for his release, and after long suit he was brought again before the Bishop, but was kept Three days without meet before he came to his answer, by reason of which, and other cruel usage he was distracted, so that he never came to his wits, to his dying day.

Not long after, his Brother *Valentine Freefe*, and his Wife gave their lives at one Stake in *Tork* for the Testimony of *Iesus Christ*.

Master *James Bainham*, whose Father was a Knight in *Glocestershire*, was carefully educated by his Parents both in Learning, and Religion, so that he was well skilled both in the *Latin*, and *Greek* Tongues: Afterwards he applied himself to the study of the Law: He was of a virtuous disposition; and godly conversation; much addicted unto Prayer, and a diligent reader of the holy Scriptures: A great maintainer of the godly, liberal to Scholars, a visiter of Prisoners, very merciful to his Clients; ready to give counsel to Widows, Fatherless; and afflicted without money, or reward: At last he was suspected, and complained of to Sir *Thomas Moore*, then Chancellor of *England*, and being by a Warrant from him arrested in the middle Temple, he was carried before him to *Chelsey*, where he continued a free Prisoner for a while: Sir *Thomas Moore* in the mean time laboring both by frowns, and flattery to withdraw him from the truth; but when that prevailed not, he caused him to be bound and whipt at a Tree in his Garden, and then sent him to the Tower: And after a while, Sir *Thomas Moore* being present, he caused him to be cruelly rackt till he was lamed, because he would not accuse his acquaintance of the Temple, nor discover where his Books lay: Then was his Wife imprisoned, and his goods confiscated.

A while after he was carried before *Stokefly*, Bishop of *London*, and examined upon sundry Articles; to which he made a clear, and stout answer, not declining from the truth in any particular. The next day he was brought before the Bishop again, and demanded whether he would still persist in what

Recovery af-  
ter falls,

His Martyr-  
dom.

Edward Freefe

Popish Cruel-  
ty.

Valentine  
Freefe and his  
Wife.  
Mr. Bainham

His Character

His Confes-  
sion.

He is white  
and ruddy.

His frailty.

He refuseth to  
abjure.Yet afterwards  
abjured.

His recovery.

He asketh  
forgiveness.He is again  
imprisoned.

he had formerly said, or whether he would return again to the Catholick Church? Adding moreover many fair, inticing, and alluring words, saying, the time was yet that he might be received to favor, The bosom of his Mother being open for him; whereas if he continued stubborn, there was no remedy. *Bainham* hereupon began to waver between desire of life, and fear of death, and therefore said, that he was willing to submit himself in those things wherein he had offended; yet were his answers such, that the Bishop before he would release him, would make farther tryal of him, and therefore committed him to the Counter, and not long after he was again brought forth into the Bishops Consistory, and by his Chancellor was asked whether he would stand to his former answers, protesting that he intended not to receive him into the unity of the holy Church, except he returned faithfully, and unfeignedly to the Catholick Faith? To which *Bainham* answered, that he unfeignedly doth believe in the holy Church, and holdeth the Catholick Faith; Then did the Chancellor offer him a form of abjurations in these words, *I voluntarily as a true penitent Person return from my Heresies, and utterly abjure them, &c.* But *Bainham* answered, that he knew not the Articles contained in that abjuration to be Heresie, and therefore he saw no reason to abjure them: Hereupon the Chancellor began to read his definitive Sentence, but stopped in the midd't saying, that he would reserve the rest till he saw his time, and so sent him back to Prison. And Five days after he was again sent for into the Consistory, and the Chancellor again demanded of him, whether he would yet abjure, and submit himself? *Bainham* was contented, and so laying his Hand on the Book he read his abjuration; but when he had done, he said, that because there were many words in the abjuration which were difficult, and obscure, he protested that by his Oath, he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his Oath: This so vexed the Chancellor that he took the definitive Sentence in his hand, saying, *Take your Oath, and kiss the Book, or I will do mine office against you:* Then did *Bainham* kiss the Book, and subscribed his abjuration; and the Chancellor fined him Twenty pound to the King; enjoyning him penance to go before the Crosse in procession, to bear a Faggot, &c. after which he was to return to Prison again, and there to abide the Bishops determination: And after a while he was dismissed, and returned home. But it pleased God within a moneth after to shew him his sin, so that he greatly bewailed his abjuration, and could never be quiet in his mind and conscience, till he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness before the Congregation of the faithful, which met privately in a Ware-house in *Bow-lane*: Also the Sabbath following he went to *St. Austines Church*, with an *English New Testament* in his Hand, and standing up there in his Pew, before all the people, declared openly, with abundance of tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to be warned by his fall, that they do not the like; For, said he, *if I should not return again to the truth, this word of God (holding up the New Testament) would damn me, both Body and Soul, in the day of judgment*; and therefore he intreated them all rather to die presently, than to do as he had done: For he would not feel such an Hell in his Conscience again for all the good in the world: Besides, he also wrote Letters to the Bishop and to others, for which he was presently after apprehended, and committed to the Tower of *London*, and shortly after he was brought before *Foxford*, Vicar general to the Bishop of *London*, who read to him his Articles contained in his abjuration, and shewed him a Book, which *Bainham* confessed to be his own writing, saying, That what was contained in it was good: He also shewed him the Letter which he wrote to the Bishop, which he also owned, &c.

After all their proceedings, when he remained constant in the truth, the Sentence definitive was read against him, and he was delivered to *Sir Richard Gresham*,



Gresham, Sheriff of London, by whom he was sent to Newgate, and afterwards being carried into Smithfield he was there burnt, April the last Anno Christi 1532.

His Martyrdom.

During his imprisonment he was cruelly handled; For about a Fortnight he lay in the Bishops Coat-house, in the stocks with irons upon his Legs: Then was he carried to the Lord Chancellors, and there chained to a Post Two nights; Then was he carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled for a week together, Then to the Tower, where for a Fortnight together he was scourged with Whips, to enforce him to recant his opinions. As he was at the stake to be burnt, in the midst of the flames which had half consumed his Arms, and his Legs, he spake these words: O ye Papists! behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may see a miracle: For in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in a Bed of down, but it is to me a Bed of Roses.

Popish cruelty.

A miracle, I will be with thee in the fire! John Bone. Trapped.

About the same time there was one John Bent, a Tailor burnt at the Devil's in Wiltshire for the truth: As also one Trapnel was burnt at Brodford in the same County.

Anno Christi 1532. There was an Idol named the Rood of Dover-Court, unto which multitudes of people went on Pilgrimage: Whereupon divers godly persons of Dedham, were much troubled in their consciences to see God so dishonored, and his glory to be given to an Idol, wherefore they were stirred up by Gods Spirit, in a Frosty Moonshine-night to go from Dedham Ten Miles to the place where the Idol stood: And when they came thither, they found the Church doors open, the Popish Clergy having spread a rumour, that such was the power of this Rood, that no Man could shut the Church doors where it stood: Then did they take the Idol from his shrine, and carried it a quarter of a Mile off, where, striking fire, they burnt the Idol to ashes, and so returned. For this Three of them, viz. Robert King, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Marsh, were indicted of Felony, and condemned to be hanged in chains, which was afterwards executed.

Zeal.

An Idol burnt. Robert King, Robert Debnam, Nicholas Marsh. Martyrs.

Robert King being hanged at Dedham: Robert Debnam at Cataway Caufey: and Nicholas Marsh at Dover-Court. These Three godly persons at the time of their death wonderfully edified the people, both by their Christian exhortations, and their holy example in dying constantly in the Faith of Christ.

About the same time there were many Images cast down, and destroyed in sundry places, especially in Essex, in Cogshal, Surlbury, &c.

Images thrown down.

Next ensued the Persecution, apprehension, examination, and condemnation of Master John Frith, of which you may read the story in my First part in the Life of John Frith, with whom also there was burnt one Andrew Hewet, a young Man of about Twenty four years old, a Prentice to a Tailor in Watling-street: This Hewet, on an Holy day going up Fleet-street met with one William Holt, servant to the Kings Tailor: This Holt being a dissembling knave, and suspecting Hewet to be one that favored the Gospel, after a little conference with him, left him, but withal watched whither he went, and seeing him go into an honest Booksellers house about Fleet-Bridge, he took some Officers, and went, and searched the House, and finding Hewet there, he carried him to the Bishops House, where he was cast into irons: And after he had lain there a good while, by the means of an honest Man he had a file conveyed to him, with which he filed off his irons, and when he saw his time, he gat out of the gate: But not knowing where to hide himself, he went into Smithfield, and there met with one Withers, an Hypocritical knave, who understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whether to go, willed him to go with him, promising to provide for his safety, and accordingly kept him a while in the Country, and then brought him to London, and left him in Hosier-lane for the space of Two days, after which he brought

Master John Frith. Andrew Hewet.

A Judas.

His imprisonment.

Hypocrite. A Judas.

Holt

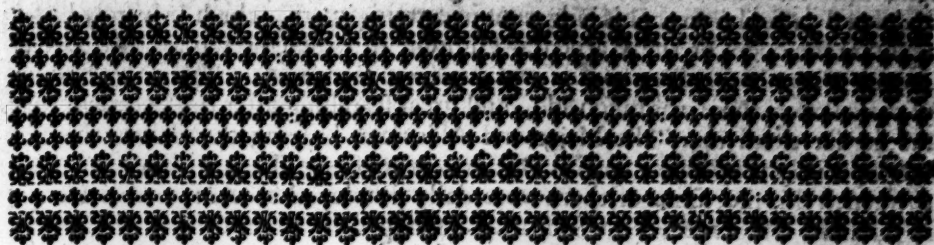
He is again  
apprehended.

His Martyr-  
dom.

*Holt* to him, who pretended much love to him, saying, that if he should bring him into trouble it were pity but the earth should open and swallow him up quick : These villains also brought some others with them at night to sup with him, and after supper *Holt* gave *Andrew* two groats, and imbraced him in his Arms : And thus when they were gone, there came in to him one *John Tibald*, who had been Four times in prison for *Christs* cause : And shortly after came the Bishops Chancellor with the watch, and searched the House, where he found these two innocent persons, whom he bound with Ropes, and carried to the Bishops House : The next day Bishop *Stokesly* examined them with many threatning words : After which he sent *Hewet* to *Lollards* Tower, and kept the other under guard, yet afterwards he was delivered, but was forced to sell all that he had, and might not come within seven miles of his own House : *Andrew Hewet* after long, and cruel imprisonment was condemned to death, and burnt with *John Frith*

T H E





THE LIFE OF  
THOMAS BENET.



About the same time there was one *Thomas Benet*, born in *Cambridge*, and Master of Art in that University, a Man very well learned, and of a godly life; who was very familiar with Master *Bilney* that famous Martyr of *Christ*: This *Benet*, the more he increased in the knowledge of God, and his holy Word, the more he abhorred the Idolatry and corruptions of the times, and therefore fearing to continue in his own Country, he went into *Devonshire*, Anno *Christi* 1524.

and first dwelt in *Torrington*, where for the maintenance of himself, Wife, and Children, he taught a School; but that Town not affording him a subsistence, at the years end he removed to *Exeter*, where also he taught Children, and so maintained his Family thereby: He was very courteous, quiet, meek, and of an holy conversation: He greatly delighted to hear Sermons, and was very attentive to them; what time he could spare from his School, he employed in the study of the Scriptures, having no converse with any but with such as he understood to be favorers of the Gospel, and zealous for the truth: And understanding that one *William Strowd* of *Newnam*, Esquire, was committed to the Bishop's Prison in *Exeter*, upon suspicion of Heresie, he sent consolatory Letters to him, and lest his letters should be suspected by this Gentleman, he discovered himself to him, with the cause of his coming into that Countrey, and amongst other passages he had this, *Because I would not be an whoremonger, or unclean Person, I married a Wife, with whom, through Gods mercy, I have lain hid* His zeal in *Devonshire* from the Tyranny of the Antichristian party these six years: Thus increasing in knowledge, and sanctity, and seeing daily the glory of God to be Blasphemed, Idolatry to be embraced, and maintained, and the false usurped power of the Bishop of *Rome* to be so extolled, he was so grieved in spirit, and troubled in conscience, that he could not be at quiet, till he had uttered his mind therein; But first he began to deal privately with some of his Friends, to whom he plainly discovered how abominably God was dishonored, his Word contemned, his People, whom he had dearly purchased, were by blind kinds carried head-long to eternal damnation, and that therefore he could no longer endure, but must, and would utter their abominations, and for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and in defence of Gods true Religion, would yield himself willingly; as near as God would give him grace, to die, and shed his Blood in this quarrel: Alledging that his death would be more profitable to the Church of God, for the edification of his People, than his life could be.

His Friends being overcome by his arguments, told him that they would pray for him, that he might be strong in the cause of God, and continue a faithful

faithful Soldier to the end. Then did he give order for the disposal of his Books, and shortly after he wrote his judgment in certain papers, which privately he set up upon the doors of the Cathedral Church, in which he wrote, *The Pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship God, and not the Saints.* Upon the finding of these Papers there was much ado, and great searching after the Heretick, that should set them up: The Major and Aldermen busying themselves therein, but especially the Bishop, and his Doctors, were stung like as with wasps; And to quench this fire, some of them were daily imployed to confute this Heresie in publick: *Thomas Benet* the Sabbath following went to the Cathedral Church, and accidentally sat down by Two Men that were most busie of all others in searching after Hereticks: These Men looking on *Benet*, said each to other, *This Fellow is of all others likeliest to set up these Papers, and it were good that he were examined;* yet when they beheld his sober carriage, his attention to the Sermon, and his diligent looking on his *Latin Testament*, they were so astonished that they had no power to speak to him, but went their ways, and left him reading on his Book.

Gods Providence.

He is cursed with Bell, Book, and Candle.

The Canons and Priests being much troubled how to find out the Author of those Bills, resolved to Curse him whatsoever he were with Bell, Book and Candle, which they proceeded to after this manner.

One of the Priests cloathed all in white, went up into the Pulpit, divers Fryers stood round about, and the Cross was held up with divers Wax Tapers lighted about it; Then the Priest began to preach on the Text in *Josua*: *There is an accursed thing amongst you;* which Sermon he thus concluded. That the foul and abominable Heretick which hath put up these Blasphemous Bills, was for that his Blasphemy damnably accursed, and therefore he besought God, our Lady, Saint *Peter* the Patron of the Church, with all the holy company of Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, that it might be known what Heretick had put up those Blasphemous Bills, that so Gods people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of these Cursings was very terrible to the Spectators, who were miserably deluded with such Superstitions.

Then said the Priest, *By the Authority of God, the Father Almighty, and the blessed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, and of the holy Saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse, and ban, commit and deliver to the Devil of Hell, him or her, whatsoever he, or she be, that have in spite of God and Saint Peter, whose Church this is, in spite of all holy Saints, and in spite of our most holy Father the Pope, Gods Vicar here on earth, and in spite of our reverend Father in God John, our Diocesan, and the worshipful Canons, &c. which serve God daily in this Church, fixed up such Cursed and Heretical Bills full of Blasphemy upon this, and other holy Churches Doors. Excommunicated plainly be he, or she, and delivered over to the Devil as perpetual Malefactors, and Schismatics: Accursed let them be, and given over Body, and Soul to the Devil: Cursed be they in Cities, and in Towns, in Fields, in ways, in Paths, in Houses, out of Houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. we separate him, or her from the Threshold, and from all the good Prayers of the Church, from the participation of the holy Mass, from all Sacraments, Chappels, and Altars; from holy Bread, and holy water, from all the Merits of Gods Priests, and Religious Men, and from all their Cloisters, from all pardons, priviledges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy Fathers, Popes of Rome, have granted to them: And we give them over utterly to the power of the Fiend, and let us quench their Souls if they be dead this night in the pains of Hell-fire, as this Candle is now quenched, and put out, (and therewith he put out one of the Candles) And let us pray God if they be alive, that their Eyes may be put out as this Candle-light is, (and therewith he put out another Candle) And let us pray to God, our Lady, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, and all holy Saints, that all the senses of their Bodies may fail them, and that they may*



may have no feeling, as now the light of this Candle is gone, (and therewith he put out another Candle) except they come now and openly confess their Blasphemy, and by repentance, as much as in them lies, make satisfaction to God, our Lady, Saint Peter, and the worshipful Company of this Church, and as the Staff of this holy Cross now falls down, so may they except they repent, and so the Staff fell down.

Upon this dreadful Curse what a noise, and terrible fear was there amongst the People.

Master Benet seeing all this foppery, laughed heartily at it, yet as privately as he could, but some there were that espied him, whereupon they asked him how he could laugh at such dreadful Curses? Benet answered: My Friends, who can forbear seeing such merry conceits, and interludes played by the Priests? This caused them to cry out, Here is the Heretick, here is the Heretick, hold him fast, hold him fast: Hereupon there was a great noise, and clapping of Hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the Heretick or no: So that they suffered him quietly to depart home to his own House. But he, being not able to digest the lyes there preached, caused his Boy early in a morning to set up new Bills upon the Church-yard Gates, which whilest he was doing, one that went early to hear a Mass, found the Boy at the Gates, and charged him with setting up those Bills, wherefore pulling down the Bill he carried both it, and the Boy before the Major of the City, and thereby Master Benet being discovered, was presently sent for, and violently haled to Prison: On the next day the Cannons began to examine him, to whom he confessed, that it was he that had put up the Bills, and that if it were to do, he would do it again: For, said he, there is nothing in them but the very truth. Couldst not thou, said they, have spoken so much with thy Mouth, as well to have set up those Bills? No, said he, I put them up that many might read them, and thereby know what abominable Blasphemers you are, and that your Pope is Antichrist, even that Bear out of the wood that destroy the Church of Christ, &c. But if I had spoken so much I should presently have been clapt up in Prison, and so the truth had been concealed, &c.

The next day they sent him to the Bishop, who clapped him up in his own Prison, kept him in the Stocks, loaded him with Irons, and shewed him as much favor as a Dog should have had: Then associating to himself some others, he examined him: But he answered in such sort, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he confounded, and put to silence his Adversaries, causing them much to admire him: Then did they rife his House, shamefully abused his Wife, charging her with divers enormities: But she, like a good Woman took all patiently, and was willing to bear the Cross with her Husband.

Some of the Fryers did greatly torment their Brains to find out how they might turn him from his opinions: But through Gods mercy, Benet was at a point, not to deny Christ before Men, so that at last they declared that never was their such an obstinate Heretick, Yet did they for divers days continually assault him, so that being weary of their Company, he said, I take God to record that my life is not dear to me, I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings to the utter destruction of Christs Flock, so that I desire death that I may no longer see your detestable Idolatries, and Superstitions, or be subject to Antichrist your Pope, &c. Away from me, I pray you, and vex my Soul no longer; you shall not prevail against me, &c. If I should bear, and follow you, everlasting death should be my portion, A just reward for all them that love a temporal before eternal life: Away therefore from me, for your company likes me not.

During his imprisonment his Wife provided food for him, and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good, and godly exhortations, intreating her not to move him in any thing to comply with his Adversaries.

His condemnation.

When the Canons and Priests perceived that they could nothing prevail, neither by their flatteries, nor threatnings, they proceeded to judgment, drawing out their bloody Sentence against him, and condemned him to be burnt, delivering him to Sir Thomas Denis, Sheriff of Devonshire, *Anno Christi 1531.* The holy Martyr rejoiced that his end approached so near, and as a Sheep before the Shearer, yielded himself with all humility, and cheerfulness to take up the Cross of *Christ*, and being brought to the place of his execution, he made his humble confession, and prayer to Almighty God, requesting all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such gravity, and sobriety, above all things to seek the honor of God, and the saving knowledge of him, as also to leave the devices, and fancies of Mens brains, in the service of God, that all the hearers and spectators were stricken with great admiration, so that most of the people, and the Scribe himself that wrote the Sentence of his condemnation, confessed that he was Gods faithful Servant, and a good Man.

He is tempted

Yet Two Gentlemen, [Master Thomas Carew, and Master John Barnhouse,] labored first by fair promises, and enticing words, and then by grievous threatnings to draw him to a recantation, and to pray to our Lady, and the Saints, to whom he meekly answered, saying, *No, no, it is God only upon whom we must call, and we have no other Advocate with the Father but Jesus Christ alone, who died for us, and now sits at the right hand of his Father to plead our cause; By him must we offer, and make our Prayers to God, if we desire that they should find acceptance at the Throne of Grace:* Barnhouse was so enraged hereat, that

His Constancy.

Popish cruelty.

His Martyrdom.

Popish Ignorance.

Popish Clergies malice.

The Parliaments complaint of it.

Gods reasonable assistance to his Church.

Good laws enacted.

he took a Furze-bush upon a Pike, and having set it on fire held it to his Face, saying, *Ah whoreson Heretick, pray to our Lady, or by Gods wounds I will make thee do it:* To whom Master Benet answered with an humble, and meek Spirit, *Alas Sir, trouble me not,* and holding up his Hands he said, *Father forgive them;* Then was the fire kindled, and this holy Martyr lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, said, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit;* and so continuing in prayer, he never moved his Body, but with admirable patience endured the violence of the fire till his life was ended. The Popish party were so violent at his burning, that well was he, or she that could get a stick, or bush to throw into the fire.

About this time the Popish Clergy were so active, and vigilant in suppressing the light of the Gospel that began then to break forth, that scarce a Man or Woman could make the least shew, in imbracing, or entertaining the same, but presently they were seized on, and either burnt at a Stake, or grievously persecuted, and molested till they were forced to abjure, as very many were in the Diocese of London, by Bishop Stokesly, and in most other Diocesses in the Kingdom. And indeed the malice, and cruelty of the Prelates, and their Officers grew so intolerable, that the commons, shortly after assembled in Parliament, did by their Speaker, accompanied with divers Knights, and burgesses, complain thereof to the King, humbly desiring him to take such order, and redress in that case, as to his Highnesses wisdom might seem most convenient, &c. And the Lords divine providence did not fail in this time of need; For he saw that the pride, and cruelty of the Popish Clergy was grown intolerable; He heard the sighes, groans, and bitter afflictions of his oppressed flock, that truth was adulterated, Religion prophaned, the Glory of his Son defaced, and his poor Church lamentably wasted, wherefore by a strange and wondrous way and means, he wrought salvation for his people, by the Kings divorcement from the Lady Catherine of Spain, and by his marrying with the Lady Anne Bullen, during whose time I find no great Persecution, nor any to be forced to abjuration in the Church of England.

Also in the Parliament which began, *Anno Christi 1533.* upon the aforementioned petition of the Commons to the King, it was at length by the Kings consent enacted, that all the laws, decrees, ordinances, and constitutions made



made, or established by the pretended authority of the Bishops of Rome, to advance their worldly Glory, should be null; That whosoever did speak against the same should not therefore stand in any danger, or be impeachable for Heresie. As also that all Constitutions, Ordinances, and Canons, either Provincial, or Synodal made here by the Bishops, and Clergy in their Convocation, being onerous to the King, and his Subjects, and in any wise repugnant to the Laws, and Statutes of this Realm, should be committed to the examination of Thirty two Persons to be chosen out of the Two Houses of Parliament, and by them either to be confirmed, or abrogated at their discretion, &c.

But as the Kings marriage with the Lady Anne Bullen brought great joy to all good and goodly Men, so it much grieved and incensed the Popish party, whereupon some Monks, and Fryers divulged amongst the common people that they had a revelation from God, and his Saints, that he was highly displeased with the Kings divorcement from the Lady Catherine, and they further declared, that God had revealed to a Nun, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called *The holy Maid of Kent*, that if the King persisted in his divorce, he should not continue King for a month to an end, &c.

This Nun by her dissimulation before the people, shewed marvelous alteration of her visage, and other parts of her Body, lying as if she had been in a trance, and then, as if she had been inspired by God, would speak much by way of reproofing sin, and reproaching the Gospel, which she called *Heresie*: As also she uttered many things to the dishonor of the King and Queen, and to the establishing Idolatry, Pilgrimages, &c. But Doctor Crammer, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Lord Cromwell, and Master Hugh Latimer, by their prudence, and diligence found out all the knavery, so that the Nun and some of her associates were condemned, and executed. Anno Christi 1533.

The holy maid of Kent hangs, &c.

About this time there was one *Pevier*, or *Pevier*, the Town-Clerk of London, and a great Enemy to Gods truth, who could not indure that the Gospel should be translated into *English*, and in the presence of divers he swore a great Oath, that if he thought the King would set forth the Scripture in *English*, and so suffer them to be read to the people, he would cut his own Throat, rather than live to see that day: But he broke promise, faith mine Author; For instead of cutting his Throat, he hanged himself with an Halter with judgment for his impiety.

Pevier hangs himself.

About the same time Doctor Foxford, Chancellor to the Bishop of London, [Stokefly] a cruel Persecutor of Gods Saints, who had condemned, and forced to abjure those before spoken of, as he was sitting in his Chair, his Belly burst, and his Guts fell out before him.

Gods Judgment on Foxford.

Anno Christi 1534. The King summoned a Parliament, wherein the usurped power of the Pope was abolished out of this Kingdom, and the King was declared the supreme Head of the Church, and invested with power to reform, and redress all errors, Heresies, and abuses in the same. The University of Cambridge also in the Regent-house unanimously declared against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, the like did many Bishops in the Realm: Yet the body of Popery still continued in the Land, so that Anno Christi 1536. that faithful Martyr of God, William Tindal, was betrayed, arraigned, and condemned, and gave his life for the Testimony of the truth, the Story whereof you may read in my First Part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History in the Life of Master Tindal.

The Power of the Pope abolished.

Master William Tindal.

The same year followed the death, and Martyrdom of that good Queen Anne Bullen, who had now been married to the King about Three years: She was a Woman of rare and singular gifts of mind, well instructed in the true Religion, with a fervent desire to advance, and propagate the same; she was

Queen Anne Bullen.

Her death.

Her Charity.

of a gentle, and modest behaviour towards all; and so humble, that she was not only willing to be admonished, but required her Chaplains freely, and plainly to tell her of whatsoever was amiss. She was very bountiful to the poor, inſomuch that the Alms which she gave in Three quarters of a year, amounted to the Sum of Fourteen or Fifteen thousand pounds; besides a great Sum of money, which she intended to have ſent into Four parts of the Kingdom, to make a ſtock for poor Artificers, and Workmen. She was a zealous defender of *Chriſts* Goſpel, and by her means it was, that Maſter *Hugh Latimer* was made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Doctor *Shaxton* (a good Man,) was advanced to another Biſhoprick. What her Faith was appears by this example.

The Kings ignorance reformed by the Queen.

King *Henry*, being with her at *Woodſtock*, was much afraid of an old blind prophecy, by reaſon whereof, neither he, nor other Kings before durſt hunt in that Park, nor enter into the City of *Oxford*: But at laſt, through the Chriſtian, and faithful counſel of this Queen, he was ſo animated, and encouraged againſt thoſe fooliſh feares, that he both hunted in the Park, and went to *Oxford* without receiving any harm thereby. She was a ſtrong Bulwark to the reformed Religion, and to the profeſſors thereof, which cauſed her to be much hated by her Popiſh malicious Adverſaries, who ceaſed not till they had wrought her out of the affections of the King, by ſiniſter ſuggeſtions, and falſe tales, and had brought in another Lady, upon whom the King caſting his Eye, and affecting change, he reſolved to be rid of Queen *Anne*, by whom he had the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards our glorious Queen of *England*. For which end the King and Queen being at *Greenwich* to ſee a Juſts, ſuddenly in the miſt of the ſport, the King roſe up, and with a few Perſons went to *weſtmiſter*, and the next day after, Queen *Anne*, with the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, and ſome others were carried to the Tower, and within leſs than Three weeks after, ſhe was beheaded, the cauſe whereof was ſcarce ever ſince known.

Popiſh ſubtilty.

Her Martyrdom.

At the time of her death, ſhe ſpake to this purpoſe; *Good Chriſtian People, I come hither to die, being adjudged thereunto, and therefore I will ſpeak nothing againſt it: I come not hither to accuſe any Man, nor to ſpeak any thing of that whereof I am accuſed, and for which I am condemned; I pray God to ſave the King, and to ſend that he may Reign long over you, &c. And if any Perſon will meddle with my cauſe, I require them to judg the beſt: And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily deſire you all to pray for me. Oh Lord, have mercy upon me: To thee, O God, I commend my Soul, and ſo kneeling down, ſhe ſaid, To Chriſt I commend my Soul; Jeſus, receive my Soul.* Which ſhe repeated divers times, till her Head was ſtricken off. The third day after, the King was married to the Lady *Jane Seymour*.

It pleaſed God that about this time the Lord *Cromwel* grew in favor with the King, by whole advice many things were reformed in the Church: whereof you may ſee more in my *Second Part, in the Life of the Lord Cromwel*.

Images abolished.

Anno Chriſti 1538. The Kings injunctions were publiſhed, whereby all ſuch Images, and Pictures as were abuſed with Pilgrimages, or Idolatrous offerings to them, were commanded to be aboliſhed: By vertue whereof many notable Idols were deſtroyed, as the Image of our Lady at *Walſingham*, *Ipfwich*, *Worceſter*, *Willeſdon*, of *Thomas Becket*, with many others, which by ſecret Engines were made to open, and ſhut their Eyes, to roull them about, &c. whereby the people had been long deceived.

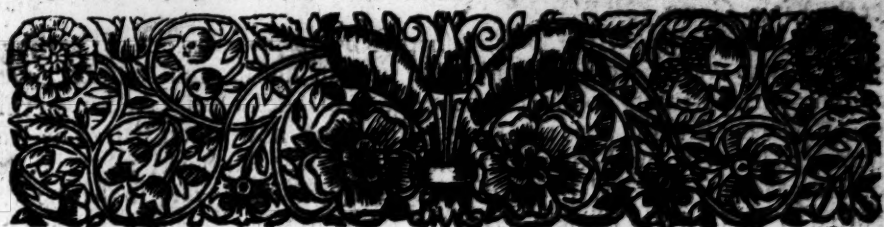
An Heretic burned.

At the ſame time there was one Frier *Foreſt*, who was convicted of treaſon, for holding divers damnable Hereſies which he reſuſing to revoke, was condemned to be hanged on a Gallows under the Arms, and by fire made under him, to be burnt to death. But when he ſaw that he muſt die, he caught hold on the Ladder, and would not let it go, and ſhewed very much impatience, and terror at his death, ending his life very unquietly, and ungodly.

Abbeys, and Monaſteries demolished.

The ſame year followed the ruin, and demolishing of Abbeys, and Religious Houſes by the ſpecial motion of the Lord *Cromwel*.





THE LIFE OF  
Mr. JOHN LAMBERT.



Presently after followed the trouble, and Martyrdom of *John Lambert*, that faithful Servant, and valiant Champion of *Jesus Christ*, of whom the Story followeth.

*John Lambert* was born, and brought up in *Norfolk*, and was first converted by Master *Bilney*. He studied in the University of *Cambridge*, and having sufficiently profited in the knowledge of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, he translated divers Books into *English* out of both those Languages, and at last when persecution grew hot, he went beyond the Seas, to Master *Tindal*, and Master *Frish*, with whom he abode above a year, and was Preacher to the *English* Merchants at *Antwerp*, till by the malice of *Sir Thomas Moore*, and the cunning craft of one *Barlow*, he was carried from *Antwerp* to *London*, and being brought before Arch-Bishop *Warham*, he was charged with Forty five Articles, whereunto he returned an excellent, and learned answer in writing, which you have at large in the Book of Martyrs, *Volum. 2. page 396. &c.* This was *Anno Christi 1532*. But shortly after *Warham* dying, Doctor *Cranmer* was made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and partly by his means, and partly by the help of Queen *Anne Bullen*, Master *Lambert* was delivered out of Prison, and so returning to *London*, about the *Sticks* he set up a School, wherein he taught the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues: And seeing that Ministers could not be allowed at that time to marry, he left his Ministry, and wholly betook himself to his School, intending to marry: And thus he continued a Schoolmaster with great commendation, and approbation, and to the great benefit of youth till *Anno 1538*. At which time being present at a Sermon in *Peters Church*, there preached one Doctor *Taylor*, a Man that was a favorer of the truth. After Sermon Master *Lambert* took his time, and went to the Preacher, desiring to be satisfied in divers things, especially about the manner of *Christ's* presence in the Sacrament: Doctor *Taylor* told him that he had other business for the present, but wished him to write his mind, and to come to him at another time: Master *Lambert* went his way, and having written his mind, repaired to him at another time: For the confirmation of his opinion he had quoted Scriptures, set down reasons, and brought the opinion of the Doctors: *Taylor* willing to satisfy Master *Lambert*, advised with divers, but especially with one Doctor *Barnes*, who favored the Gospel, and was an earnest Preacher, yet liked not Master *Lambert's* opinion in this point, whereupon he perswaded Master *Lambert* to put up this matter to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*: And thus the matter which at first was but a private conference, became now a publick business: And Master *Lambert* was sent for by the Arch-Bishop into the publick Court, and forced to defend

His first imprisonment.

His deliverance.

defend his cause openly : For the Arch-Bishop as yet favored not the Doctrine of the Sacrament, and the rumor of this disputation was presently spread abroad all over the Kings Court.

Stephen Gardiners subtilty.

At this time *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester* was one of the Kings Council, who was of a cruel nature, and withall subtil, and Politick, ever watching an opportunity to hinder the progress of the Gospel : And upon this occasion he went straight unto the King, telling him how much hatred he had procured to himself, by abolishing the Bishop of *Romes* Authority ; by the demolishing Monasteries, and by the divorce of *Queen Katherine*, so that he was reported to be a favorer of new Sects, and opinions : But now the time served for his taking off all these aspersions, and clearing himself, if he would vigorously proceed against *John Lambert* for his Heresies, &c. The King willingly hearkened to this Counsel, and thereupon presently sent out a general commission, commanding all his Nobles and Bishops to come with all speed to *London* to assist him against Hereticks, and Heresies, which the King himself would sit in judgment upon : And thus all things being prepared, a day was set for Master *Lamberts* appearance, a great concourse of Nobles was there, and all the Scaffolds filled with spectators : By and by the faithful Servant of *Christ* Master *Lambert*, was brought from Prison with a guard of Armed Men, as a Lamb to fight against many Lions, and placed over against the Kings Seat, so that now they tarried but for the Kings coming, who at last came as the Judge of that controversy ; on his right hand sat the Bishops, and behind all the famous Lawyers, and on the left hand the Peers of the Realm, &c. which was enough to have daunted the innocent Servant of *Christ*, but especially the Kings looks, his cruel countenance, and brows bent in a severe manner : Who turning himself to his Counsellors, called forth Doctor *Day*, Bishop of *Exceter*, commanding him to declare to the people the cause of this great assembly ; The sum of the Bishops Oration was, that though the King had abolished the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, yet he would not have any thing that he intended therewith to extinguish Religion, or to give liberty to Hereticks to disturb the Churches peace : As also that they should not expect any disputation upon the Heretical Doctrine ; His purpose being only by the industry of himself, and the Bishops to refute the Heresies of this Man present, and of all like unto him, and openly to condemn them in the presence of them all.

His second imprisonment.

His Trial.

The Bishop having ended his Oration, the King stood up, and with bent brows looking upon Master *Lambert*, he demand of him what was his Name : The meek Lamb kneeling down, said, *My Name is John Nicholson, though ordinarily I am called Lambert* ; and so after divers questions and answers, the King bad him go to the matter, and declare his opinion about the Sacrament of the Altar : Then Master *Lambert* gave God thanks, who had inclined the Heart of the King, that himself disdained not to hear, and understand the cause of Religion : The rather, because it oft-times fell out, that through the cruelty of the Bishops, divers innocent Men in several places were privily murdered, and put to death without the Kings knowledg, &c. Then the King with an angry voice interrupted him, saying, *I came not hither to hear mine own praises, therefore briefly go to the matter without any more circumstances*. Master *Lambert* being troubled at the Kings angry words, paused a while, considering whither he might turn himself in this extremity : The King being more incensed hereby, said, *why standest thou still? Answer what thy judgment is about the Sacrament of the Altar?* Master *Lambert* first quoted out Saint *Augustines* judgment, and then plainly denied it to be the Body of *Christ* : Then the King commanded Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* to confute his assertion : The Arch-Bishop made a short preface, and then disputed very modestly with Master *Lambert* ; who answered him very acutely and learnedly, so that the King seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the Arch-Bishop was intangled, and the people amazed : But *Stephen Gardiner* filled with all malice, without the

A Disputation.



the Kings command interposed, and urged his argument, which *Lambert* easily wiped off, though he was interrupted, and taunted for his labor: Then *Ston-  
stal*, Bishop of *Duresme* took his course, and after him *Stokesly* Bishop of *Lincoln*;  
To both whom, Master *Lambert* answered so, that both King and Bishops raged  
exceedingly, so that he was forced to silence. After which, other Bishops, be-  
ing Ten in all, pressed him with their arguments; so Master *Lambert*, afflicted  
with taunts, amazed with the Majesty of the place, the King being present, and  
tired with standing, having continued Five Hours together, and seeing no hope  
of prevailing by Speech, resolved to hold his peace: And when they began to  
light up Torches, the King said to him, *what sayest thou after all this pains taken  
with thee? wilt thou live, or die? what sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choise.*  
Master *Lambert* answered, *I submit my self wholly to the will of your Majesty;*  
The King replied, *Commit thy self into the hands of God, not of me.* Master *Lam-  
bert* answered, *I commend my Soul into the hands of God, but my Body I wholly submit  
to your clemency;* Then said the King, *If you commit your self to my judgment,  
you must die, for I will be no Patron to Hereticks;* and so turning to the Lord *Crom-  
wel*, he bad him read the Sentence of condemnation against him. *Cromwel* was

His condem-  
nation.

Upon the day which was appointed for this holy Martyr to suffer, he was  
brought out of Prison by Eight a Clock in the morning, to the Lord *Cromwells*  
Houle, and so carried to a private Chamber, where *Cromwel* desired forgiveness  
of him, for that which he had done. And when the hour of death came,  
Master *Lambert* found much joy, and comfort in his Soul, and coming out of  
the Chamber into the Hall, he saluted the Gentlemen, and sat down to break-  
fast with them, after which he was presently carried to the place of execution,  
which was *Smithfield*, where he was very cruelly handled: For when his Legs  
were burned to the stumps, the wretched Tormentors withdrew the fire from  
him, leaving but a small fire, and coals under him: Then Two of them  
thrust their Halberts into his sides, wherewith they lifted him up as far as the  
Chain would permit. Then Master *Lambert* lifting up his Hands, his  
Fingers ends flaming with fire, said, *None but Christ, None but Christ,* and  
so being let down again, he fell into the fire, where he sweetly ended  
his life.

Lord *Cromwel*  
asketh him  
forgiveness.

His Martyr-  
dom.

The same year *Robert Packington*, Mercer, and Citizen of *London*, used  
every day at Five of the Clock in the morning, Summer and Winter, to go to  
prayers at *Mercers Chapel*, and one morning being a very great mist, he was  
pistolled as he crossed the street thitherward; yet the Murtherer was long  
concealed till Doctor *Incent*, Dean of *Pauls*, lying on his Death-bed, confessed  
that he had hired an *Italian*, for Forty Crowns to do that wicked deed; and the  
reason of it was, because this Master *Packington* being a Burges of Parliament at  
that time, was known to be a stout Man, one that could speak well, and would  
be heard: And in that Parliament he had spoken plainly against their wickedness,  
which had procured him this hatred.

1538.  
Robert *Pack-  
ington*,

Murdered.

Also the same year there was one Master *Collins* a Lawyer, burnt for an He-  
retick in *Smithfield*. Also in *Suffolke* there was one *Puttedew*, who coming to  
Church, and telling the Priest, that after he had drunk up all the Wine alone,  
he blessed the People with the empty Cup, was presently apprehended for it,  
and shortly after burnt for an Heretick.

Master *Collins*  
Punished.

As also *William Leiston*, a Monk of *Aie* in the same County, was burnt at  
*Norwich* for speaking against an Idol that was used to be carried about in

*William Leis-  
ton*.

Proceſſion: As alſo for holding that the Sacrament ought to be adminiſtered in both kinds.

Peck.

Not long before, one *Peck* was burnt at *Ipswich*, and when by reaſon of the flame round about him, he was all over as black as a Coal, there was one Doct<sup>r</sup> *Reading*, with other Doct<sup>r</sup>s ſtanding by, and *Reading* having a long Wand in his hand, ſtrook *Peck* on the ſhoulder, ſaying, *Recant, and believe that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of Chriſt, fleſh, blood, and bones, and ſo I will preſently abſolve thee*: To whom *Peck* answered, *I deſie both it, and thee*, and ſo ſpat Blood at him; whereupon the Doct<sup>r</sup> ſaid, *To as many as ſhall caſt a ſtick, to the burning of this Heretick, My Lord Biſhop of Norwich grants Forty days pardon*; which ſaid, Baron *Curſon*, Sir *John Audley*, with many others roſe from their ſeats, and with their ſwords cut down Boughs, and threw them into the fire: The like did all the multitude that was there preſent.

Popiſh ignorance.

Wicked Injunctions.

As God of his great goodneſs had raiſed up *Cromwel* to be a Friend, and Patron to the Goſpel: So Satan ſtirred up *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by all ſubtil, and crafty devices to impede, and hinder the ſame, whereupon he ſo wrought with the King; that *Anno Chriſti 1539.* he ſet forth injunctions, that none ſhould bring over any *Engliſh* Books, nor ſell, give, utter, nor publiſh them: That none ſhould here print any Books, but ſuch as were licenſed: That none ſhould print, publiſh, nor ſell any Book of the Scriptures, not firſt peruſed, and licenſed: That no Sacramentaries, or others ſhould ſell Books, maintaining their opinions, but that ſuch Perſons, and Books ſhould preſently be detected, and diſcovered: That none ſhould reaſon, diſpute, or argue about the Sacrament of the Altar: That all Ceremonies formerly uſed in the Church, as holy Water, Proceſſions, creeping on *Good-Friday* to the Croſs, &c. ſhould be obſerved till it pleaſed the King to alter, or abrogate the ſame: That all Priests that had married Wives, or intended ſo to do, ſhould be deprived from all ſpiritual promotions, &c. and all theſe upon very grievous, and ſevere penalties.

By theſe means the courſe of the Goſpel began again to decline; but preſently after it pleaſed God opportunely to ſtir up the Lord *Cromwel* to be an inſtrument of advancing the Goſpel, which he had done much more, had not the peſtilent Biſhops by contrary practices craftily undermined him, and ſupplanted his virtuous proceedings.

Lord Cromwells piety.

Stephen Gardiners ſubtility.

About this time, *Anno Chriſti 1540.* the Lord *Cromwel* for the better eſta- bliſhing ſincere Religion, in this Realm, deviſed to effect a Marriage between the King, and the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, whoſe Siſter was married to the Duke of *Saxony*, a Proteſtant Prince, by which marriage it was ſuppoſed there would be eſta bliſhed a perpetual peace and amity between this Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, which would much ſtrengthen the Proteſtant party againſt the Tyranny of the Pope and his adherents. But preſently after the marriage, *Stephen Gardiner*, who was now crept into favor with the King, ſug- geſted to him ſome occaſions of diſtaſt againſt the Duke of *Saxony*, and ſome apprehenſions of fear by reaſon of that odium which he had pulled upon himſelf, by rejecting the Pope, and demolishing Abbeyes, and Monasteries, whereby (as he told him) he had made the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *France*, and the King of *Scotland*, his Enemies, but eſpecially his own Subjects who were much diſtaſted with the innovations in Religion, &c. and that the only way to heal all, was to ſhew himſelf ſharp, and ſevere againſt the new Sectaries.

The Six Articles.

This occaſioned the King to condemn Maſter *Lambert*; To publiſh the aforenamed injunctions, and as if he yet had not done enough, he ſummoned a Parliament, and Convocation, in both which he cauſed theſe Six Articles to be enacted. Firſt, that the Bread, and Wine in the Sacrament after the words of conſecration, were really turned into the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, &c. Secondly,



Secondly, that the Communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem*, to salvation, &c. Thirdly, that Priests may not marry. Fourthly, that vows of chastity ought to be observed by the Laws of God. Fifthly, that private Masses ought to be continued. Sixthly, that Auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained, and frequented in the Church of God.

ought

These Articles being consented unto, and concluded by King and Parliament, the crafty Bishops caused farther to be enacted, that whosoever denied Transubstantiation, or whosoever should be aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein, should be adjudged Hereticks; That every such offender should have, and suffer judgment, execution, pains, and pain of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of Clergy, or Sanctuary, &c. and should farther forfeit to his Majesty, all his honors, manors, lands, revenues, goods and chattels, &c. as in the cases of high treason. And for all such as did preach, teach, uphold, maintain or defend any thing contrary to the Five last Articles, should be adjudged as Felons, and lose both life and goods, as in the case of felony, &c.

Yet when these Articles were in debate in the Parliament-house, Doctor Cranmer Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, like a constant Patron of Gods cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the truth, three days together disputing against these Articles, and in his disputations he behaved himself with such humble modesty; Protesting that the cause was not his, but the cause of Almighty God, that the King could take no offence at the same. Wherefore the King, who always bore him special favor, well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the Parliament-house into the Council-chamber for a time till the Act should be passed; which he notwithstanding with humble protestation refused to do. But notwithstanding all his opposition, the Act was passed, and the King considering the constant zeal of the Arch-Bishop, and weighing the many authorities, and reasons which were brought against those Articles: He sent the Lord *Cromwel*, the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with all the Lords of the Parliament to dine with the Arch-Bishop at *Lambeth*: where they told him that it was the Kings pleasure that they all should in his Highness behalf, cherish, comfort and animate him as one that in the Parliament had declared himself very learned, and also discreet and wise, and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged at any thing that had passed contrary to his judgment, and allegations; the Arch-Bishop humbly thanked, First the King for his singular good affection towards him, and then the Lords for their pains; Adding, that he hoped that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place to Gods glory, and the benefit of the Realm.

Dr. Cranmer  
opposed  
them.

The Kings love  
to Dr. Cran-  
mer.

Not long after followed the apprehension and Martyrdom of the Lord *Cromwel*, Earl of *Essex*, concerning which see his Life in my *Second Part of the Marrow of Eccles. History*.

Lord Cromwells  
Martyrdom.

This Lord *Cromwel* in his life-time had been a great stay and prop to the the Church of *England*, and had much protected the professors of the Gospel, but after his death, there ensued a miserable slaughter of godly Men, and Women: For *Winchester* having now obtained his purpose, raised great troubles in the Lords Vineyard, and his malicious mind: admitting no delays, he assaulted Three godly Ministers, Master *Robert Barnes*, *Thomas Garret*, and *William Jerom*.

Stephen Gardiner  
diacres malice.



THE LIFE OF  
Dr. B A R N E S.



Doctor Barnes after he came from the University of *Lovain*, went to *Cambridg*, where he was elected Prior of the *Augustine* Fryers. At this time the knowledg of good Letters was scarcely entred into the University; whereupon Doctor Barnes began to read in his own Houle, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and *Cicero*, so that by his great pains and industry, he caused the House to flourish with Learning, and divers began to be eminent for their Scholarship, amongst whom was Ma-

ster *Coverdal*. After this foundation laid, he began openly to read upon *Pauls* Epistles, and that he might advance *Christ*, and his holy Word, he turned their unfavoury problems, and former fruitless disputations to better Subjects about the holy Scriptures, whereby in short space he made many good Divines: The same order he also observed when he disputed in the University Schools. Thus by his reading, disputations, and preaching he became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, always preaching against Bishops, and Hypocrites, yet saw not the remainders of Idolatry which himself practised, till good Master *Bilney*, and some others converted him wholly unto *Christ*. Then preaching publickly in *Cambridg*, he was accused of Heresie by Two Fellows of *Kings-hall*. This stirred up some godly, and learned Men of *Pembrook-hall*, and other Colleges often to meet together at an House in the Town, which in derision was by their Adversaries called *Germany*.

Contention in  
*Cambridg*.

Doctor Barnes his Adversaries accused him in the Regent-house; and Articles being put in against him, he promised to return an answer to them, which accordingly he did at the next Convocation: Then did Doctor *Nottaris* move Doctor Barnes to make a recantation, which he refused to do. Thus in *Cambridg* did this difference continue, one preaching against another for about a quarter of a year, at the end whereof a Pursuivant at Arms was sent down from *London*, who, for the terror of others arrested Doctor Barnes in the Convocation-house, intending also to search for *Luthers* Books in all their studies that were suspected to favor his Doctrine: But Doctor *Farman* of *Queens College* sent word immediately to all their Chambers, so that when the Pursuivant came, the Books were all conveyed away.

Doctor Barnes  
brought to  
Cardinal *Wol-*  
*sey*.

The godly Scholars met together that night, and drew-up an answer for Doctor Barnes, which they gave him, and when he came to *London*, he was presently carryed before Cardinal *wolsey*, where after long attendance, he was at last admitted into his Chamber, and caused to kneel upon his Knees: Then said the Cardinal to him, *what Master Doctor, had you not sufficient scope in the Scriptures to Preach on, but you must meddle with my Golden Shooes, my Polaxes, my Pillars, my Golden Cushion, my Crosses, did these so offend*



offend you that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people: Surely that Sermon was fitter for a Stage than a Pulpit, &c. Doctor Barnes answered, that he spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to his Conscience, and the ancient Fathers, and withal delivering him Six Sheets of writing to corroborate his sayings. The Cardinal said, *we perceive then that you intend to stand to your Articles, and to shew your learning:* Yes, said Barnes, that I do, by Gods grace, and your Lordships favor: Then said the Cardinal, *Such as you, bear us little favor. But whether do you think it better for us to have all this Royalty for the terror of the wicked, or to sell all, and give it to the Poor?* Barnes answered, *I think it is necessary to be sold, and given to the Poor: For this is not comely for your calling,* &c. Then the Cardinal said, *what say you, Master Doctor? do you not know that I am Legatus de latere? and that I have power to dispense in all matters of Religion?* Barnes answered, that he knew it: Then said the Cardinal, *will you be ruled by me?* &c. Barnes answered, he would stick to the holy Scriptures, according to that simple Talent that God had lent him. This angered the Cardinal, so that he would have sent him presently to the Tower; But at the request of Two Doctors, he was returned that night to the Sergeant at Arms, and the next day was carried to the Chapter-house at Westminster.

When he came thither, there were Five Stilliard Men in question for Lollardy, and for bringing over some of *Luthers* Books, but as soon as they saw Doctor Barnes, they caused him to stand aside whil'st they examined the Doctor, after which they committed him, with the Stilliard Men, all close Prisoners to the Fleet. Afterwards he was again carried before them, and after many threats and scorns, they asked him whether he would abjure or burn? But he being in great Agony resolved for the present rather to burn than to abjure: Yet afterwards by the crafty, and subtle dealing of some pretended Friends, he was drawn from his steadfastness, and brought to abjure, and to do a disgraceful Penance in Pauls Church, together with the Stilliard Men: Yet neither then would they dismiss him, but kept him Prisoner, first in the Fleet, afterwards in Austin-Friers in London, and at last they sent him to Austin-Friers in Northampton, sending down after him a Writ for his burning, which he, having notice of from a Friend, privily made an escape, and getting on a Beggars cloathis, he went to London; and so by Sea to Antwerp, and from thence he travelled to Wittenberg, where he fell hard to his study, and wrote his Book called *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*: And his supplication to King Henry the Eighth, wherein he gives an account of all the subtil, malicious, and injurious dealings of the Popish party with him, in this manner.

His frailty

His escape

His supplication to the King

IN the year of our Lord 1525. (saith he) and the 24. of December, at the request of the Parish, I preached a Sermon in Saint Edwards Church in Cambridge, out of which Sermon mine Adversaries gathered some Articles against me, which when I knew of, I offered to preach again the next Sabbath, and to clear my self: But Doctor Ridley, and Doctor Preston (Chaplains and Kitchmen to the Bishop of London) prevailed with the Vice-Chancellor to inhibit me, yet could I never learn any reasonable cause why, but that he said, it should be for my profit to hold my peace: with this I was satisfied till the aforesaid Doctors, and one Master Tyll drew up Articles against me, and presented them to the Vice-Chancellor, who sending for me, asked me what I said to them: I answered, that they were none of mine, only some Words and Sentences in them I had spoken, but what should make for me, that was left out, for which I referred my self to the Auditory: The Vice-Chancellor replied, that I must take heed what I denied, for if they brought witness against me, I must die. I answered, that such witness should be false, for I never spake them: To which he replied, that I could not prove a Negative, and were the witness true or false, I must suffer for it, if they came in, for that was the Law: To which I answered, that that was a piteous case,

Articles against him

case, for by that Law they might condemn *Christ* himself: He replied, that I should consider what I did, for the matter was so hainous, that I could be admitted in Law no Counsel: Then said I, God help me which knoweth all things. This was in the Schools, the Doors shut fast; none present on my party, but of my Adversaries, Doctor *Ridly*, Doctor *Preston*, Doctor *Watson*, and a Doctor of Law; with Master *Fooke*, and Master *Tyrell*, who was appointed to present these Articles against me.

The Vice-Chancellor when he could get no more of me, asked me what I would do? I answered, that he should hear their complaint, and I would make such an answer as God should put into my mind. Then did Master *Tyrell* present a Roll in which were certain Articles (as he said) gathered out of my Sermon, of which some were contentious, some seditious, some slanderous, and some Heretical: Then said I, Good Master *Tyrell*, will you present any of these Articles as Heretical? But the Vice-Chancellor moved me to submit my self, whereto I said, Whatsoever I have spoken against Gods Word, or the exposition of the holy Doctors, I will be content therewith to be reformed, and to submit my self: The other Doctors were not satisfied with this, unless I would add, *or if I have offended the Laws of the Church*: At this I stopped, and said, that it was too large, for I knew not what they meant by the Laws of the Church: It was sufficient for me to submit to Gods Word, and the exposition of the holy Doctors: But when they would not be satisfied, I yielded that I would agree to all Laws that were not against Gods Word, nor St. *Augustine*, *Jerom*, &c.

This was all that was done the first day; For by this time was the whole Body of the University gathered together, who knocked at the Doors, and said that they would hear my examination, seeing the cause was publick, and a matter of learning that concerned the whole University, and therefore these few Persons should not take upon them only, and privately to hear and determine such causes; and when the Vice-Chancellor could not satisfy them, he said, We must for the present give over this matter, for the University is in a tumult, and so we departed.

But Two or Three days after, I was called into *Clare-hall* to the Vice-Chancellors Chamber, where were also the aforesaid Doctors gathered against me; There did they intreat me with flattering words to submit to Master Vice-Chancellors counsel; whereupon I required to be indifferently heard by him, together with my Adversaries, and then if I had said any thing against the truth, I would submit: They replied, that it was for my good that he did sit in judgment, for if witnesses should come in against me (as certainly they would) I were a lost Man: To which I answered, that such must needs be false witnesses, for many learned Men heard my Sermon, who would certainly testify the truth: They replied, that if Three came in against me, Twenty three would not help me, for that was the Law, &c. After they had a while conferred together privately, the Vice-Chancellor came to me, and told me that on his Conscience they were all my Friends, and intended to save both my Name and Fame, which yet they could not do, except I followed their counsel: After a while upon their much urging, I said, Right Worshipful Masters, I trust ye be all my good Friends, and have so much charity in you, as that you will not cast me away except you find me obstinate, which I trust you shall not do. For I never intended to speak any thing against *Christ*s truth; yet seeing the Law is so dangerous as you have shewed me, I had rather put my self upon your charity, than to stand to the danger of it: And therefore to these Articles, I thus answer, that here are many Words and Sentences which I did speak, and therefore I submit my self to you, intreating your favor not to take me in the worst sense: Then after they had given me my Oath to stand to their judgment, the Vice-Chancellor, as he said, absolved me *ab excommunicatione juris*.

Their treachery with him.

But herein they dealt treacherously; For unknown to me, that had a Notary that wrote down all these passages, whereas they pretended to deal with me



as Friends, and as private Persons, yet afterwards they made use of all, and put it into the Court as a witness against me, when I was brought before the Bishops.

Whilest these businesses were transacting, the Body of the University gathered together, and sent up certain Masters and Batchelors of Divinity to the Vice-Chancellor, requiring that they might be admitted to hear my examination, forasmuch as they heard my Sermon. Answer was made that there was no such matter in handling, but that they only conferred with me Friendly, and gave me advice for my profit; yet to satisfie them, I was dismissed for the present.

About a moneth after Doctor *Watson* and Doctor *Preston*, by the advice of the Vice-Chancellor, drew up a Recantation of every Article by it self, wherein they would have me confels whatsoever was alleadged against me, because (as they said) some men had understood me so: And herein they construed every thing in an evill sense, so that there was never an Article but it was either Heretical, Seditious, Contentious, Blasphemous, or *piis auribus offensivus*: I had a Friend that privately wrote out this Recantation, which when I had gotten, I sent for to my Chamber Master *Stafford*, Master *Bilney*, and six or eight more of the learnedest Men that were in *Cambridg*, whose counsel I asked about this matter: They answered, that seeing this Recantation was false, and uncharitable, I could not with a good Conscience agree to it; whereupon the Vice-Chancellor, and Doctors called me again, and would have me read this Recantation the Sabbath after publikely in the Church, where I had made my Sermon, without saying more or less than what was written; yea, and that I should promise, that if I were afterwards convented by the higher powers, I should be content to suffer all pain and punishment that they should lay upon me: I refused to agree thereto, telling them that it was neither agreeable to learning, equity, nor charity, seeing I neither spake nor thought these things, but they were only false collections made by malicious persons out of my sayings contrary to my meaning: Upon this they were divided amongst themselves, some saying that I was bound by my Oath to submit hereto, others saying that my Oath bound me not, because contrary to their promise, they had dealt so uncharitably with me, so that at last they gave me eight days time to return my answer what I would do.

In the mean time Master *Tyrrill* posted to *London*, and procured Cardinal *Wolsey* to send down a Serjeant at Arms, who arrested me in the University, and carried me away to *London*, and the Wednesday night after, I was carried before the Cardinal, who read over my Articles, and asked me divers questions about the same, after which I told him that these Articles were uncharitably gathered out of my Sermon: He asked me how I would purge my self from the suspicion of Heresie: I answered, that I would bring Twenty honest, learned Men that should be my Compurgators. He said, Can you bring Six or Ten Doctors of Divinity? I told him that was impossible, for there were but Two that heard my Sermon, and they belonged to Bishops, and therefore probably would not testifie for me. Then said he, You must be burned, therefore consider with your self whether you will stand to a course of Law, or submit your self to my Grace. But having been formerly circumvented by submitting to the Vice-Chancellor, I resolved to be no more so hasty in doing the like again: After some other discourse he told me that I was a Fool, and perceived not how good he was to me, and therefore he appointed Fifteen or Sixteen Bishops and Doctors to hear, and examine me the next day. At which time the Bishop of *Bath* told me that I was defamed for Heresie, which I denied, and desired to know mine accusers. Nay, said he, we proceed after another form of Law, &c. They asked me also divers other questions not at all pertaining to my Articles, and after I had answered them, they laid their Heads together to find out other captious questions, and thus they continued with me Three days together, at the end whereof there was a great long Roll, or Recantation offered me, and I

Popish lies

They urge him to recant

He is arrested, and carried to London.

His conference with the Cardinal.

Another Recantation

was

was commanded to read it, and not to speak one word more or less before the people than what was contained in that Roll; For if I did, they would handle me well enough: Then I desired that I might first see what was contained in it; But this would be by no means granted: Then I desired to know whether they laid Heresie to my charge in it; They answered, Yea; Then I desired to know what it was, for I had taught no other but what Saint *Augustine*, *Jerome*, and other Doctors of the holy Church had taught before me; They said, If *Augustine*, *Jerome*, &c. were present, they should stand to the determination of the Church; I replied, that they were so far approved, that if any Church should determine against them, I should suspect it: But they still urged me to give a positive answer whether I would read the Recantation or no? Then said I, My Lords, I beseech you for *Christs* sake, deal charitably with me, remembering what *Paul* saith, *Your power is given for edification, not for destruction*. Tell us, say they, whether you will read the Roll or not; this is the third and last time of asking? I replied, I will not read it unless I may first see it, do with me as you shall please. When they had consulted together, they told me I should have one to read it to me; And so appointed a Notary to go aside, and read it to me. In the beginning of it, it was said, that whereas certain Articles were gathered out of my Sermon, whereof some were Scandalous, some Seditious, some Foolish, and some Heretical: I asked him, Which be Heretical? He answered, It belongs not to me, I can make you no answer: Hereupon I replied, Shall I be condemned for an Heretick, and not be shewed my Heresie? Read no farther: Then returning to the Bishops, I kneeled down, and desired them for the Passion of *Christs* sake to shew me which Article they condemned for Heresie, &c. But they answered, that I should read the Roll, or else be burnt: Then said I, *Jesus*, have mercy on me, I will never read it: Upon this the other Doctors cried out upon me on all sides, saying, Remember your self, cast not away your self after this manner: To read the Roll is but a very small matter; you will be never the worse Man, and you shall see that my Lord Cardinal will be good and gracious to you, and we will all speak for you. So that I supposed in very deed, that they would have required no more of me but to read the Roll, that I might not seem to have the Victory over them; which thing I regarded not, and having this opinion of them, and being overcome by their good, and flattering words, I consented to read it; But then the Bishop of *Bath* said, It was too late; others said the contrary: At last, all the people were called in (who were very many, and hitherto had been kept out) to hear me read it: Then was I commanded to sign it, and make a Cross on it: Then to kneel before the Bishop, and to desire Absolution: But he refused to grant it; unless I would swear to perform the Penance which should be enjoined me: And when, relying upon their charity, I had done all this, they sent me back to Prison that night, and the next day being Sabbath, I should do Penance openly at *Pauls*: And to make the world believe that I was a notorious Heretick, the Cardinal came with all his pomp, and pride, and all the Bishops and Abbots about the City, almost Thirty in number, the more to advance their cause, and disgrace me: Then did the Bishop of *Rocheſter* preach a Sermon against *Lutherans*, as if I had been convicted for one: And yet after all this I must return to Prison, and there remain till my Lord Cardinals further pleasure, which pleasure I did abide first and last Two years and Three quarters, and yet could not be delivered: And whereas I sent to the Bishop of *London* certain worshipful Men of the City, who proffered to be bound for me, and much importuned him for my liberty, he dealt so with them, that when they came home, there was not any of them that durst so much as give me a bit of Bread to relieve me in my necessity, nor yet speak one word to me.

His courage.

His weakness.

His Penance.

His long imprisonment.

Immediately after this the Bishop caused me to be sent to *Northampton*, there to remain in perpetual Prison. Thus, most gracious Prince, have they handled me your poor Orator. I beseech your Highness to be good, and gracious to me, and to judge if this be charitable dealing, thus to condemn me for an Heretick, and



and never to shew me the cause why: But by violent Tyranny to compell me to do, and to confesse even what they please, or else I must be put to death: And if yet there be any of them that will come forth, and prove Heresie against me, I will submit to suffer any punishment that your Grace shall adjudge me to. The Lord *Iesus Christ* preserve your Noble Grace evermore. Amen.

Doctor Barnes whilest he was at *Wittenberg* repented much of his former back-sliding, and grew more strong in *Christ*. He was greatly esteemed by *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Pomerane*, *Iustus Jonas*, &c. As also by the Duke of *Saxony*, and the King of *Denmark*, who sent him with some *Lubeckers* upon an Embassage to our King *Henry*, at which time he lay at the *Stilyard*. His repentance.

Sir *Thomas Moore* being then Lord Chancellor would faine have entrapped him, but the King would not suffer it, and so he departed again to *Lubeck* without restraint, *Cromwel* being yet alive, and his great Friend: After this he went again to *Wittenberg*, where he remained to set forwards his works in print, and King *Henry* having marryed the Lady *Anne Bullen*, he returned into *England*, and was a painful, and faithful Preacher in the City of *London* all her time: After that he was sent Ambassador by the King to the Duke of *Cleve* about a marriage between the King and the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, and was well approved for his pains therein, and in all his other doings, till *Stephen Gardiner* returned out of *France*, after which time neither Religion, nor the Queen, nor *Cromwel*, nor the preachers of the truth prospered. For this *Stephen Gardiner* never rested till he had caused the King to be divorced from the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, whereupon he began his Bloody broils. His return to England.

And first he began with Doctor Barnes, against whom he presumed the King to have dislike, because he had been an instrument in promoting his marriage with the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, and this occasion fell out fitly for his turn. Lent was now at hand; and Doctor Barnes, Master *Hierom*, Vicar of *Stepney*, and Master *Thomas Garret* were appointed to preach at *Pauls Cross*; *Gardiner* hearing of it, sent his Chaplain to the Bishop of *London*, desiring to have a day before them to preach there: This was easily assented to, and *Gardiner* preached upon the Gospel appointed for the day, which was about the temptations of *Christ*, wherein he inveighed against the new way (as he called it,) and the preachers of it, comparing them to the Divil in his temptations, &c.

Presently after came Doctor Barnes his turn, who preached upon the same text, and was as vehement on the contrary in setting forth the true Doctrine of *Christ*, as *Winchester* had been in laboring to impugn the truth, and to draw Men to error, from sincerity to Hypocrisie, from Religion to superstition, from *Christ* to Antichrist, and in the process of his Sermon he compared himself and *Gardiner* to Two fighting Cocks, but (said he) the Garden-Cock wants good Spurs: Adding that if he had answered him no better in the Schools than he had done in the Pulpit, he would have given him Six stripes, *Gardiner* was so nettled with this Sermon that he presently went to the King, complaining how he, being a Prelate of the Realm, had been failed on at *Pauls Cross*: This so incensed the King, that sending for Barnes, and taking him into his private Closet, before the Earl of *Southampton* and some others, he highly rebuked him, and after much debate, he appointed him to confer with *Winchester*: But after a while Doctor Barnes waxed weary of the Bishops House, and so withdrew himself: This being complained of with many aggravations to the King, he was greatly incensed against Barnes, enjoying him, and his Two companions to preach Two recantation Sermons at the *Spittle*, where *Stephen Gardiner* also was present to hear them. His Sermon at Pauls Cross.

When Doctor Barnes came up, contrary to most Mens expectation, he boldly asserted the truth: And the like did *Hierom*, and *Garret* after him: So that the Lord Major after the Sermon was ended, asked *Winchester*, whether  
H h h from

He is sent to  
the Tower.

His martyr-  
dom unheard.

His Message  
to the King.

Master Thomas  
Garret.

A Special Pro-  
vidence.

His apprehen-  
sion.

His escape.

His second ap-  
prehension.  
He doth pe-  
nance.  
His Martyr-  
dom.

Master William  
Hierom.

from thence he should send *Barnes* to the Tower? But *Winchester* had rather that it should be the Kings doing, and therefore by himself and his Agents he so incensed the King, that they were all Three presently sent to the Tower, where they continued from *Easter* till *July*, and then Two days after the death of the Lord *Cromwel*, Process was made against them by the Kings counsel in Parliament, and within a few days after these Three servants of God, not coming to any answer, nor knowing the cause of their condemnation, and without any publike hearing were carried from the Tower to *Smithfield*, where at the stake Doctor *Barnes*, to clear himself from the imputation of Heresie, made a large, and excellent confession of his Faith, and afterwards he asked the Sheriff if he had any Articles against him for which he was condemned? The Sheriff answered, *No*: Then said he, *Is there any man else that knows wherefore I die?* To which no man answered. Then said he, *I am condemned to die, and as I hear, by an Act of Parliament, but wherefore I cannot tell: But it seems for Heresie, because I am to be burned: As for such as have been the occasion of it, I pray God to forgive them, as I would be forgiven my self, &c. I have been reported to have been a Preacher of sedition, and disobedience to the King; but I profess to you, that you are all bound by the Law of God, to obey your Prince with all Humility, &c. and that not only for fear of vengeance, but for conscience sake. Yea, if the king should command you to do any thing against Gods word, and you have power by force to resist him, yet you may not do it.* Then did he request the Sheriff to have him commended to the King, and to request him for Gods sake, to give at least, part of the Abbey lands for the comfort and relief of the poor: To see that Matrimony be had in more reverence, and that Men for light occasions do not put away their Wives, nor live in fornication, &c. To punish that abominable swearing that was so rife, and which otherwise would pull down vengeance: To set forwards *Christs* true Religion, and to perfect that Reformation which he had begun, &c. Then did he desire all Men to forgive him if he had any way offended them, and to bear him witness that he abhorred all false Doctrins against the word of God, and that he dyed in the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, by whom he doubted not to be saved: And so intreating them to pray for him, he prepared himself patiently to take his death, and resigned up his spirit into the Hands of God.

Master *Thomas Garret* Minister of *Honey-lane* in *London*, having gotten sundry good Books out of *Germany*, with *Tindals New Testaments* went to *Oxford* to sell them amongst divers godly students there: But Cardinal *Woolsey* having intelligence hereof by his spies, First made search in *London* for him, and afterwards sent down to *Oxford* to search for him: But Master *Garret* by some Friends had private notice beforehand, and therefore by the advice of his Friends he was sent towards *Dorsetshire* there to remain till he could convey himself beyond Sea: By the way as he went he was surprized with a great fear, and could have no rest in his spirit till he returned to *Oxford*, which accordingly he did, and the same night after his coming, he was by the privy search apprehended, and delivered to the Commissary, who kept him prisoner in his Chamber: But when the Commissary with all his company were gone to *Evensong*: *Garret* putting back the bolt of the lock, escaped, intending to go into *Wales*, and from thence to convey himself into *Germany*: But by the way (great search being made after him) he was again apprehended, and together with many other young students was enforced to do penance: Afterwards shifting from place to place, he escaped their tyranny, till at last he was again apprehended, and finally burnt with Doctor *Barnes* in *Smithfield*, where he holily, and constantly endured Martyrdom.

The Third that was burnt with them was Master *William Hierom*, Vicar of *Stepney*, who was a diligent preacher of Gods word, and one that labored to root out of the Hearts of his Hearers their superstitious practices, &c. And being called to preach at *Pauls Cross* he there maintained justification by Faith,

for



for which he was convented before the King, imprisoned in the Tower, and at last burned with the other Two in *Smithfield*, where he comfortably slept in the Lord. His Martyrdom.

At the same time Three others were burned in *Smithfield* for Popery, which raised a great doubt in the common people about Religion, not knowing which side to follow, and this was occasioned by reason of the discord in the Privie Counsel, one part being Protestants, and the other part Papists, and as one part called for the execution of Papists, so did the other of Protestants. Some burnt for Popery.

Yea by reason of the Six Articles such a number were apprehended in *London*, *Calce*, and other places, that all the prisons in *London* were too little to hold them, and many of them were imprisoned in Halls. A great Persecution.

*Anno Christi 1541.* there was one *John Porter*, who was cruelly handled for reading upon a Bible in *Pauls Church*, which in the dayes of the Lord *Cromwel* had been set there by *Bonner* Bishop of *London*: Whereof see more in my *Second part*, in the *Life of the Lord Cromwel*. John Porter.

This with Five other Bibles being set up in that Church, divers well-disposed people used much to resort thither to read, and have them read, amongst whom this *John Porter* used sometimes to be occupied to the edifying both of himself, and others. He, by diligent reading of the Scriptures, and hearing the Sermons of those which set forth the truth of the Gospel, grew very expert: So that very many resorted to hear him read, the rather because he had a very audible voice: This at last so vexed *Bonner*, and his Chaplains, that he sent for *Porter* and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. *Porter*, answered that he trusted he had no way offended contrary to the Law thereby. *Bonner* charged him for making expositions upon the text, and for gathering multitudes about him to raise tumults: This *Porter* denied, yet did *Bonner* send him to *Newgate*, where he was miserably loaden with Irons both Hands, and Legs, with a great Collar of Iron about his Neck, whereby he was fastened to the wall in the Dungeon: After a while he sent for a Kinsman of his, who by bribing the Keeper, obtained that he was put amongst the Thieves, and Murtherers: But *Porter* hearing, and seeing their wickedness, and Blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, giving them such instructions as himself had learned out of the holy Scriptures. For this he was complained of, and carried down into the lowest Dungeon, where he was so cruelly oppressed with Bolts, and Irons, that within few days after he was found dead. Murthered in prison.

About the same time *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, burned Two godly Men upon one day; one *Thomas Bernard* for teaching the Lords Prayer in *English*, the other, *James Morton* for keeping the Epistle of *James* translated into *English* in his Houfe. Also one Master *Barber*, Master of Arts in *Oxford*, a godly, and learned Man, that disputed stoutly, and accurately against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; through the iniquity of the times was at last brought to a recantation, after which he never prospered, but wore away with grief and sorrow till he died. Thomas Bernard.  
James Morton.  
Master Barber recanting wore away with sorrow.

*Anno Christi 1544.* There was in *London* one *Robert Testwood*, who was famous for his skill in Musick, whereupon the Musicians in *Windfor-Colledge*, desired Doctor *Sampson* their Dean, that he might have a place amongst them; But some of the Canons hearing that *Testwood* smelled of the new learning, (as they called it) opposed his coming: Yet at last, through the importunity of the former, a place being void, he was seat for, and after Four or Five days Trial, his voice and skill were so liked, that he was settled amongst them, and was in good esteem both with the Dean, and Canons a good while: But when they perceived by his discourse at their Tables that he was a *Lutheran*, they began to mislike him, and one day being at Dinner with Doctor *Rawson*, there was one Master *Ely* present, who took occasion to rail against Lay-men for studying of the Scriptures: *Testwood* could not bear it, but replied that he thought it no Robert Testwood.

hurt for them to study, and know the Scriptures: And after, falling into further discourse about the Supremacy of the Pope, *Testwood* in his heat of arguing affirmed that every King in his own Dominion ought to be the Head of the Church under *Christ*: This so netled *Ely*, that he flung from the Table; and though *Testwood* assayed to pacifie him, yet he could not prevail, *Ely* laboring to incense all the House against him: But whilst he was seeking to destroy *Testwood*, the Act of Parliament came forth to abolish the supremacy of the Pope, and to make the King Head of the Church, by which means *Testwood* for the present escaped.

His zeal,

But not long after, *Testwood* walking in the Church, and seeing the Pilgrimes come by flocks from *Devonshire*, and *Cornwal* with Candles and Images to offer to King *Henry* of *Windsor*, his Spirit was moved at that great Idolatry, whereupon he went to them, and in a gentle manner exhorted them to leave that false worshipping of dumb creatures, and learn to worship the true, and everliving God aright, shewing them how God plagued his people for going a whoring after such stocks, and stones, and would plague them, and their posterities if they would not leave it: This, through Gods mercy, prevailed so far with some of them, that they said they would never go on pilgrimage more. Then going further, he saw another company licking, and kissing a white Lady of Alabaſter that stood behind the High Altar, wiping their hands upon it, and then stroking their own Heads and Faces, which so stirred up his zeal, that with a Key which he had in his Hand, he strook off a piece of the Images Nose, saying, *See good people, what it is, nothing but a piece of earth that cannot help it self, how then will you have it help you? For Gods sake be no more thus deluded, and so he went home to his House.*

He defaceth  
an Idol.

The rumour hereof presently was spread abroad, and many came to see it, and amongst the rest, one *Symonds*, a Lawyer, who seeing the Nose on the ground took it up, saying, It should one day be a dear Nose to *Testwood*.

Demetrius like,

Many were greatly offended with *Testwood*, the Canons for his speaking against their profit, the Wax-chandlers for hindring their Market, &c. Yea some of the Canons Men threatned to kill him: Hereupon *Testwood* kept his House, minding to send a relation of the whole business to the Lord *Cromwel*, his especial Friend. The Canons hearing of his intent, sent their Verger to him to request him to come to Church, but he refused in regard of the danger: Then did they send for a Justice of Peace, who being come, and hearing the matter, was very loath to meddle with it: But at the Canons request, he at last went to *Testwood*, and upon his faithful promise for his security, he prevailed with him to go to Church: By the way one of the Canons Men drew his dagger at *Testwood*, but the Justice of Peace secured him: And after debate in the Chapter-House the business was so pacified, that *Testwood* might quietly come, and go to Church as formerly.

His danger.

After a while upon Relique-Sunday (as they called it) wherein every one was to carry a Relique in procession, *Testwood*, amongst others had *Beckets Rochet* proffered him, But he pushed it from him, saying, If they gave it him, he would wipe his tail with it: some other jests he put upon them, which much angered them.

Doctor *Sampson*, the Dean, being dead, and one Master *Francklen* succeeding him, one of the Canons in despite of *Testwood*, and his Sect, set up a Paper on the Church-door in commendation of our Lady, ascribing to her, Redemption, Justification, Salvation, &c. *Testwood* seeing this paper, plucked it down: The next morning such another was set up, and *Testwood* coming a little before the Dean, plucked it down again: Whereupon the Dean asked him, how he durst be so bold to pluck it down in his presence? *Testwood* answered, that he marvelled much more that he would suffer such a Blasphemous Paper to be set up, adding, that he would justify what he had done. This boldness

Popish Blasphemy.



so offended them all, that they said he was an Heretick, and would lose a fagot one day for this geer. Yet notwithstanding all the threats of his enemies he lived in peace, till after the death of the Lord *Cromwel*, and till *Winchester* had so far insinuated into the Kings affections, that he wholly ruled the roost; at which time *Testwood* being sick in Bed, was fetched out, and cast into Prison, together with *Antony Person*, *John Marbeck*, and *Henry Filmer*, and after a while they were all brought forth to judgement before Doctor *Capon*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, and some others: *Testwoods* indictment was, for that when the Priest lifted up the Sacrament, he said: What, wilt thou lift it up so high? what, yet higher: take heed that thou let him not fall: As also for that at such times he used to look down on his Book, or another way, that he might not see the Sacrament: Whereupon he said, I beseech you, my Lord, whereon did he look that marked me so well? Marry, quoth the Kings Attourney, he could not be better occupied than to mark such Hereticks that so despised the blessed Sacrament.

His imprisonment.  
Antony Person,  
John Marbeck,  
Henry Filmer.

The Jury that went upon these Men was packed for the purpose, and therefore quickly brought in their verdict that they were all guilty. Then the prisoners being carried away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death, and passion of their Master *Christ*, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord who had enabled them to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but enable them with stedfast Faith, and power to overcome those fiery torments through his free mercy, and goodness: And so they spent the greatest part of the night in prayer, both for themselves and their Persecutors, who through blind zeal had done they knew not what: yea such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that they which watched them, whereof the Sheriff was one, with divers Gentlemen more, were constrained to shed great plenty of tears: In the morning came a pardon for *Marbeck*.

Their condemnation.

They prepared themselves for death.

*Marbeck* pardoned.

When the other three were to go to execution, *Anthony Person* seeing many People in the Prison, said the Lords Prayer, and so taking their leave of *Marbeck*, praising God for his deliverance, and praying for his increase in godliness, they desired his hearty prayers, kissed him, and so went out of the prison. As they passed through the streets they desired all the faithful to pray for them, to stand fast in the truth of the Gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, it being the happiest thing that ever befel them. When they came to the place of execution, which was under *Windsor-Castle*, *Person* with a cheerful countenance embraced the stake, and kissing it, said, Now welcome mine own sweet wife, for this day shall thou, and I be married together, in the love and peace of God. When they were all bound to the stake, *Filmer* said, Be merry, my Brethren, and lift up your Hearts unto God; For after this sharp Breakfast, I trust we shall have a good Dinner in the Kingdom of *Christ*, our Lord and Redeemer. *Testwood* lifting up his Hands and Eyes unto Heaven, prayed to the Lord above to receive his spirit. *Person* pulling some straw unto him, laid some of it upon the top of his Head, saying, This is Gods Hat, now I am dressed like a true Souldier of *Christ* by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy. And so they yielded up their spirits into the hands of their Heavenly Father, with such humility, and stedfastness, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their Hearts to have dyed with them.

Their courage and constancy.

Note.

Their Martyrdom.

A while after King *Henry* seeing the Sheriff of *Barkshire*, and Sir *Henry Foster* together on Horse-back in *Guildford-Park*, he asked them how his Laws were Executed at *Windsor*: Then they beseeching his Grace of pardon, told him plainly that in all their lives they never sat on a matter which went so much against their consciences, as did the death of *Person*, *Testwood*, and *Filmer*, delivering to him a pitiful tale of the casting away of these Three Men: The King turning his Horse-head, rode away saying, Alas poor innocents! After which he withdrew his favor from the Bishop of *Winchester*, and caused Doctor *London* and *Simonds*, to be apprehended and examined before the Council, where it

Popish per-  
jury.

was proved to their Faces that they were both perjured, and thereupon they were adjudged to ride about *Windsor*, with their Faces towards the Horsetail, and to stand upon the Pillory, at *Windsor*, *Reading*, and *Newberry*, with papers on their Heads for accusing the aforesaid Martyrs falsely, and for perjury : *This was written by John Marbeck, that should have been one of them.*

Adam Damlip.

Rome pro-  
faneness.

About the same time there was one *Adam Damlip*, formerly Chaplain to *Fisber*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, after whose death he travelled through *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, in which journey he conferred with many learned Men about the controversies in Religion, and at the last he went to *Rome*, where he thought to find much strictness in life, and sincerity in Religion, but instead thereof he met with such Blaspheming of God, contempt of the truth of *Christ*, looseness in life, and such abundance of all abominations, and filthiness, that in his Heart he abhorred to stay there any longer, though he was much solicited thereto by Cardinal *Pool*, who offered him good preferment. In his return homeward he came to *Calice*, and waiting there for passage into *England*, he fell into acquaintance, and conference with some honest Men, who finding him Learned, and well-affected to the truth, earnestly solicited him to stay there a while, and to preach Two or Three days, that he might do good to the people, and refresh himself after his tedious Travels. This he consented to, if he might have the license of those in Authority thereunto. Hereupon these honest Men brought him to the Lord *Lisle*, the Kings Deputy for the Town, and Marches of *Calice*, acquainting him what conference had passed between them : Which known, the Lord *Lisle* instantly desired him to stay there, and to preach Three or Four days, or longer at his pleasure, promising that he should have both his own, and the Commissaries license to authorize him therein. After he had preached Three or Four times, he was so liked both for his learning, utterance, and sincere Doctrine, that he had not only the approbation of the common people, and Souldiers, but the Lord Deputy, and most of the Counsel gave him much praise, and thanks for the same. The Lord Deputy also proffered him his table in his House, if he pleased to stay, and accept of it, and to accommodate him with whatsoever he lacked, if it could be had for money, either for Books, or any other things, if he would stay, and preach to them so long as it should seem good to him : Master *Damlip* heartily thanked his Lordship for his kind, and liberal offer : but refused to accept of the same, only desiring him to appoint him some quiet place in the Town, where he might have the opportunity of applying himself to his studies without disturbance, promising that he would Twice every day preach unto them, according to that Talent which God had lent him.

He preacheth  
at *Calice*,

The Lord  
*Lisles* piety.

He preacheth  
Twice every  
day.

He preacheth  
against the  
Mass.

The Lord Deputy much rejoiced hereat, and sending for an honest Man [*William Stevens*] requested him to receive Master *Damlip* into his House, promising to pay him with the most whatsoever he should demand, as also to send him every meal one of the best dishes from his own Mess. Master *Damlip* desired his Lordship to forbear that kindness, telling him that a spare diet was most convenient for students : Yet this Noble Lord would not be restrained, but that very meal he sent it. Thus for the space of above Twenty days together he preached every morning learnedly, plainly, and holily about the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, enveighing against, and confuting the Popish errors about it : His opinions he confirmed by Scripture, and ancient Fathers : Exhorting the people to turn from Popery, declaring what a zealous Papist he had been, and how God wrought upon him by seeing the abominable wickedness which was universally practised in *Rome*, shewing, that if gain, or ambition could have prevailed with him, he might have been entertained by Cardinal *Pool* : But durst not do it out of conscience, being convinced of the truth by the holy Scriptures : His Auditory en-  
creasing



creasing daily, he was forced to preach in a larger place. And at last he spake against the Picture of the Resurrection, which was in Saint *Nicolas Church*, shewing that it was but a delusion set up by the *French* before *Calice* was *English*, whereupon there came a Commission from the King to the Lord Deputy, and some other Commissioners to search whether there were Three Hosts lying upon a Marble-stone besprinkled with Blood, as was commonly believed. Upon search no such thing was found, but Three white Counters instead thereof, which they had painted like Hosts, and with them a Bone that is in a Sheeps Tail, which the next day Master *Damlip* shewed to the people out of the Pulpit, and by the Lord Deputy they were sent unto the King.

And against  
an Idol.

Popish impos-  
tures.

The Devil envying the progress of the Gospel, stirred up the Prior of the *White-Friers*, to bark against Master *Damlip*, and privately to write letters against him to the Clergy in *England*, so that a while after he was sent for to appear before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*: There he met with *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and some others, before these he constantly affirmed, and defended the Doctrine that he had taught, answering, and confuting all their objections so that his Adversaries marvelled at it, insomuch as some of them said plainly, that the Scriptures knew no such term as Transubstantiation, yet did *Winchester* threaten him with fire, and fagot, if he persevered in defence of what he had spoken: Master *Damlip* answered, that the next day he would deliver to them in writing, what he had affirmed, and what he would stand to: That night Doctor *Cranmer* sent him word that if he appeared any more, he could not escape burning, whereupon the next day he sent them Four sheets learnedly written in *Latine*, containing a confession of his Faith, together with a defence of his opinion by testimonies of Scripture, ancient Fathers, &c. And then stept aside into the West-Country, and there lived obscurely whilst Gods people in *Calice* suffered great persecution: For the King being informed that there was great dissension in *Calice* by reason of diversity of opinions which might endanger the loss of it, at the motion of the Lord *Cromwel* he sent over Two godly and learned Divines, who in effect preached the same Doctrine that *Damlip* had done, and so quieted the people, that they left the Town in peace. After their departure one *William Smith*, Minister of one of the Churches, began to preach, and earnestly to inveigh against Papistry, exhorting Men obediently to hear the word, and no longer to oppose, or contemn the same. Some of the Council perswaded him, that he should not be so violent, but to wait with patience till God should change their hearts, &c. To whom he answered in the Pulpit: Some saith he, advise me that I should not be so earnest against the contemnners of Gods word, &c. But let all such take heed, For I fear that God for their contemning of his word will not long bear with them, but make some of them that they shall not have an Head left upon their shoulders to bear up their caps withal; which afterwards also came to pass.

He is persecuted  
by a Friar.

He is sent for  
into England.

His confession  
of Faith.  
He fled into  
the West.

Persecution in  
*Calice*.

Master *Damlip*  
zeal.

A Prediction.

Thus Master *Smith* continued in the diligent employment of his Talent, till the Devil raised up some of his instruments to persecute him, and other godly Christians which were all sent over into *England*: They wrote letters to the privy Counsel, suggesting, that by the means of *Damlip* they were infected with horrible Heresies, and errors: of these persons thus accused, *Thomas Brook*, *Ralph Hare*, *James Cock*, and *James Barber* were first sent for over, and committed to prison at *Westminster*, afterwards they were brought before the Bishops: grievous letters were written against them from *Calice*, by their Adversaries, so that if God had not mightily preserved them, they had all certainly perished.

Persecution  
renewed in  
*Calice*.

*Ralph Hare*, though so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet through Gods grace was very zealous, and so holy, and inoffensive in his Life, that none of his Adversaries could accuse him for the same: He was charged for speaking against Auricular confession, holy Bread, holy water, &c. as also for

*Ralph Hare*  
zeal.

for that he would not swear an Oath, nor use any pastime, but used to be in a corner by himself looking on his Book when others were at play. This the Commissioners charging him withal, he said: *My good Lords, I take God to record that I would not willingly maintain any Error, or Heresie: wherefore I beseech you, let my accusers come before me Face to Face, for if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will not deny it: And if it be truth, I will stand to it: If an Error, I will with all my heart utterly forsake it; I mean if it be against Gods holy word, for the Lord is my witness I daily pray to God that I may know the truth, and shun Errors, and I hope God will preserve me from them:* The Bishop of Winchester replied, *I perceive now that thou art a naughty fellow. Alas! my Lord, said Hare, what evil have I spoken?* The Bishop answered, *Marry Sir, you said the Lord, the Lord, and that is Symbolum Hæreticorum: what is that my Lord, said Hare: For Gods sake tell me? Thou art naught, thou art naught,* said the Bishop: This made Hare to tremble, which Winchester perceiving said, *By my troth I pittie thee: For in good faith I think thou art a good simple Man, and wouldst mean well enough if thou hadst not bad Schoolmasters, &c. Therefore I advise thee to submit thy self to us, it is best for thee so to do. Hare falling upon his Knees, said, That he submitted himself to them: Then did they give him his Oath to be obedient to all Ecclesiastical Laws: Which done, they enjoined him to abjure, and bear a Fagot: He hearing this harsh Sentence, cryed out that he was rigorously dealt withal, having nothing proved to his face against him: But the Bishop told him, he must either do that penance or be burnt.*

His weakness.

He is enjoined Penance.

Thomas Brook.

Then was *Thomas Brook* called for, who was charged by letters from *Calice*, that he was a seditious fellow; that he had contributed towards maintaining of *Damlip*, and that he with some others had gathered money towards his entertainment. *Brook* proved this charge false. Then were some other witnesses produced, who testified that he should say, That that which the Priest held up at Mass was not the natural Body of *Jesus Christ*, &c. *Brook* denied the charge, yet confessed that he had some private talk with one of the witnesses, wherein he shewed him the right use of the Sacrament: After some further debate he was dismissed for the present.

Master Smith.  
John Butler.

During these Mens troubles at *London*, Master *Smith*, and *John Butler*, were under examination at *Calice*, and charged for denying the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament of the Altar, and presently they were sent for over by a Pursuivant into *England*, and there brought into the Starr-Chamber, and charged with Sedition, and Heresie, after which they were committed to the *Fleet*. The next day they were sent for, to come before divers Bishops, and first *Butler* was charged for speaking unreverently of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Gods judgments on persecutors.

Then did he require to have his charge in writing, and he would return his answer to it: But this would not be granted. After him was Master *Smith* called for, and charged with the like great crimes, as the other had been, as also for preaching against our Blessed Lady, and against praying to Saints, &c. But it pleased God that one of the witnesses that came against him, shortly after desperately drowned himself.

*John Butler* Commissary of *Calice*, being again called before them, was charged for suffering Master *Damlip* so long to preach there, and not punishing him for the same: His answer was, that he was so countenanced by the Lord Deputy and all the Council, and approved by them, that he could do no otherwise then he did: And so after long attendance, he was at last put out of his office, and so dismissed. Yet afterwards both he, and divers others were enjoined penance by bearing Fagots, &c.

Not long after, the King was again informed, that there were such divisions in his Town of *Calice* by reason of diversity of opinions, that it was in great danger of being lost to the *French*. This so incensed the King, that he



he presently sent over Commissioners, to examine the business, and amongst the Commissioners, there was one Doctor *Curry*, who at his coming thither preached a Sermon to exhort all Men to charity; But whilst he had nothing but charity in his Mouth, there was such burning charity in his Heart, that if God had not wonderfully prevented, there had been an Hundred persons burnt, or hanged in that place; But through Gods good providence, the mischief returned upon the Heads of the contrivers of it; For Four of the chief accusers of the Brethren were sent over into *England*, whereof Two viz. *Clement Philpot*, and *Sir Edmund*, a Curat, were hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Lambeth*: But of all those that were accused, not one of them lost one hair of his Head.

Gods judgement on Persecutors.

A Miracle of mercy.

Amongst those honest Men that were at this time persecuted, was one *William Stevens*, whose crime was for favoring, and entertaining *Master Damsip*, whereunto he answered, that what he had done, was at the earnest request, and command of the Lord Deputy, yet was he sent over into *England*, and made Prisoner in the Tower: The Lord Deputy was also shortly after sent for over, and imprisoned in the same place, who there continued till he died: But the wicked Lady his Wife, a great Enemy to the truth, immediately after her Husbands apprehension, fell distracted, and so continued for many years.

William Stevens and the Lord Life persecuted.

Gods judgement on Persecutors.

Another that was troubled, was *Thomas Brook*, who was imprisoned; And a simple Man, one *George Bradway*, was grievously threatened with horrible punishments if he would not accuse him, which at last through fear he did; but within a day, or two after was so terrified in Conscience for it, that he attempted to cut his own throat, and being prevented of that, he fell mad: Twelve other honest Men were also imprisoned; But the good Lord *Cromwell* hearing of it, wrote immediately to the Commissioners in the Kings Name, requiring that that errand Traitor, and Heretick *Brook*, with his other Companions, should with their Accusers be immediately sent over into *England*: The Commissioners durst not refuse, but loading them with Chains, sent them over: As soon as the Lord *Cromwell* heard that they were arrived, he sent for them to his House, and smiling upon them, said, *Go your ways to the Fleet, and submit yourselves Prisoners there, and be of good cheer, for if God give me life, you shall shortly go home with as much honesty, as ye came with shame.*

Gods judgement on Persecutors.

The Lord Cromwells care of the godly Saints.

But it pleased God that shortly after, this good Lord was accused, and lost his Head at Tower-hill, so that these poor Men had great cause to fear, if they had not altogether depended upon the merciful providence of their Heavenly Father, but he so comforted them in their deep troubles, and miseries, that as their afflictions abounded, so their joys and consolations abounded much more: For when all hope was past, the Lord *Audley*, Chancellor of *England*, sent for them, and without further examination, discharged them of their imprisonment. Thus these godly Men, upon their release, gave most hearty thanks unto God for his mighty and merciful deliverance of them, and departed indeed in a poor estate, but not in so miserable a condition as those Eight Counsellors of *Calice*, their Adversaries, were within a little space after, who falling under the Kings displeasure, were some clapt up in Prison, and others of them died most desperate deaths. Amongst whom, one *Rockwood* came to an horrible end, who at his last breath staring, and raging, cried that he was utterly damned: And being willed to ask God mercy, he brayed, and cried out, *All too late; For I have maliciously sought the death of many godly Men, and though I so thought of them, yet I did what in me lay to bring them to an evil death; Therefore, All too late, all too late:* These words he had formerly used in scorn against those honest Men when they were sent bound into *England*, in Chains.

Gods wonderful mercy on the Saints in Prison.

Gods judgement on Persecutors.

Rockwoods despair.

Also the under Marshall suddenly fell down in the Council-Chamber, and never spake word more.

A great Persecution.

Anno Christi 1541. King Henry sent out a Commission for the apprehension of such as offended against the Six Articles, and when the Commissioners first sat at *Mercers Chappel*, being such as were chosen on purpose, they enquired not only of such as offended against the Six Articles, but of such as came seldom to Church, or that took not the holy Bread, or holy Water, &c. so that they indicted above Five hundred persons, most of which had either died in Prison, or fried a Fagot in *Smithfield*, but that the King, (being informed by the Lord *Audley*, that they were indicted of malice) granted them his pardon.

Richard Mekins.

About the same time one *Richard Mekins*, a Boy of Fifteen years old, was accused for speaking well of Doctor *Barnes*, and some unreverent words of the Sacrament of the Altar, and when the first Jury would not find the Indictment against him, they were soundly rattled by the Bishop of *London*, and another Jury was impanelled that found it, and so the poor Boy was burned in *Smithfield*.

Master Damlip imprisoned.

Master *Damlip*, who formerly made an escape into the West-Country, after he had taught a School there about a year, or two, was again apprehended, brought to *London*, and by *Winchester* imprisoned in the *Marshalsey* about Two years more: There he behaved himself so honestly, and blamelessly, that he was beloved of all the House, but especially of the Keeper himself, [Master *Massy*] who suffered him to have the liberty of the House, whereby he did much good amongst the common Prisoners, rebuking them for their wickedness, and keeping them in such order, and awe, that the Keeper had a great treasure of him: There was also one *Marbeck*, Prisoner for Religion, that received much comfort by him: But Master *Damlip*, considering how he lay there, and could not imploy his Talent to Gods glory as he desired, resolved to write a *Latin* Epistle to the Bishop of *Winchester*, earnestly desiring to come to his trial: For, said he to *Marbeck*, *I know the worst, I can but lose my present life, which I had rather do than lie here so useles.*

His Zeal.

Having prepared his Epistle, he delivered it to the Keeper, intreating him to present it to the Bishop of *Winchester*: The Keeper performed his request, and coming home late at night, the Prisoners, who had staid supper for his coming, seeing him look so sad, deemed something to be amiss: At last, casting his Eyes upon *Damlip*, he said, *I can tell thee tidings: This next day thou, and I must go to Calice*; and withal pulled out a piece of Wax, with a Label hanging at it: When Master *Damlip* saw it, he said, *well, well, I now know what is the matter, I shall die at Calice*: Nay, said the Keeper, *I trust it is not so*: Yes, yes, said Master *Damlip*, *I know it is so, and I praise God for his goodness therein*: At supper all were very heavy but Master *Damlip*, who eat his meat as well as ever he did in all his life, so that some asked him, how he could eat his meat so well, knowing that he was to die so soon after? To whom he answered, *Alh Masters, do you think that I have been Gods Prisoner so long in the Marshalsey, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein*: The next day the Keeper carried him to *Calice*, and committed him to Prison, and the Saturday following, he was hanged, drawn and quartered.

His Courage.

His Martyrdom.

Before his death, being told that his quarters should be set up in Four places: And where then shall my Head be, said he: Upon the *Lanthorn Gate*, answered the other. Then, said he, *I need not provide for my Burial*.

At his execution Sir *Richard Ellerker*, Knight-Marshal, would not suffer him to declare his Faith, or the cause which he died for, but said to the Executioner, *Have done, dispatch the Knave: For I will not away till I see the Traitors Heart out*: But shortly after, in a skirmish between the *French* and *English*, *Ellerker* was slain, and by the *French* was stripped stark naked, had his privy members cut off, and his Heart cut out of his Body, being thereby made a terrible example to all bloody, and merciless Persecutors.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

William



*William Stevens* mentioned before, as Prisoner in the Tower, and the other Thirteen honest Men, were all pardoned by the King, and sent home again to *Calice*.

A poor Laborer at *Calice* that had been a hearer of Master *Damlip*, in some Company said, that he would never believe that the Priest could make the Lords Body at his pleasure; whereupon he was accused, and condemned by one *Harvey*, Commissary there, who with opprobrious words railed upon him, calling him Heretick, and saying, that he should die a vile death: The poor Man answered, That he was no Heretick, but one that held the true Faith of *Christ*, And said he, *whereas thou sayest that I shall die a vile death, thou thy self shalt die a vile death, and that shortly*: The poor Man was burnt, and *Harvey* within half a year after, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Calice* for Treason.

A poor Man martyred. A Prediction Gods judgment on Persecutors.

Dad a Martyr.

Not long after there was one *Dod*, who coming out of *Germany* to *Calice*, was there apprehended, together with some Protestant Books which he brought with him, and upon examination, remaining bold, and constant in the truth, he was condemned and burnt.

There was also in the same place one *William Button*, a Soldier and Servant to the King, who being of a pleasant Wit, used to jeer the Priests when he met with them, and on a time a Fryer bringing pardons from *Rome*, whereby for Four Pence a piece, he could deliver any Soul out of Purgatory; *Button* went to him, and asked him, If the holy Father the Pope could deliver Souls out of Purgatory? The Fryer answered, That there was no doubt of it: *why then* (said *Button*) *doth he not of charity deliver all the Souls out of it?* For this he was accused to the Commissary, who railed upon him, calling him Heretick, and enjoining him to carry a Fagot, and caused his Wages to be taken from him: But *Button* repairing to the King, and acquainting him with the whole business; the King restored him to his place, and mended his Wages.

William Button persecuted.

Anno Christi 1546. There was a Minister called *Saxie*, who was hanged in the Porters Lodg of *Stephen Gardiner*, as was thought not without his privacy.

Master Saxie murdered.

Also one *Henry* with his Servant were burnt at *Colchester*.

Two Martyrs at Colchester.

Also one *Kerby*, and *Roger Clark* were apprehended at *Ipswich*, and carried before the Lord *Wentworth*, and other Commissioners; whilst these Two Men were in the Jailors House, there came in one Master *Robert Wingfield*, and said to *Kerby*, *Remember the Fire is hot, and therefore take no more upon thee, than thou shalt be able to go through with: The terror is great, the pain will be extream, and life is sweet; Therefore it's better for thee to accept of mercy whilst it may be had, than to shrink afterwards, &c.* *Kerby* answered, *Ab Master Wingfield, be at my burning, and you shall say, there stands a Christian Soldier in the Fire: I know that Fire, water, the Sword, and all other things are in the hands of God; and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give us strength to bear. If thou bee'st at that pass, said Master Wingfield, I will leave thee; For I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn*; And so he bade him Farewel.

Kerby and Clark Martyrs.

Faith.

When *Kerby*, and *Clark* were at the Judgment-Seat, they lifted up their Eyes and Hands to Heaven, making their Prayers privately unto God, for a space. Then were Articles read against them, and it was demanded of them, Whether they believed that after the words of Consecration used by the Priest, the Bread was not turned into the very Body and Blood of *Christ*, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*? They answered, That they did not believe it, but that the Sacrament was instituted by *Christ*, to put us in remembrance of his precious death, and bloodshedding for the remission of sins, &c. Then was there much means used both by fair means and threatnings, to procure them to alter their opinions: But they continued faithful and constant, choosing rather to die, then to live. Then was Sentence given upon them both, *Kerby* to be

Constant.

A Prediction.

burned in the same Town of *Ipswich*; and *Clark* to be burnt at *Bury*: Sentence being passed by the Lord *Wentworth*, *Kerby* reverently holding up his Hands, and bowing himself, said, *Praised be Almighty God*: The Lord *Wentworth* whispering to one that sat by him, *Kerby* said, *Speak out my Lord, and if you have done any thing against your Conscience, ask God mercy, and we for our parts do freely forgive you, &c.* The Lord *Wentworth* blushing, said, *I did speak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing but what the Law requires*; and so they were sent away: At their departure, *Clark* with a vehement voice said, *Fight for your God; For he hath not long to continue*: The next morning *Kerby* was brought forth into the Market place, where all things were ready for his burning: Then did he put off his Cloaths to his Shirt, and so was fastened to the Stake. Many were the Spectators, and amongst the rest, the Lord *Wentworth*, and most of the Justices in the Country. *Kerby* stood trimmed up with Fagots, Broom, and Straw, as if he should be married with new Garments, nothing changing his Countenance; But with a meek Spirit glorified God: Then did a Monk of *Bury* begin to preach, and as often as he alledged Scriptures, and applied them rightly; *Kerby* told the people, that he said true, and bad them believe him: But when he did otherwise, he told him again: *You say not truly, Believe him not, good People.* Sermon being ended, the Monk said to him, *Thou good Man, dost thou not believe that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Flesh, and Blood of Christ?* *Kerby* answered, *I do not believe it*: Then, said he, *What dost thou believe?* *I believe*, said *Kerby*, *that Christ instituted his last Supper as a memorial of his death and passion, &c. Yet it is Bread, and more than Bread; For that it is consecrated to an holy use*: This made the Monk hold his peace, Then did *Kerby* say, *Te Deum*, his Belief, and other Prayers in *English*: After which he said, *I have done, Execute your office, good Master Sheriff*: Then was fire put to him, in which he called upon God with a loud voice so long as his remembrance continued, and so ended his life, the People shouting and praising God for his constancy.

*Kerby's* Martyrdom.*Roger Clark's* zeal.

His cruel Martyrdom.

*Mistress Anne Askew.*

Her boldness.

Popish ignorance.

*Roger Clark* of *Mendelsbam* being carried to *Bury*, went barefoot to the place of his execution: By the way he met with the Procession, but would neither move his Cap, nor bow his knee to it; yea with vehement words he rebuked their Idolatry and Superstition: At the place of execution, he said the *Magnificat* in *English*, making a Paraphrase upon the same, shewing how the Virgin *Mary*, though she might have rejoiced in her holiness as well as another, yet humbled herself to her Saviour. When the Fire was set to him, he suffered intolerable pains, the Wood being green that it would not burn; at last he was choaked with smoak: And one pushing him on the Head with a Fagot-stick, he shrunk down into the Fire, and resigned up his Spirit unto God.

About the same time *Mistress Anne Askew*, born of worshipful Parents, and one that did attend upon Queen *Katherine Parre*, was apprehended for her Religion, and examined before one *Christopher Dave*, an Inquisitor, who asked her if she did not believe the Sacrament of the Altar to be the real Body of *Christ*? To this question she refused to answer. Then he told her, that she was accused for reading that God dwelt not in Temples made with Hands: Thereupon she shewed him the Seventh, and Seventeenth Chapters of the *Acts* for it: Then he asked her, how she understood those Texts? She answered, that she would not cast Pearls before Swine. Then he charged her for saying, that she had rather read Five Lines in her Bible, than hear a Mass: She said, The reason was, because one did greatly edifie her, and the other did not. After divers other questions, he carried her before the Lord Major of *London*, who asked her the same questions, and she gave the same answers as before. Then the Bishops Chancellor rebuked her for meddling with the Scriptures, saying, That *Paul* had forbidden Women to speak, or talk of the Scriptures:



after the rising of Martin Luther.

Scriptures : To whom she answered, that she knew *Pauls* meaning as well as he, *1 Cor. 14. viz.* That Women ought not to speak in the Congregation by way of teaching : Hereupon the Lord Major commanded her to Prison : She asked, if Sureties would not serve turn : But he shortly told her, that he would take none. Being thus sent to the Counter, she was kept a close Prisoner for Eleven days ; and a Priest was sent to her to examine her, who after divers ensnating questions, to which she answered warily, and wisely, asked her, if she would be thriven : She answered, that if Doctor *Crome*, Sir *Guillam*, or *Huntington*, might come to her, she was contented, because she knew them to be wise Men : The Priest replied, *I would not have you think but that I, or any other that comes to you, is as honest as they.*

Her imprisonment.

Shortly after a Kinsman of hers [ *Master Britain* ] used great means to bail her, and going to *Bonner Bishop* of *London* about it, he told him that he would send for her, and examine her, wishing *Master Britain* to perswade her to utter to him the very bottom of her Heart, swearing by his fidelity, that none should take any advantage by her confession, or lay it to her charge to her prejudice : The like he himself perswaded her to, when she came before him : And then left his Arch-Deacon to talk with her, who asked her wherefore she was in trouble : She bad him ask her Accusers, for she knew not. Then he took her Book out of her Hand, and bade her beware, for such Books as that had brought her into trouble, adding, that he that made that Book was an Heretick, and burnt in *Smithfield*, meaning *John Frish*. She asked him, if he were not ashamed to judg of the Book, before he knew what it was, adding, that such rash judgment was an apparent token of a slender Wit. Then she opened the Book and shewed it to him, whereupon he said that he could find no fault with it, but thought it had been another.

Bonner's liberty.

Her Counsel.

The Bishop again perswaded *Master Britain* to exhort her to speak her mind freely to him ; And after a while, coming to her, he bad her hearken to the counsel of her Friends, ensuring her that she need not fear to speak any thing, For that neither he, nor any other should take any advantage of her words, &c. She replied, that she had nothing to say, For she thanked God, her Conscience was not burthened with any thing : This angered the Bishop, whereupon he said, *Then you force me to charge you with what you have been heard to say ; You said, That he that receiveth the Sacrament at the Hands of an ill Priest, receiveth the Devil, and not God.* This she denied, but told him that she said, That the wickedness of the Priest should not hurt her, but in Spirit and Faith, she received no less than the Body and Blood of *Christ*.

After many other captious questions, he shewed her a Paper wherein she had written a confession of her Faith, bidding her to set her Hand to it ; whereupon she writ thus. *I Anne Askew do believe all things contained in the Faith of the Catholick Church, and not otherwise.* This made the Bishop to sling away in great fury. *Master Britain*, and some others followed him, intreating him to be a good Lord to her ; yet he sent her again to Prison, where she lay some days : But at the last, by the importunity of her Friends, he took of them a recognisance for her forth coming, and so she was delivered.

Her confession of Faith.

Her release.

Her examination before the Council.

God's answer.

Some time after she was again apprehended, and carried before the Kings Council, where having a question proposed to her by *Master Kine* : She answered, That my Lord Chancellor knew her mind already about that. Then some told her, that it was the Kings pleasure that she should open her mind to them : She answered them plainly, that she would not do it, except the King pleased himself to hear her. They told her, that it was not meet that the King should be troubled with her : She replied, that *Solomon* the wisest of Kings, was pleased to hear Two common Women. Then the Lord Chancellor asked her opinion about the Sacrament : She answered, that

She is again  
imprisoned.

She falls sick,  
Popish cruelty.  
Her Trial.

Her condem-  
nation.

Her confession  
of Faith sent  
to the King.

Her tempta-  
tions.

She is sent to  
the Tower,  
and examined.

that she believed that so oft as she received the Bread in remembrance of *Christs* death, she received therewith the fruits of his most glorious Passion: The Bishop of *Winchester* bad her answer directly: She answered, she would not sing the *Lords song in a strange Land*: The Bishop told her she was a Parrat; To which she replied, that she was willing not only to receive rebukes from him, but whatsoever should follow besides, and that gladly: After much other debate, she was imprisoned till the next day; At which time they asked her again, what she said to the Sacrament: She answered, that she had said what she could say: Then the Bishop of *Winchester*, with some others, earnestly perswaded her to confess the Sacrament, to be the Flesh, Blood, and Bone of *Christ*: She told Two of them, that it was a great shame for them to counsel her contrary to their own knowledg: After much other arguing, wherein she answered them acutely and holily, they dismissed her: The Sabbath following she was very sick and like to die, whereupon she desired to speak with Mr. *Latimer*, but it would not be permitted: But in the extremity of her sickness they sent her to *Newgate*.

After a while she was brought to her trial in *Guild-hall*, where she was required to recant, or else she was condemned by the Law for an Heretick: She answered, that she was no Heretick, nor deserved death by the Law of God: Then they asked her, if she would deny the Sacrament to be *Christs* Body and Blood: She said, *Yea*; For *Christ* that was born of the blessed *Virgin* is now in *Heaven*, and will come from thence at the latter day, &c. That which you call your god, is but a piece of Bread, and after a time will grow mouldy, and turn to nothing that's good: Therefore it cannot be God. Then they wished her to thrive her self to a Priest: She said, She would confess her faults to God; for she was sure that he would hear her with favor: Hereupon she was condemned.

After her condemnation she wrote a confession of her Faith and sent it to the King, to this purpose.

**I** Anne Askew, of good Memory, though God hath given me the Bread of Adversity, and the Water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known to your Grace, that forasmuch as I am by the Law condemned for an evil-doer, here I take Heaven and Earth to record that I shall die in my innocency: And as I ever said, so I shall continue to the end, that I utterly abhor, and detest all Heresies; And as concerning the Lords Supper, I believe so much as *Christ* hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed Blood: I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and believe so much as the Catholick Church of him doth teach; For I will not forsake the Commandment of his holy Lips. But look what God hath charged me with his Mouth, that have I shut up in my heart: And thus for lack of Learning I briefly end.

Anne Askew.

A few days after she was sent for from *Newgate* before the Bishop of *London*, and Master *Rich*, who with flattering words endeavored to withdraw her from God: Then one *Nicholas Shakston*, an Apostate, counselled her to recant; To whom she said, that it had been good for him if he had never been born: From thence she was sent to the Tower, whither came to her Master *Rich* and another of the Council, charging her upon her obedience, to discover what Men or Women she knew to be of her Sect, which she refused: Then they asked her of divers great Ladies: She said, if she should charge them of any thing, she was not able to prove it; Then they asked her, how she was maintained in Prison: She answered, that it was by means of her Maid, who as she went abroad made her moan in the Streets, and the Apprentices gave her money; Then they said that divers Ladies and Gentlewomen gave her money; She answered, that one brought her Ten Shillings, saying, that the Lady *Hereford* sent



sent it her, another brought her Five Shillings, and said, that the Lady *Deny* sent it her, but she knew not whether they said true or no: Then they put her to the Rack because she confessed no Ladies, nor Gentlewomen that were of her opinion: There they kept her a great while, because she lay still, and did not cry: The manner of it was thus, They led her down into a Dungeon, where the Rack was, and the Lieutenant of the Tower bad the Jailor pinch her on the Rack, which being done, he was about to take her out: But *wrisley* the Chancellor, bad the Lieutenant to Rack her again; But he, tending her weakness, refused: Whereupon the Chancellor threatened to complain of him to the King: And himself and Mr. *Rich*, throwing off their Gowns, played the Tormentors themselves, first asking her whether she was with Child: she answered, that they need not spare for that, but do their wills upon her, and so quietly and patiently praying unto God, she abode their tyranny till her Bones and Joynts were all plucked asunder: Then the Lieutenant caused her to be loosed, whereupon she fell into a swoon: And when she had recovered again, she sat on the bare floor above two hours, reasoning with the Lord Chancellor, who with many flattering words perswaded her to leave her opinion; But, saith she, my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and I hope will do to the end. Then was she carried to an House and laid in a Bed, with as weary and painful Bones as ever patient *Job* had: Then the Lord Chancellor sent her word, that if she would leave her opinion she should want nothing; otherwise she should be sent to *Newgate*, and presently burned: She returned him answer, That she would rather die then deny her Faith; when she was returned to *Newgate*, she there wrote a confession of her Faith which she concluded with this Prayer, O Lord, I have more Enemies now then there be hairs on my Head: yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight, Lord, thou in my stead, for on thee cast I my care; with all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me which am thy poor Creature; yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them which are against me; For in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy merciful goodness, forgive them that violence which they do and have done unto me. Open thou also their blind Hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight which is acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy truth aright, without the vain fancies of sinful Men: So be it, O Lord, so be it.

She is racked cruelly.

Popish cruelty.

Her patience.

Her Constancy.

The day for her execution being come, she was carried in a Chair into *Smithfield*, being unable to go by reason of her former cruel Racking: There she was tied by the middle, with a Chain to the Stake to hold up her Body: Then did Dr. *Shaxton* preach a Sermon, and when he delivered the truth she confirmed it, but when he spake that which was false, she said, now he misseeth and speaks without Book. The Sermon being ended, *wrisley* the Lord Chancellor, who was there present, sent her letters, offering her the Kings pardon if she would recant, but she refusing to look upon them, said, that she came not hither to deny her Lord and Master. Then fire being put to her, being compassed with flames, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord, Anno Christi 1546.

Her Martyrdom.

There was burned at the same time with her *Nicholas Belerrian*, a Minister of *Shropshire*; *John Adams* a Tailor, And *John Lactels*, a Gentleman, one of the Kings Servants, who beholding her invincible constancy, and being stirred up by her exhortations were more emboldned in their sufferings.

Nicholas Belerrian, John Adams, John Lactels, Marys.

About the same time one *Rogers* was condemned, and burned in *Norfolk* for the Six Articles.

Rogers.

The same year the King being come from *Balleine*, information was given to him, that his Queen *Katherine Parre* was much given to reading, and studying the holy Scriptures; And that she had entertained divers godly, and learned Men to instruct her in the same, with whom also she had frequent conferences about spiritual matters: As also that ordinarily, especially in *Lent* every afternoon one of her Chaplains preached to her, and her Ladies and

Queen Katherine Parre.

Her counsel to  
the King.

The pattern of  
a good Wife.

Popish malice  
and subtilty.

and Gentle-women, and to others that pleased to hear : In which Sermons they oft touched such abuses as were rise in the Church : At first the King seemed to like well of it, which made her the more bold, sometimes freely to debate with the King about points of Religion ; often beseeching him that as he had, to the glory of God and his own Eternal Fame begun a good work in banishing the Popes Supremacy, so he would perfect what he had begun, thoroughly cleansing the Church of the dregs of Popery, whereof much remained yet behind. The King though he was grown very teasty, and froward, yet out of his singular affections to her, was content to hear her : For never did Maid more seek to please her Mistriess, then she did with all painful endeavor apply her self, by all vertuous means in all things to please his humour. She was also very beautiful, vertuous, and of a comely personage, which greatly delighted the King : But some subtle and malicious instruments of Satan, fearing what might be the issue of it, sought by all means to imbitter the King against her : These were the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Wrisly* the Lord Chancellor, and others of the Council and privy Chamber, hoping that if they could but take away her, that was the only Patroness of the Professors of the truth, they might by fire and sword without controul destroy the small remainder of Gods poor Flock.

The King growing sickly and froward, left of his accustomed manner of visiting the Queen : And therefore she, when she understood that it was a fit season, would visit him of her own accord, at which times she would earnestly solicit him, zealously to proceed in the Reformation of the Church.

*Gardiners* flat-  
tery.

*Gardiners* malice  
and subtilty.

*Winchester* being present at one of these times, and perceiving the King not to be very well pleased with her ; when she was gone, he maliciously endeavored to stir up the Kings indignation against her, suggesting that the Queen did much forget her self to hold an Argument with his Majesty, and that it was not fit for any of his Subjects to reason so malepertly with him, who was the learnedst Prince in *Christendom*. He suggested also, that the Religion held by the Queen, did not only disallow and dissolve the Politick Government of Princes, but taught the People, that all things ought to be in common : so that he durst boldly affirm, that the greatest Subject in the land, speaking such words as she did, and defending such arguments, had with indifferent Justice by law deserved death : yet he pretended, that he durst not, without Warrant from his Majesty, speak his knowledge of the Queen, left by her and her faction he should be destroyed : But if his Majesty would become their Patron, he with others of his faithful Councillors, could in a short time disclose such treason, cloaked with the veile of Heresie, that his Majesty should easily perceive how dangerous it was to nourish such a Serpent in his bosom, &c. And so with heavy countenance and whisperings he held his peace.

The King provoked  
against  
the Queen.

This much stirred up the Kings displeasure against the Queen ; The rather being jealous and mistrustful of his estate ; yea he was so far irritated by *Winchester* and his Consorts, that he gave them Warrant and Command to draw up Articles against her, which would touch her life : Having thus obtained their end, they departed.

The Popish  
design against  
the Queen.

Their next work was to suborn witnesses to accuse and betray her, and to find out what Books she had in her Closet, which were forbidden by law : They thought it best also to begin with those Ladies which were most familiar with her and of her Blood, as the lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Pembroke*, Sister to the Queen, the Lady *Jane*, and the Lady *Terwit*, who for their vertuous dispositions were much in favor with her, whose Closets and Coffers should also have been searched : The Queen her self also being apprehended, should by Barge be conveyed to the Tower. The King being made privy to this device by *Winchester* and *Wrisly*, he politickly seemed to approve it, that he might see how far the malice of the Bishop would carry him, and thus the day, time and place for the apprehensions of these persons was concluded of.

The Kings Policy.

The



The King at this time lay at *Whitehall*, and by reason of his distemper seldom stirred abroad, and the time approaching for the apprehension of the Queen; she, poor Lady, suspected nothing of it, and therefore used after her accustomed manner, when she came to the King, still to deal with him about Religion as formerly she had done: But one night after she had taken her leave of him, the King imparted the whole design to Doctor *Wendy*, his Physician, pretending that he intended not any longer to be troubled with such a Doctress as she was, and withal, enjoyning him upon his life not to utter it to any creature living: But behold the Providence of God! For as the Lord would have it, the Bill of Articles drawn up against the Queen, and subscribed by the Kings own Hand, fell from the Bosom of one of these Counsellors, which being found by a godly Person, was immediately carried to the Queen, who reading the Articles, and knowing the Kings Hand, was surprized with such a sudden fear, that she fell a wailing, making such pitious moan as was lamentable to see. The King hearing that she was in peril of her life, sent his Physicians to her: And Dr. *Wendy*, knowing the cause better then the other, began secretly to break with her about the Articles, telling her that he knew well of them, though he stood in danger of his life by revealing them, yet to quiet his conscience he could not but give her warning of them, beseeching her somewhat to conform herself to the Kings mind, not doubting, but that by her humble submission she should find him favorable to her: Shortly after, the King hearing of her dangerous condition, came to her; To him therefore she uttered her grief, fearing, as she said, lest his Majesty had taken displeasure against her, &c. whereupon he, like a loving Husband with sweet and comfortable words somewhat eased her perplexed mind, so that she began to recover, and thereupon the King departed. After this the Queen commanded her Ladies to convey away all their Books which were against the Law: And so taking a fit season in an evening she went to visit the King, who was conferring with some of his Bedchamber; When he saw her, he entertained her very curteously, and of himself began to commune with her about Religion, seeming desirous to be resolved by the Queen of certain doubts, which he proposed to her: She perceiving his drift, with mild and reverend countenance answered him thus: *Your Majesty knows right well, neither am I ignorant what weaknesses attend our Sex, and therefore we are inferiour, and subject to Man our Head, whence all our directions must proceed. God hath made Man in his own likeness, endued him with more excellent gifts, &c. But he hath made woman of Man, by whom she is to be governed, and directed, &c. Seeing therefore God hath appointed such a natural difference, and your Majesty is so excellent in wisdom, and I a poor silly woman, so much inferiour to you, why should your Majesty propose such difficult cases to me? Yea, when I have said what I can, I must, and will refer my self to your Majesties wisdom, as to my supream Head, and governor next unto God, by whom I must be directed. Not so by Saint Mary, said the King, you are become a Doctor, Kate, to instruct us, not to be instructed, and directed by us. If your Majesty, said she, take it so, you are much mistaken: For I have alwaies been of opinion, that it was very unseemly for a woman to take upon her the office of an instructor, but rather to learn of her Husband, and to be taught by him.*

And what have I formerly discoursed of with your Majesties leave, wherein some seeming difference hath appeared; I have not done it so much to maintain my opinion, as to minister talk, that your Majesty might with the less grief pass over the painful time of your infirmities: As also that by your Majesties learned discourse I might reap some profit, wherein I have not missed my aim, alwaies referring my self to your Majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do.

Is it so, sweet Heart, said the King? Did your Arguments tend to no worse end? Then are we now as perfect Friends as ever we were heretofore: Then taking her in his Arms, and kissing her, he said, It doth me more good to hear these words of thy mouth, than if I had heard of a Hundred thousand pounds that had

A special providence.

The Queen is informed of the plot, and falls sick upon it.

Dr. Wendy counsel to her.

The King visits and comforts her.

The Queens Prudence.

The King is reconciled to her.

*faile to me: And so after many tokens of joy, and liking, and other pleasant discourse, he gave her leave to depart.*

*Wrisly comes to apprehend her.*

*The King rates him.*

*The Queen intercedes for him.*

Her Adversaries knew nothing of this, and therefore were providing for her apprehension, which was to be the very next day, at which time they intended to carry her to the Tower. The day, and almost the hour being come, the King intending to take the Air, went into the Garden, whither the Queen also went to him, being sent for by him: At which time the King disposed himself to be as merry with her as ever he was in all his life before: When suddenly in the midst of their mirth, in came the Lord Chancellor with forty of the Kings Guard at his heels, whom the King sternly beholding, went to him and upon private conference together, the King called him Knave, arrant Beast, and Fool, withal commanding him out of his presence. The King, after his departure, returned to the Queen, who perceiving him to be much chafed, with sweet words endeavored to qualifie his displeasure, saying that though she knew not what just cause his Majesty had to be offended with the Lord Chancellor, yet she besought him, if the cause were not very hainous, that for her sake he would pass it by. *Ab poor Soul, said the King, little do'st thou know how ill he deserves this grace at thy hands: On my word, sweet Heart, he hath been towards thee an arrant Knave, and so let him go.* The Queen in few words made a charitable reply to this, and so they parted: By this it appears how by the merciful Providence of God, she escaped the dangerous snares of her Bloody Persecutors, and Enemies, which if God had not prevented had wrought her Ruine.

*Sir George Blage condemned.*

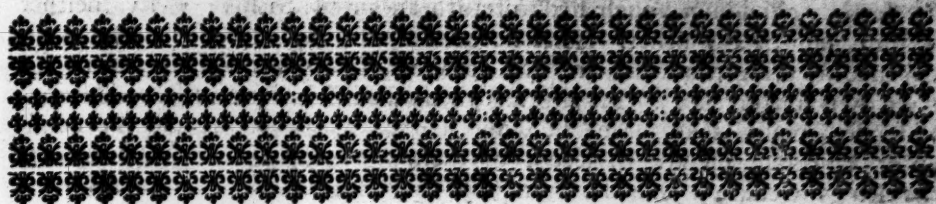
About the same time there was one *Sir George Blage*, of the Kings privy Chamber, against whom they suborned false witnesses to accuse him for speaking against the Mass: Whereupon *Wrisly*, Lord Chancellor, sent him to *Newgate*, and the next day he was arraigned, and condemned at *Guild-hall*, and within a day or two after should have been burned in *Smithfield*: This being heard amongst those of the privy Chamber, they were whispering amongst themselves, which the King could never abide, and therefore asked them the cause of it? They told him the whole story, making suit to him for his pardon, the Earl of *Bedford* much promoting the same: The King being much offended that they should come so near him as into his privy Chamber without his knowledg and consent, sent for *Wrisly*, commanding him presently to draw up his pardon himself, whereby he was set at liberty. *Sir George* afterwards coming into the Kings presence: The King said to him, *Ab my Pig* (for so he used to call him.) *Yea, said he, If your Majesty had not been better to me than your Bishops were, your Pig had been roasted before this time.*

*He is pardoned by the King.*

*Stephen Gardiners rage against the truth.*

Presently after, *Winchester*, and his complices, set forth a cruel Proclamation in the Kings name for the abolishing of the Scripture, and all other such *English Books* as gave any light to the setting forth of the truth. This being obtained, they much rejoyced at it, thinking that now they had for ever suppressed the Gospel, so that it should never rise again: And to strike the greater terror into Mens minds, they made a diligent search after the professors of the truth, took the names of many, of whom some were driven away, some apprehended, and laid up in prison, so that they made no question of attaining their wicked ends: But the Lord who had a care both of his truth, and people in the midst of these subtil devises, took away King *Henry* within Four moneths after the said Proclamation, whereby all their hopes were laid in the dust.





CHAP. VII.

*The Persecution of the Duke of Summerſet, in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.*



King Henry the Eighth being dead, his only Son Prince Edward, our *Engliſh Joſiah*, ſucceeded him; under whom the Proteſtant Religion was eſtabliſhed, Popery, and Superſtition aboliſhed, and the Church, and people of God enjoyed peace. Only the Duke of *Summerſet*, a godly Man, (by the malice of ſome of the Nobility, who were either Popiſhly addiſted, or that ſought to raiſe themſelves upon his ruine,) met with great troubles, and Perſecution, the ſtory whereof followeth. King Edward had Three Uncles by his Mothers ſide, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymer, whereof the eldeſt [Edward] was made Protector of the King and Realm: and the Second [Thomas] was made Lord high Admiral of *England*. Theſe Two Brethren, ſo long as they continued firmly knit together in the bonds of Brotherly love, preſerved both themſelves, the King, and Kingdom from danger. But the ſubtil old ſerpent envying their felicity, and the progreſs of the Goſpel thereby, by ſlanderous, and envenomed Tongues ſowed betwixt them, Firſt matter of diſcord, then of ſuſpition, and laſtly of extream hatred: The Dutcheſs of *Summerſet* blowing the coals of contention between them: yet was this breach, by the mediation of Friends, for a time healed: But within a ſhort ſpace after, through the inſtigation of ſome that were back Friends to the Goſpel, it brake out again to the trouble of the Realm, and their own deſtruction: And firſt, the Lord Admiral, was attainted, and condemned for treaſon, and loſt his Head at the Tower-hill, March the Twentieth 1549. Preſently after inſurrections aroſe in the Kingdom, whereupon the Earl of *Bedford*, Lord privy Seal, was ſent into the Weſtern parts, and the Lord *Dudley*, Earl of *warwick*, was ſent with an Army into *Norfolk*, where with much difficulty, he appeaſed the Rebels, and ſo returned.

The benefit of unity,

After his return great conſultations were held by him, and ſome other Lords at *London*, againſt the Lord Protector, who was with the King at *Hampton Court*: Whereupon the Protector wrote to the Lord *Ruſſel* in the Weſt, giving him notice of their conſpiracy againſt the King and him, and of the falſe, and forged crimes which they laid to his charge, and which they ſcattered abroad to his diſhonor, and therefore he required him to haſten with all the forces that he could make, to *windſor*, for the defence of the King and him.

The Lords conſpire againſt the Protector,

To this meſſage the Lord *Ruſſel* returned answer, That he much lamented this diſiſion, and looked upon it as a great judgment of God upon the Realm, and that he would haſten with his forces towards *windſor*; yet humbly beſeeched his Lordſhip, that the King might not be put into any fear, nor that their private quarrels might endanger the peace of the Kingdom.

From *Hampton Court* the King ſent Secretary *Peters* to the Lords at *London*, but inſtead of answering the Kings meſſage, they detained the Secretary, where-

The Lord  
Proteſtors  
mild offers to  
the Lords.

upon the Lord Proteſtor wrote to them that he wondered that they had ſtayed the Secretary, and not vouchſafed to return an answer to his Maſteſty, neither by him, nor by any other. That he was ſorry to ſee their doings bent with violence to bring the King, and him to thoſe extremities of uſing Arms for their own juſt defence : Yet aſſuring them that if any reaſonable conditions and offers would take place, he would be ready, for preventing the effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, to accept of them : Profeſſing that he preferred the Kings welfare, and the tranquillity of the Realm, before his own Life.

A Proclama-  
tion againſt  
him.

This reaſonable propoſal of the Lord Proteſtor, was little regarded by thoſe unreaſonable Lords, who ſtill reſolved to proceed in their purpoſe : And for this end, they called upon the Lord Major, and Aldermen to keep a good watch by night, and a good ward by day for their ſafety : Then they demanded of them Five Hundred Men to fetch the Lord Proteſtor from *Windsor* from the King, but that was denied them without the conſent of the Common Council : whereupon the Lords going to the Lord Majors Houſe, and ſending for the Sheriffs, drew up a Proclamation againſt the Lord Proteſtor, wherein they charged him with many, and grievous crimes : This coming to his eares, a letter was ſent from *Windsor*, Signed by the King and Lord Proteſtor, to the Lord Major, and Common Council, requiring them to ſend Ten thouſand well appointed Men out of the City to *Windsor* for their ſafety.

The Lords had a preſent notice of this letter, whereupon they alſo wrote to the Common Council, not only for a ſufficient guard to fortiſie the City : But requiring them not to obey any Proclamations or Injunctions that ſhould come to them from *Windsor*.

Good counſel  
of a Citizen.

The Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common Council receiving theſe Two letters at the ſame time, were in a great ſtrait what to do. The Recorder moved that they would aſſiſt the Lords : But a ſtout and wiſe Citizen, [Maſter *George Stadlow*] ſtanding up, minded them of the miſchief, and miſeries which beſet the City, for aſſiſting the Lords in the time of the Barons Warrs, though (as was pretended) juſtly undertaken : And therefore gave his advice, that the Kings command ſhould be obeyed, and that the Lords ſhould be moved to joyn with them in a Petition to the King, that it would pleaſe his Highneſſe to hear ſuch complaints againſt the government of the Lord Proteſtor as might be juſtly alledged, and proved, whereby he doubted not of a good iſſue, &c. The effect of this motion was, that the Lords ſent Sir *Philip Hobbs* to accuſe the Proteſtor to the King, whereupon he was made a Priſoner in a Port of *Windsor* Caſtle : The next day the Lords repaired to the King, and the day following they brought away the Proteſtor priſoner through the City to the Tower : Shortly after the Lords went to the Tower, where they charged him with ſundry Articles, maliciously purpoſing his ruine, but God in mercy was pleaſed to fruſtrate their expectation ; the King ſo laboring for his Uncle, that Three days after he was released out of the Tower, and the Proclamation was called in, whereby he had been proclaimed a Traytor. And thus he was reſtored, though not to his Office, yet to his liberty, which he enjoyed two years after. At the end whereof his malicious Adverſaries ſo far prevailed, that he was again caſt into the Tower, and ſhortly after brought forth to his arraignment, and was carried through the City with the Ax before him, with many Bills, and Halberts. In *weſtminſter* Hall before the Lords which were his Judges, he was charged with Treason and Felony. The Lawyers without modeſty, or honeſty, according to their uſual cuſtome in the like caſes, uſed many unſeemly ſpeeches, vile taunts, and deſpiteful rebukes againſt him : All which he patiently, and quietly underwent, neither inwardly fretting, nor returning evil language to them again, but like a lamb, imitating the example of his Saviour, he meekly took all things at their Hands : His prudence alſo, and temperance was no leſſe ſeen in his an-

The Proteſtor  
accuſed, and  
imprisoned.

His releaſe.

Again impris-  
oned.

The Lawyers  
wickedneſs.  
The Dukes  
godly behavi-  
our.

ſwers



swers to the Articles objected against him. His Peeres, after consultation, passed this Sentence: That they acquitted him from the charge of treason, but found him guilty of Felony.

He is condemned for Felony.

The people hearing the Lords say not guilty, shouted exceedingly for joy, thereby shewing their great affections to him.

But the people were greatly deceived; For the innocent Duke was condemned to die for Felony, and so was returned to the Tower again: The Felony that he was charged withal, was for seeking the death (as was pretended) of the Duke of Northumberland.

As he passed back through the City, great exclamations were again made by the people, some rejoycing for that he was acquitted, others lamenting for that he was condemned to die. In the Tower he continued for some days, till a Writ for his Execution came from the King and Council, whereupon he was delivered to the Sheriffs, and with a great Guard of Soldiers was carried to the Scaffold on the Tower-hill. The good Duke nothing changed either his voice, or countenance, but kneeling on his Knees, and lifting up his Hands, he commended himself to God; His Prayers being ended, he stood up, and with an unappaled spirit, and alacrity he thus spake.

His execution.

*Dearly Beloved Friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, though I never offended against the King in word or deed, but have always been as true and faithful to this Realm as any Man hath been. Yet seeing by the Law I am condemned to die, I acknowledge my self as well as any others to be subject thereto: wherefore to testifie my subjection to the laws I am come hither to die, whereunto I willingly offer my self, with most hearty thanks unto God who hath given me this time of repentance, who by sudden death might have taken away my life, so that I neither should have acknowledged him nor my self. Something I must mind you of touching the reformed Religion, which so long as I was in authority I alwayes diligently set forth, and furthered to my power: neither do I repent of it, but rejoyce in it, seeing that it cometh so near to the order of the Primitive Church: This I look upon as a great mercy both to you, and me: Most heartily exhorting you all, that you will embrace it with all thankfulness, and set forth the same in your lives; which if you neglect to do without all doubt, great mischiefs will fall upon you.* As he spake these words, suddenly a terrible noise was heard which affrighted all Men: To some it seemed as the noise of a great tempest, to others as the crack of Gun-powder blown up, to others as a great company of Horsemen rushing upon them: This so astonished the people, that though they saw nothing, yet they all ran away, some into Ditches, others into Houses; some were so terrified that they fell grovelling to the ground: The very Soldiers fell down, crying, *Jesus, save us, Jesus, save us*: Such as tarried, through fear knew not where they were. In this confusion some of the people spied Sir Anthony Brown riding to the Scaffold, whereupon they conceited that the King had sent the Duke his Uncle a pardon: This occasioned great rejoycing, and casting up of caps, crying, *A pardon, a pardon is come; God save the King.* In the midst of all this hurly burly, the good Duke stood still, in the same place with a modest, and grave countenance, making a signe to the people with his hand to be quiet. And at length silence being obtained, he thus spake unto them:

His excellent Speech.

A remarkable providence.

*Dearly Beloved friends, there is no such matter as you expect, or believe: It seemeth otherwise good to God, whose will we must all obey, wherefore I Pray you be quiet, and contented with my death which I willingly suffer: and so let us joyn in prayer to the Lord for the preservation of the Kings Majesty, to whom I have been a faithful Subject, and have diligently sought the peace, and welfare both of him, and the Kingdom. The people cried out, and said it was true; Then the Duke proceeded: I wish continual health to his Majesty with all felicity, and prosperous success: Then the people cried, Amen: Moreover, (said the Duke) I wish to all his Counsellors the grace, and favor of God, that they may rule in all things uprightly, and justly,*  
and

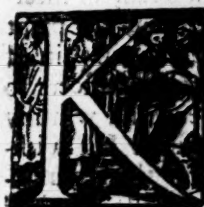
and I exhort you all to be obedient to them in the Lord, &c. Also, if in those great transactions which I have been imployed in, I have offended or injured any Man, I most humbly ask forgiveness: But especially of Almighty God, whom through all my life, I have most grievously offended; And all that have offended me I do wish my whole heart freely forgive them: And once again I beseech you that by your tumult you do not trouble me: For though the spirit be willing, yet the flesh is frail, and weak. I desire you also to bear me witness that I here die in the true faith of Jesus Christ. Then kneeling down he again prayed: Then shaking all upon the Scaffold by the Hand, he bad them farewell, gave the Executioner some money, and so prepared himself for the stroke. When all things were ready, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and covering his face with his Handkerchief, he lay down without shewing any manner of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, and so crying, *Lord Jesus, save me*, the Third time that he repeated it, his Head was severed from his shoulders, and so he quietly slept in the Lord, *Anno Christi 1552.*

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## CHAP. VIII.

*The Persecution of the English Church under the Reign of Queen Mary.*

King Edward the Sixth being dead, the Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen, of whom you may read the story in my second Part: The Lady Mary hearing of it, presently sent to the Lords of the Council, commanding, and requiring them presently to proclaim her Queen, which if they refused to do, she threatened by force of Armes to recover her right. The Lords returned answer, that the Lady Jane was invested, and possessed of the Crown by just right, and title, both by the ancient Laws of the Land, and by letters Patents signed, and sealed by the late King before his death. And therefore they declared that they would adhere unto her, and to none other; requesting the Lady Mary that she would surcease by any pretence to molest the peace of the Realm, promising that if she carried herself as a dutiful Subject they would be ready to do her any service, &c.

The Lady Mary having received this answer, speedily departed farther from the City: Which the Council hearing of, and knowing her stout and unquiet disposition, presently raised an Army, whereof they made the Duke of Northumberland General, and with which he departed from London: Mary in the mean time withdrew herself into Suffolk, and Norfolk, gathering such aid of the Commons as she could; keeping herself in Feringham Castle: To whom Suffolk-Men first resorted, who being alwayes forward in promoting the Gospel, promised her their aid, and help, provided that she would attempt no alteration in Religion established by her Brother. To this she easily agreed, with such protestations that none could suspect her: With this power of the godly party she vanquished her enemies, yet afterwards when these very Men made supplication to her Grace to perform her promise: She answered, Forasmuch as you being members desire to rule your Head, you shall one day find that members must obey, not seek to rule; Yea one of the chief of them [Master Dobb] she caused, to the terror of others to be set in the Pillory sundry times: Divers others that presented supplications to the same purpose she caused to be committed to prison.

Queen Mary gets the Crown by the help of Protestants.

Her persecutions.

The Duke of Northumberland making but short marches, the Lady Mary, by his lingring, encreased her power, so that the Council at London understanding that the Commons flocked much to her, and that some of the Nobility inclined that way, they presently proclaimed her Queen.

The Duke of Northumberland in the mean time being deserted by his Soldiers, was left at Cambridge almost alone: Where being arrested, he was brought to London, and committed prisoner to the Tower for treason, and after a Month lost his Head at Tower-hill. After his condemnation he was promised his life if he would turn Papist, and bear Mass, which he consented to, denying in words the true Religion which he had formerly embraced, and professed; yea,

The Duke of Northumberland and his Apostasy.

he exhorted the people to return to the Catholick Religion, which the Papists much rejoyced at, and yet his life was not spared:

Queen *Mary* being thus possessed of the Kingdom, presently began to discover her disaffection to Religion by displacing all the Orthodox Bishops, as *Poynet*, *Ridley*, *Scory*, *Hooper*, *Coverdal*, and by releasing out of the Tower *Stephen Gardiner*, making him Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Bonner*, making him Bishop of *London*, &c. Master *Hooper* was committed to the Fleet; and Doctor *Ridley* going to visit the Queen, was sent back upon a lame halting Horse to the Tower of *London*. Then did the Queen summon a Parliament, and sent forth a Proclamation, wherein she declared that she could not dissemble her Religion which she had been brought up in from her infancy, and which she was minded to observe and maintain, wishing that all her Subjects would quietly imbrace the same. She declared also, that whereas some evil-disposed Persons (as she called them) did take upon them to preach the word of God according to their own brain, &c. She therefore straitly charged, and commanded them, that they should not henceforth preach, read, or interpret any Scriptures or other points of Doctrine concerning Religion, nor print any Books, &c. without her Graces special license for the same, upon pain of incurring her Highness indignation, and displeasure: Requiring all Officers to see to the due execution of her pleasure herein, and if any one should wilfully transgress the same, to apprehend, and commit them to the next Jail without bail, or mainprize, till farther order should be taken for their punishment to the example of others. The Aldermen of *London* were also required to send for all the Ministers in every Ward, and to command them not only to forbear preaching themselves; but not to suffer any other to preach, read, or open the Scriptures, in their Churches, unless they were licensed by the Queen.

Anno Christi 1553. one *William Rutler* was committed to prison for speaking against a Popish Sermon preached by *Bourne* at *Pauls-Cross*: and one *Humphrey Palden* was committed to the Counter for the same: Also Master *Bradford*, Master *Vernon*, and Master *Beacon*, Preachers, were committed to the Tower, Master *Rogers* was commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own House without conferring with any: Then was Master *Coverdal* Bishop of *Exeter*, and Master *Hooper* Bishop of *Worcester* sent for up to attend the Council: *John Melvin* [a Scotchman] a godly Preacher, was sent to *Newgate*.

Master *Hooper* appearing was committed to the Fleet. A Pursuivant was sent for Master *Hugh Latimer*: Master *Simonds* Preacher in *St. Michaels*, and Master *Hugh Sanders* Pastor of the same in *Coventry*, were also sent for. Master *Latimer* appearing, was committed to the Tower: And so was Doctor *Cranmer* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; Then Master *Horne* Dean of *Durham* was sent for.

Shortly after the Parliament began, where Master *Harley* Bishop of *Hereford* was deposed for that he was married, and refused to come to Mass. Sir *James Hales* Justice of the Common Pleas, though he had ventured his life for Queen *Mary* in refusing to subscribe to her disinheriting by King *Edwards* will, yet for giving the Statutes in charge against the Popes Supremacy, &c. At the Sessions, was cast into prison, and there so cruelly handled, and terrified with the torments, which, they said, were in preparing for Hereticks, that partly by the flattery of the Bishops, partly by their threats, he was drawn to recant, after which he fell into such terrors of conscience, that he attempted to have slain himself with a Pen-knife, if by the special providence of God he had not been prevented: After which (his wounds that he had given himself being healed) he was delivered out of prison, and went home to his own House; yet neither there could he have any inward peace, so that setting his House in order, he drowned himself in a River not far from his House.

The godly Bishops displaced.  
Popish Bishops put in their rooms.  
The Queens Proclamation for Popery.

*William Rutler.*  
*Humphry Palden.*  
*Mr. Bradford.*  
*Mr. Vernon.*  
*Mr. Beacon*  
imprisoned.  
*Mr. Melvin.*

*Mr. Hooper.*  
*Mr. Latimer.*

*Dr. Cranmer.*

*Mr. Harley.*

*Judge Hales.*

Ingratitude.

The danger of Apostasie.



At the same time also there was a Convocation, wherein the Prolocutor [Doctor *Weston*] presented a Bill to be signed for the natural presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, which was refused by Master *Philips* Dean of *Rocheſter*, Master *Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, Master *Philpot* Arch-Deacon of *Wincheſter*, Master *Cheney* Arch-Deacon of *Hereford*, Master *Elmar* Arch-Deacon of *Stow*, and one more. Master *Philpot* also, and Master *Cheney* maintained a learned diſputation for divers dayes againſt the real preſence: Whereupon, by command from the Queen, Biſhop *Bonner* diſſolved the Convocation.

The Major of *Coventry* ſent up *Baldwin Clarke*, *John Careleſſe*, *Thomas Wilcocks*, and *Richard Aſtlin* for oppoſing Idolatry, who were committed to priſon: Beſides the good Biſhops that were imprifoned, there were alſo many Arch-Deacons, Deans, and all other Beneficed Men that were married, and conſtantly adhered to their profeſſion, caſt out of their places, and Popiſh Priests put into the ſame. Shortly after Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* was arreigned for Treason at *Guild-Hall*, but was acquitted of that charge, only he was ſtill kept priſoner for Hereſie.

Anno Chriſti 1554. Doctor *Crome* for preaching without liſenſe on *Chriſtmas-day* was committed to the *Fleet*: Alſo Maſter *Thomas Wotton* Eſquire, for matters of Religion was made cloſe priſoner there.

About this time the motion of Marriage went on between *Philip* King of *Spain*, and Queen *Mary*, which was ill relented by ſome of the Nobility, and of the Commons: Amongſt whom, Sir *Thomas Wyatt* in *Kent* raiſed ſome forces to oppoſe it, fearing that hereby the Kingdom would be miſerably inflaved to foreigners, and the Popiſh Religion eſtabliſhed: The Duke of *Suffolk* alſo went into *Warwickſhire*, and *Leceſterſhire* to raiſe forces to oppoſe it: The Queen hereupon ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* againſt *Wyat*, who was forſaken by his Men when he came to *Rocheſter*, and ſo returned back to *London*. The Earl of *Huntington* was ſent into *Warwickſhire*, who entring *Coventry* before the Duke of *Suffolk*, diſappointed him: So that the Duke being in great diſtreſs, committed himſelf to a ſervant of his that dwelt in *Aſtley Park*, who like a falſe Traitor diſcovered him, and ſo he was carried to the Tower of *London*: *Wyat* in the mean time marched towards *London*, whereupon the Queen went to *Guild-hall*, and ſtirred up the Citizens againſt him. *Wyat* came with his Army into *Southmark*, and finding that he could not enter that way, he went about by *Kingſton*, and ſo marched as far as *Ludgate* into the City, But finding the gate ſhut againſt him, he returned, and at *Temple-bar* being reſiſted; he yielded himſelf up to Sir *Clement Parſon*, and being committed to the Tower, was afterwards beheaded at *Tower-hill*; Then was the Lady *Jane* beheaded, whoſe ſtory you may read in my ſecond Part, in her Life.

Anno Chriſti 1554. *Bonner* ſent abroad his Injunctions to all the Miniſters in his Dioceſs, requiring them to return the names of all ſuch as the Lent following reſuſed to come to Auricular confeſſion. The Queen alſo ſent certain Articles to *Bonner*, to be put in execution for reviving the Eccleſiaſtical Laws made by King *Henry* the eighth; for reſtoring of the Popes Supremacy: For puniſhing Hereſies, eſpecially in the clergy: For depriving all Miniſters that were married, and divorcing them from their Wives: For proceſſions to be ſaid in *Latine*: For the reſtoring Popiſh ceremonies, &c. The like command ſhe ſent alſo to the Lord Major.

*Peter Martyr*, *John a Laſco*, and other Proteſtant Forreigners were baniſht the Realm.

Many godly Engliſh fled to *Freeſland*, *Cleveland*, *Germany*, *Basel*, *Zurich*, *Geneva*, and other places, where through Gods mercy, they were all provided for, and entertained with great favor, to the number of Eight Hundred perſons at the leaſt. Then was the Lady *Elizabeth* ſent to the Tower, of whoſe great afflictions read her Life in my ſecond Part.

Baldwin Clarke,  
John Careleſſe,  
Thomas Wilcocks,  
Richard Aſtlin,  
imprifoned.

Dr. *Cranmer*  
arreigned.

Dr. *Crome*,  
Thomas *Wotton*.

Sir *Thomas*  
*Wyat*,  
And the Duke  
of *Suffolk*.

Treachery,  
His imprifon-  
ment.

Sir *Thomas*  
*Wyat* behead-  
ed.  
The Lady *Jane*  
beheaded.

The Queens  
Articles.

*Peter Martyr*,  
and *John a*  
*Laſco* baniſht.

The Lady *E*,  
*Elizabeth* imprifoned.

Dr. Cranmer  
Ridley, Latimer  
sent to Oxford.  
Dr. Taylor.  
Mr. Sanders.

Shortly after Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer, were carried Prisoners to Oxford, and Doctor Taylor was sent for up to London, of whom see their *Lives in my first Part*.

Master Sanders for preaching against the Mass was committed to Prison, of whom see his *Life in my first Part*.

Duke of Suffolk executed.

About the same time Henry Lord Gray, Duke of Suffolk being condemned was brought forth to execution. Doctor Weston would needs follow him up to the Scaffold, but he twice put him down with his Hand. The Duke spake to the people saying: I have offended the Queen, and her Laws, and therefore am condemned to die, and am willing to die, beseeching you all to be my witness that I die in the true Faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his merits only, and by no other trumpery: Christ died for me, and for all that truly repent of their sins, and stedfastly trust in him: And I do repent, desiring you all to pray for me, that when breath departs out of my Body, he will be pleased to receive my Soul: Then he desired all Men to forgive him: And Doctor Weston told the people that the Queen had forgiven him: To whom they answered, *such forgiveness God send thee*. Then the Duke kneeling down prayed unto God, concluding, *Into thy hands, O Lord, do I commend my spirit*. Then prepared he himself for the stroke of death, and tying an Handkerchief before his Face, he kneeled down, saying over the Lords Prayer, and laying down his Head, said, *Christ, have mercy upon me*, and so he quietly and comfortably slept in the Lord.

Divers Housholders, Servants, and Apprentices, were committed to Prison for having, and selling some good Books that were sent over by the Preachers that were fled into Germany.

Scriptures  
blotted out on  
the Church-  
walls.  
The Universi-  
ties visited.

Bishop Bonner going his Visitation, commanded all the Sentences of Scripture that were painted on the Church-walls, to be abolished, and blotted out.

Visitors also were appointed for the Two Universities, to bring in their Popish trash amongst them, whereby many godly persons of their own accord forsook their fellowships, others were thrust out, and raw, and unworthy persons put into their places, to the great hindrance of Learning, and Religion.

It was reported that Queen Mary was quick with Child, whereupon, by publick order thanks were given in all Churches for the same, and afterwards many prayers were made that it might be a Male-child, beautiful, comely, witty, valiant, &c.

The constancy  
of the godly  
Ministers.  
Master James  
George dieth  
in prison.  
Master Hooper  
and Master  
Rogers con-  
demned.  
Dr. Taylor,  
Mr. Bradford,  
Mr. Sanders  
condemned.

About the same time all the godly Ministers that were in prison, in, and about London, were sent for before the Bishop of Winchester, who asked them whether they would recant, and enjoy the Queens pardon, or else stand to that which they had taught: They all answered, that they would stand to that which they had taught: Whereupon they were made close prisoners that none might speak with them. Amongst these there was one Master James George, that died in prison, whom they buried in the Fields. Presently after, Master Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Bradford, were brought before the Bishop of Winchester, and other Commissioners, by whom they were excommunicated, and Master Hooper, and Master Rogers were condemned: Of whom see their stories in *my first part*. The next day Doctor Taylor, Doctor Cromie, Doctor Ferrar, Master Bradford, and Master Sanders, were brought before them: Where Doctor Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Sanders were condemned: Of whom likewise see the stories in *my first part*.

Commissions also, and Inquisitors were sent abroad into all parts of the Realm, whereby a great number of godly people, especially in Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, were apprehended, brought to London, and imprisoned, most of which either died in prison, and were buried in dunghils, or were consumed to ashes in the flames.

Also



Also *William Pigot*, *Thomas Hawks*, *John Laurence*, and *William Hunter*, were brought before the Bishops for the same cause of Religion: But when *Stephen Gardiner* perceived that all his threats, and cruel devices would not serve turn to dishearten Men from adhering to the truth, he gave over the business as utterly discouraged, meddling no more with condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bishop *Bonner*, who bestirring himself in that trust, presently called before him the persons above named, and read the sentence of death upon them. Also Doctor *Ferrar* was sent down to his Bishoprick of Saint *David's* in *Wales*, there to be condemned, and executed.

The King of *Denmark* wrote Two Letters to Queen *Mary*, in the behalf of Master *Coverdal*, by whose intercession the Queen at last let him go to him.

*Thomas Tomkins* before named was a Weaver by profession: A Man of a very humble, and holy conversation, that would begin all his business with prayer: And so charitable, that if any came to borrow money of him, he would shew them all in his purse, and bid them take it; and when they brought it home, he would bid them keep it longer till they were better able to repay it. *Bonner* kept this Man in prison half a Year, and sometimes beat him cruelly about the Face, and plucked off a piece of his Beard, yet he bore it patiently: And when the Bishop could by no other means prevail to remove him from the truth, having Doctor *Harfsfield*, and some others with him, he sent for *Tomkins*, and endeavored to draw him to recant, which *Tomkins* denying, the Bishop having a wax Taper by him, took *Tomkins* by the Fingers, and held his Hand over the flame, and burnt it cruelly: Afterwards *Tomkins* reported to a Friend, that whilest his Hand was burning, he was so ravished in Spirit that he felt no pain; so that he never shrunk till the Veins shrunk, and the Sinews brake, and the Water spurt into Doctor *Harfsfield's* Face, who was so moved with pitty, that he requested the Bishop to give over, saying, That had he tried him enough. After this he was brought into the Bishops Consistory, and examined whether he did believe that *Christ's* Body was really in the Sacrament: To which he answered, that he believed the Sacrament only to be a remembrance thereof, and that the very Body, and Blood of *Christ* is only in Heaven, and no where else. Then being asked whether he would recant his errors: He answered, that seeing God had revealed his truth to him, he would continue therein to his death: Hereupon the Bishop read his sentence of condemnation, and delivered him to the Sheriffs, who carried him to *Newgate*, and from thence into *Smithfield*, where he sealed the Truth with his Blood, and quietly slept in the Lord, Anno *Christi* 1555.

Then *William Hunter*, a godly young man of Nineteen Years old, born of godly Parents, who instructed him in the truth, and was by them placed Apprentice in *London*, was commanded to go to Mass, and receive the Sacrament, which he refused to do, whereupon he was threatened to be complained of to the Bishop: *Hunter* therefore taking leave of his Master, went to his Parents at *Burntwood*, with whom he remained about Six weeks. Then one day going into the Chappel there, and finding a Bible upon the Desk, he began to read therein. Presently after came in a Summoner who said to him: What dost thou meddling with the Bible? Canst thou understand what thou readest, and canst thou expound the Scripture? *Hunter* answered, I take not upon me to expound the Scripture, but finding the Bible here, I read in it to my comfort. The Summoner replied, It was never a merry World since the Bible came forth in *English*. *Hunter* said, Say not so for Gods sake: For the Gods Book, out of which every one that hath grace may learn how he ought to please God, and therefore I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually. The Summoner replied, I perceive

*William Pigot*  
*Thomas Hawks*  
*John Laurence*  
*William Hunter*  
*Stephen Gardiner* weary of  
performing  
gave it over to  
*Bonner*,  
*Dr. Ferrar*.

*Coverdal* re-  
leased.

*Thomas Tomkins*, his piety  
and charity.

*Bonner* cru-  
elty.

He burnt *Tomkins*  
his hand.

His martyr-  
dom.

*William Hunter*  
his.

People were  
astonished.

your mind well enough, you are one of those that do not like the Queens Laws, but you and many more must turn over a new Leaf or you will broil for it: *Hunter* answered, Pray God give me grace that I may believe his word, and confess his name what ever comes of it. Confess his name, said the Summoner? No, no, you will all go to the Devil, and confess his name. Then did the Summoner go forth, and fetched a Priest, Vicar of that place, out of an Alehouse, who finding *William Hunter* reading, reviled, and rebuked him for it, and afterwards asked him what he said to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, whether the Bread, and Wine were not transubstantiated into *Christs* Body? *Hunter* answered, that he found no such thing in Scripture, and told him that he understood *Christs* words like the carnal *Caper-naits* who thought that *Christ* would have given them his flesh to feed on, wherefore he said to them, *The words that I speak, they are Spirit, and Life*: Ah, quoth the Vicar, now I have found you out, now I see thou art an Heretick, &c. *Hunter* replied, Whereas you make question of my Faith, would we Two were fast tied to a stake, to prove whether of us should stick closest to our Faith, &c. Then the Vicar departed, threatening to complain of *William Hunter*: Whereupon he went home, and took leave of his Father, and fled from the danger: Presently after Master *Brown* sent for old *Hunter*, and enquired for his Son, he told him he knew not where he was: Yet did *Brown* threaten to cast him into prison, if he did not bring forth his Son: The old Man therefore rode after him to look him, and after Two dayes met with him, telling him what had happened: Yet, said he, go thy wayes, and I will return home again, and say that I cannot find thee. No said *William*, I will go home with you, and save you harmless whatever comes of it. As soon as he came back, he was apprehended by a Constable, and carried before Master *Brown*, who reasoned much with him about the Sacrament of the Altar, and being extreemly enraged at his bold, and judicious answers, he immediately sent him up to London to Bishop *Bonner*. Then the Bishop understanding the business, began very mildly with him, and asked him what he thought of the Sacrament of the Altar, whether *Christs* Body was not present, the same that was born of the Virgin *Mary*? *Hunter* told him that what he had said before, he would not recant for all the good in the World: After some other conference the Bishop caused his Men to set him in the Stocks, in his Gatehouse, where he lay Two dayes, and had nothing but a Cruft of brown Bread, and a Cup of cold Water. At the Twodayes end the Bishop came to him, and finding the Bread and Water still by him, he bad his Men to let him out, and to let him break his Fast with them: But they reviled him, calling him Heretick, and saying, that he should not come into their company: *Hunter* answered, that he was as loth to be in their company, as they in his.

Presently after the Bishop sent for him, and asked him if he would recant? *Hunter* answered, that he would never recant that which he had confessed before Men concerning his Faith in *Christ*. Then the Bishop committed him to prison, and commanded the Jailor to put as many Irons upon him as he could: Threatning to burn him, whereupon *Hunter* said, God strengthen me in his truth: And so he was carried away, the Bishop allowing him but a half-penny a day, to live on.

He remained thus in prison Three quarters of a year, and was Six times before the Bishop, the last of them he asked him whether he would recant, and whether he believed *Christs* Body to be present in the Sacrament? *Hunter* answered, That he believed, that when he received the holy Communion rightly, and worthily, he fed upon *Christ* spiritually by Faith in his Soul, and was made partaker of all the benefits which *Christ* had brought to all faithful Believers, through his precious Death, Passion, and Resurrection. Hereupon the Bishop read the sentence of condemnation, appointing that he should

Hunter's flight.

And return-  
eth.

His Constancy.

Bonner's cruelty to him.

His cruel imprisonment.



## The Story of William Hunter Martyr.

go back to *Newgate*, and from thence to *Burntwood*, to be burned. After which he said to him, if thou wilt recant I will make thee a Freeman of *London*, and give thee Forty pounds in money to set up thy occupation withal, or I will make thee Steward of my House: For I see thou hast wit enough, and therefore I will prefer thee, if thou wilt recant? *Hunter* answered, *I thank you for your offers, but if you cannot persuade my Heart by Scripture arguments, I will not turn from God for the love of the world: For I count all earthly things but Dung, and Dross, in respect of the love of Christ:* Then said the Bishop, *If thou diest in this Mind, thou art condemned for ever:* *Hunter* replied, *God judgeth righteously, and justifies those, whom Men condemn unjustly.* Thus was he sent to *Newgate*, and after a Moneth to *Burntwood*.

Testimony.

Whilest he was at *Burntwood*, his Father, and Mother came to him, desiring heartily of God that he might continue constant to the end, in that good way which he had begun: His Mother added, that she was happy that she had born such a Child, which could find in his Heart to lose his life for *Christ's* sake. *William* answered, *For the little pain which I shall suffer, which is but for a moment, Christ hath promised me a Crown of joy.* Then his Mother kneeling down, said, *I pray God strengthen thee, my Son, to the end. I think thee as well bestowed as any Child that ever I bore.* Whilest he remained there, many of his acquaintance came to him, whom he exhorted to come out of the abomination of Popery, and Idolatry. Three dayes after Master *Brocker*, the Sheriff, prepared all things for his burning; and in the mean time the Sheriffs Son came to him, and took him in his Arms, saying, *William, Be not afraid of these Men that are present with Bills, and Bows, to carry you to the place of execution:* *William* answered, *I thank God I am not afraid: For I have already cast my account what it will cost me:* With that the Sheriffs Son could speak no more for weeping. And so *Hunter* went on cheerfully: His Father met him by the way, saying, *God be with thee, my Son.* *William* answered, *God be with you, good Father, and be of good comfort: For I hope we shall meet again where we shall be merry.* At the Stake he kneeled down, and read the Fifty one Psalm. Then said the Sheriff, *Here is a Letter from the Queen, if thou wilt recant, thou shalt live, otherwise thou shalt be burnt:* No, quoth *William*, *I will not recant, and so he went to the Stake, and was fastened to it:* Then he said to the people, *Good people, pray for me whilest you see me alive, and I will pray for you.* Master *Brown* standing by, said, *I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a Dog.* *William* answered: *Sir, now you have that which you sought for, I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day, But I forgive you:* *Brown* said, *I ask no forgiveness of thee:* *William* replied, *If God forgive you not, I shall require my Blood at your Hands:* And further said, *Son of God, shine upon me,* and whereas it was dark till then, the Sun immediately shone out of a thick Cloud, so full in his Face, that he was forced to turn his Head aside. Then a Priest brought a Book to him, to whom he said, *Away thou false Prophet. Beware of them good people, and turn from their abominations, lest ye partake of their plagues:* Then said the Priest, *Look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in Hell:* *William* answered, *Thou liest thou false Prophet, Away thou false Prophet, away.*

His parents  
rejoice in his  
sufferings.

His constancy.

A special pro-  
vidence.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Fire being kindled, he lift up his Hands to Heaven, saying, *Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit,* and so he ended his life in the flames.

About the same time Master *Higbed*, and Master *Causon*, Two *Essex* Gentlemen, being zealous in the service of God, were complained of to Bishop *Bonner*, who ordered them to be imprisoned in *Culchester*, together with a Servant of Master *Thomas Causon's*, in Christian godliness nothing inferiour to his Master: But the Bishop perceiving that these Gentlemen were of great esteem in their Country, for fear of a tumult, he, with Master *Fucknam*, and some others

Mr. Higbed  
Mr. Causon

Their constancy.

others went thither himself to see if he could reclaim them: And much diligence he used, both by terrors, and threatnings, as also by large promises, and flatteries, to reduce them to the Catholick Church: But when nothing would prevail to remove them from the truth, he returned to London, and carried them prisoners with him, committing them to strait imprisonment, Where he attempted fundry ways both by himself, and his Chaplains to draw them to revoke their opinions: But when he could not effect it, he brought them into the open Consistory, demanding of them if they would recant? To which they answered negatively: Then he proposed fundry Articles to them, to which they answered in writing: This answer satisfied not the Bishop, and therefore he sent for Master *Causton* to him, perswading him to recant: *Causton* answered, You go about to catch us in Snares, and Gins, but look what measure you meet unto us, expect that God should measure the same to you again. Then did the Bishop perswade Master *Higbed* to abjure: To whom he answered, *I will not abjure: Do what you can, you shall do no more than God will permit you to do, &c.*

Their condemnation.

After this the Bishop again attempted sometimes with fair promises, other sometimes with threatnings to divert them from the truth, and when he could by no means prevail, he read the sentence of death against them, after which they were delivered to the Sheriffs, and by them were carried to *Newgate*, where they remained in great consolation for Fourteen dayes, at the end whereof being bound fast in a Cart, they were carried and delivered to the Sheriff of *Essex*, who carried them to their own Parishes, viz. Master *Higbed* to *Horneden* on the Hill, and Master *Causton* to *Railly*, where they sealed their Faith with their Blood in the Fire to the glory of God and great rejoycing of the godly.

Their Martyrdom.

William Pigot.  
Stephen Knight.  
John Laurence.

Also about the same time *William Pigot*, *Stephen Knight*, and *John Laurence* were examined before *Bonner*, who asked them what their opinion was about the Sacrament of the Altar? They answered subscribing their Hands to it, that in it there is not under the forms of Bread, and Wine the very substance of the Body, and Blood of *Christ*, which was only in Heaven, and no where else: Then did the Bishop perswade them to recant, and deny their profession, which they refused to do. He added many fair flatteries, and cruel threatnings, which not prevailing, he condemned them, and so sent them to *Newgate*: There they remained together with great joy till they were carried down into *Essex* to be burnt.

Their Martyrdom.

*William Pigot* was burned at *Braintree*, *Stephen Knight* at *Mauldon*, who at the Stake kneeled down, and prayed thus.

Christ preferred before all.

O Lord Jesus Christ, for the love of whom I willingly leave this life, and rather desire the bitter death of thy Cross, with the loss of all earthly Goods, then to obey Men in breaking thy holy Commandments: Thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth, if I would worship a false God: I did rather choose the torment of my Body, and loss of my life, counting all things but Dung, and Dross that I might win thee: For whose sake death is dearer to me than Thousands of Gold, and Silver: Such love (O Lord) thou hast laid up in my Breast that I hunger for thee, as the wounded Deer desires the soil: Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, strengthen, and comfort this weak piece of earth, which of itself hath no strength. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing of my self that is good, and therefore as of thine accustomed goodness, and love thou hast invited me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect: Even so give me strength, O Lord, against this element of the fire, which though terrible to sight, yet let it be sweet, and pleasant to my mind, that by the strength of thy Spirit I may pass through the rage of it into thy bosome, &c. O Heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God, My Saviour, spread thy wings over me: O blessed holy Ghost, through whose blessed conduct



## under the Reign of Queen Mary.

*conduct I am come hither, guide me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy Hands I commend my spirit, Amen.*

Also *John Laurence* was sent up to *Colchester*, whose Legs being lame with Irons, and his Body weak with cruel usage, he was carried in a Chair to the Stake, where being constant in the Faith he was consumed in the fire. At his burning many young Children cried out: *Lord strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise, Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise.*

Doctor *Robert Ferrar*, Bishop of *Saint Davids* in *Wales*, who was preferred to that Bishoprick by the good Duke of *Summerset* in the dayes of King *Edward the Sixth*, met with much opposition by some covetous Canons of the Church of *Carmarthen*, by whose instigation sundry Articles were exhibited against him to the King and Council; whereupon he was sent for up, and required to give in his answer to those Articles to Doctor *Wotton* and Sir *John Mason*, which accordingly he did: Yet the Duke of *Summerset* being shortly after beheaded, by whom he had been promoted to the Bishoprick, and the good Bishop finding few friends to support him against those that hunted for his Bishoprick, he was detained in custody under sureties all the dayes of King *Edward*: And in the beginning of *Queen Maryes* Reign he was examined of his Faith and Doctrin before the Bishop of *Winchester*: Who told him that the Queen and Parliament had altered Religion, and therefore required him to imbrace the same: To which he answered, that he had taken an Oath never to consent, or agree that the Bishop of *Rome* should have any jurisdiction in this Realm: *Winchester* called him froward Fellow, and false Knave, and so returned him to Prison again. Afterwards he was examined before *Henry Morgan* pretended Bishop of *Saint Davids*, who Ministred sundry Articles to him, requiring him to subscribe thereunto, which he refused: Then he exhorted him to recant, which he also refused; whereupon he read the sentence of condemnation against him: Then was he degraded, and delivered to the secular power, by whom he was carried to *Carmarthen*, there to be burned.

Doctor Ferrar

His imprisonment

A little before his execution there came to him one *Richard Jones*, a Knights Son, who much lamented the painfulness of the death that he was to suffer: To whom Doctor *Ferrar* answered, that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, that then he should give no credit to the Doctrin which he had taught: And accordingly what he said, that he performed, standing so patiently in the midst of the flames, that he never moved, holding up his stumps, till one with a Staff dashed him on the Head, throwing him down into the fire, where quietly he resigned up his spirit unto God.

His condemnation

His Martyrdom

About the same time there was one *Rawlins White*, a Fisher-man in *Wales*, of the Town of *Cardiff*, who when God raised up the light of the Gospel in the dayes of King *Edward the Sixth*, this *Rawlins* began to millike his former superstitious courses, and became a diligent hearer and searcher out of the truth: And because himself was ignorant, and illiterate, he set his Son to School to learn to read *English*, which when he had attained to, he caused him every night to read to him a portion of the Holy Scriptures, and sometimes some other good Books: By these helps, and conference with others he attained to such a measure of knowledge, that he was able to instruct others, and thereupon he used sometimes to go from place to place to instruct such as he found most tractable: So that he became an instrument of much good in that Country: He never used to go without his little Boy to read to him; God gave him also an excellent memory, whereby he could quote Scriptures very readily.

Rawlins White

When *Queen Mary* came to the Crown, and had altered Religion, he was not so open as formerly he had been: But would sometimes privately call his trustiest Friends together, and with earnest prayer, and great lamentation for the sins of the Land, passed away the time with them.

But the enemies of the truth growing violent, *Rawlins* looked every day when

Flight refused.

when he should be dragged to prison: Hereupon some of his dearest Friends perswaded him to retire himself into some place where he was not known: he was nothing moved with these fleshly perswasions, thanking them for their good will, but told them plainly that he had learned, that if he denied *Christ* here, *Christ* would deny him at the last day: *And therefore*, said he, *I will by his gracious assistance confess, and bear witness of him before Men, that I may find him in everlasting life.* Yet his Friends continued to importunate him much for his departure, but he was resolute, and so continued till he was apprehended upon suspicion of Heresie, and carried before the Bishop of Landasse.

His constancy.

The Bishop and his Chaplains often set upon him to remove him from his faith, but could not prevail: He had many opportunities of escaping, but would not make use of them: At last he was removed to the Castle of Cardiffe, where he remained prisoner for a year. When his Friends resorted to him, he used to spend the time in prayer, and exhortation, admonishing them to beware of false Prophets, that come in sheeps clothing.

His courage.

At last the Bishop sent for him, and assayed both by flatteries, and threatenings, to remove him from his steadfastness; But *Rawlins* remaining resolute, he appointed a time for his condemnation: which being come, the Bishop sent for him, and told him that it was well known that he held many Heretical opinions, and that he had seduced many others, &c. *Rawlins* answered boldly: *My Lord, I thank God I am a Christian Man, I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; if I do, I desire to be reformed by Scripture.* After much debate, the Bishop told him that if he would not recant, he must proceed to condemn him: *Proceed*, said *Rawlins*, *according to your law, but for an Heretick you shall never condemn me:* Then said the Bishop, *Before we proceed any farther, let us pray unto God that he would send some spark of grace upon him: It may be God will turn his heart.* Now, said *Rawlins*, *you deal well, and if your request be according to the will of God, anathat you pray as you ought, no doubt but God will hear you: Therefore do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God: For I know God will hear my prayer and perform my desire:* By and by the Bishop and his company went to prayer, and *Rawlins* prayed by himself, and when they had done, the Bishop said to *Rawlins*, *How is it with thee now? wilt thou revoke thy opinions? No surely*, said he, *Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me, and by Gods grace Rawlins I will continue. If your Petitions had been good, God would have heard you, but you worship a false God, and you pray not as ye ought, and therefore God heareth you not, but God hath heard my requests, and I trust will strengthen me to the end.* Then the Bishop being angry, reprov'd him sharply, and afterwards went to Mass: Whereupon *Rawlins* said, *Good people, if there be any Brethren amongst you, or but one Brother, bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not the Knee to this Idol.* After Mass the Bishop seeing that nothing would prevail, proceeded to condemn him. After which the Bishop sent him to Cardiff to be put into a dark Dungeon: There *Rawlins* passed away his time in prayer, and singing of *Psalms*.

His Martyrdom.

The night before he was to be burned they sent him word of it: Whereupon he sent to his Wife for his wedding Garment, meaning his Shirt, which he received next morning with great joy: When he was had forth to execution, he was guarded with Bills, and Staves: Whereupon he said, *Alas! what needs all this ado? By Gods grace I will not start away: But I heartily give thanks to God who hath made me worthy to abide all this for his Names sake.* At the Stake he found his Wife, and Children drowned in tears, which on the sudden drew some tears from him, but presently recollecting himself, he said, *Ah flesh! sayest thou me so? wouldest thou fain prevail? I tell thee do what thou canst, by Gods grace, thou shalt not have the victory:* Then falling down to the ground he kissed it, and said, *Earth to earth, and dust to dust, thou art my Mother, and to thee I shall return.* Then went he chearfully to be bound to the Stake: And seeing a Friend, he said to him: *I feel a great fighting between the flesh, and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his*  
*swinge:*



## under the Reign of Queen Mary.

*swinge: Therefore when you see me any thing tempted, pray you hold up your Finger, and I trust I shall remember my self.* When he was fastened with the Chain, he gave God thanks with a loud voice, and then said to the Smith, *I pray you good Friend, knock it in fast, for it may be the flesh will strive mightily: But, God of thy great mercy give me strength, and patience to abide the extremity.* Then did he pull the Reeds, and Straw about him with such a chearful countenance, that all wondred at him. Then stood up a Priest to preach to the people, and Rawlins attended till he spake about Transubstantiation, which he went about to confirm by Scripture, alledging that Text: *This is my Body:* whereupon Rawlins said, *Come hither, good People, and hear that false Prophet no longer:* And to him he said, *Ah thou naughty Hypocrite, dost thou presume to alledge Scripture to prove thy false Doctrin? Look what follows, Do this in remembrance of me:* This put the Priest to silence: Then was fire kindled, and Rawlins bathed his Hands in the flame, till the sinews thrunk, and the fat dropped out: And all the while he cried out, *O Lord, receive my soul; O Lord, receive my Spirit:* And thus he abode quietly, and patiently, till his Spirit returned to God that gave it. It was further observed of him, that whereas formerly through infirmity of age he went stooping, with a sad countenance, and feeble Body: When he went to his death, he went bolt upright, with a fresh, and chearful countenance, shewing much courage, and vigour, both in speech, and behavior.

About the same time the Queen restored all the Lands that were in her possession, to the Abbeyes, and Monasteries: And a Bull came from the Pope, requiring that all others should do the like: But none were found that would either obey the Pope, or imitate the Queen therein.

Abbey Lands  
restored by the  
Queen.

There was about the same time a Popish Priest called *Nightingal*, Parson of *Cronstal*, near *Canterbury*, who boasted in the Pulpit, that he had been with *Cardinal Poole*, who had made him as clean from his sins, as he was at the *Font-stone*: Boasting also of the Popes Bull that was come into *England*. But whilest the words were in his mouth, he fell down out of the Pulpit, and never stirred more.

Gods judg-  
ment on a Pop-  
ish Priest.  
John Alcock  
died in Prison.

In the same moneth, *John Alcock*, a goodly Man died in Prison, and was buried in the Fields: Also Letters were sent to the Sheriff of *Kent*, to apprehend *Thomas Woodgate*, *William Mainard*, and one *Harwich*, for preaching up and down that Country.

Other Letters were sent to Two Knights to examine Master *Flower*, why he wore about his Neck written, *Deum time, Idolum fuge: Fear God, Fly Idolatry*; and whomsoever else they knew to wear the like. Praying them to speak to Bishop *Bonner*, that they might speedily be proceeded against, according to Law.

*George Marsh*, born at *Deane* in *Lancashire*, was well educated in Learning, and Religion by his Parents: Afterwards he married a Wife, by whom he had some Children: But his Wife dying, he left his Children well disposed of, and went to *Cambridge*, where he studied, and much encreased in learning and godliness, and at last was made a Minister, and served as Curate under Master *Laurence Sanders*: Afterwards he preached in *Lancashire*, where he earnestly set forth Gods true Religion, and beat down Antichristianism. At length he was apprehended, and kept close Prisoner by *Cotes*, Bishop of *Chester*; for about Four moneths space, being not permitted to have the relief, and comfort of his Friends. Then the Bishop sending for him, asked him about the Sacrament of the Altar: Master *Marsh* utterly denied Transubstantiation, allowed not the abuse of the Mass, nor the Sacrament in one kind: The Bishop labored to draw him from his opinions, but all in vain, so he returned him to Prison again.

George Marsh

His Con-  
fession.

Many resorted to him in Prison, laboring to divert him from the truth, but the Lord upheld him in his integrity, giving him a mouth, and wisdom,

M m m

which

which all his Adversaries were not able to resist: The Bishop had divers conferences with him, giving him many taunts, reviling speeches, and odious names. At last he was brought forth to his condemnation, before the Bishop and some others: There they objected many things against him, as seducing the People, holding Heretical opinions, &c. To which he answered, That he utterly abhorred all kind of Heresie, desiring all the People present to bear him witness thereof: Professing that he held nothing but the truth, which had been established in King Edwards days, in which pure Religion, and Doctrin, he would by Gods grace, stand, live, and die. Then the Bishop began to read the definitive Sentence: But stopping in the midst, he asked him if he would have the Queens mercy in time: He answered, That he did gladly desire the same, but yet he durst not deny his Saviour *Christ* for fear of being deprived of his everlasting mercy, and of gaining to himself everlasting death. Many Priests, and ignorant People, called hard upon him to recant, and save his life: To whom he answered, *I would as faine live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my Master Christ, and thereby cause him to deny me before his Father in Heaven.* Then the Bishop finished his Sentence of condemnation; After which he said, *Now I will no more pray for thee, than I will pray for a Dog:* yet said Master Marsh, *I will pray for your Lordship,* and so he was delivered to the Sheriffs of the City of *Chester*, who imprisoned him closely, so that he had no relief, or comfort from any worldly creature, only some few Citizens in the Evening at a hole in the Wall would call to him, and ask him how he did? To whom he used to answer very chearfully, that he did well, and thanked God most highly, that he vouchsafed of his mercy, to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most joyce, beseeching him to give him grace not to faint under the Cross, but patiently to bear the same to his glory, and comfort of his Church. When the time came that he should suffer, the Sheriffs, accompanied with many Billmen, fetched him out of the Dungeon: All the way he went with a Book in his Hand, whereon he looked, so that the people said, *This Man goeth not to his death, as a Thief, or as one that deserveth to die:* At the place of execution, one shewed him a Pardon, if he would recant; hereupon Master Marsh said, That he would gladly accept of the same, but seeing it tended to pluck him from God, he would not accept of it upon that condition: Then he began to exhort the people to stick to *Christ*; whereupon one of the Sheriffs said, George Marsh, *we must have no sermoning here:* Then kneeled he down, and made his prayers, and so stripping himself to his Shirt, he was fastened to the Stake: The fire being unskillfully made, and the Wind driving the flame to and fro, he suffered much extremity in his death, which yet he abode very patiently. Having been thus long tormented without moving, his flesh broiling, and puffed up inso much that all the People thought he had been dead, he suddenly spread abroad his Arms saying, *Father of Heaven, have mercy upon me.* And so he yielded up his Spirit into the Hands of God.

His condemnation.

His Martyrdom.

William Flower.

*William Flower*, was born in *Cambridgeshire*, brought up in learning till he was admitted into a Monastery in *Ely*: There he remained till he was made a Priest, and often sung Mass: But some injunctions coming out from King *Henry* the eighth, he left the Monastery, and went to the place of his nativity, where he used to sing Mass, and taught a School, and after his serving in some other places, he went to *Tewksbury*, where he married a Wife, and betook himself to the practice of Physick, and Chirurgery; At last he settled at *Lambeth*, and on *Easter* day in the Morning he crossed the Water to *Margarets* in *Westminster*, where he found a Priest giving the Sacrament to the People: But Master *Flower*, being much troubled in Spirit to see his superstition, went to him, and wounded him with his Wood-knife in several places: For this being apprehended, and carried before *Bonner*, he confessed that he did not well therein, and therefore submitted willingly to punishment: By the Bishop he was sent to *Newgate*, where one *Robert Smith*, a Prisoner, questioned with him concerning

His Zeal.

His conference with Robert Smith.



his Fact at westminster: Asking him, Whether he had formerly known the Priest, and whether he did not bear him ill will: To which he answered, That he had never seen him before, nor did not owe him any evil will. Then said Smith, Do you think you did well, or after the rule of the Gospel? Flower answered, I confess all flesh to be subject to the power of God, whom he maketh his Ministers to do his will, as Moses, Aaron, Phineas, Jehu, Zimri, &c. Planting in them zeal for his honor against all order, and respect of Flesh, and Blood: For his ways are past finding out: By whose Spirit I have given my Flesh unto such order as it shall please him to appoint, in death, which before I did the act, I looked for.

Smith. Do you think that I, or another may do the like by your example?

Flower. No verily, neither do I know whether I could do it again, if it were to do: For I once went to Pauls with a purpose to do it, yet could not: I was now compelled by the spirit to go thither, being fully content to die for the Lord, and therefore gave over my flesh most willingly without all fear, I praise God, and I beseech you judge the best of the Spirit, condemne not Gods doings: For I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath shewed on me in this thing, which I repent not.

Smith. Do you not believe that you shall die, and that with extremity for this fact?

Flower. Yea, before I did the fact I adjudged my Body to die for the same: Therefore I carried about me in writing mine opinion of God, of the holy Scriptures, &c. That if I had been presently slain, they might have seen the Faith and Hope, which, I praise God, is laid up safe within my Breast: Being assured of everlasting life through Christ my Lord, what death soever I die.

Smith. I bless God for that good estate which I find you in: I beseech him for his Mercies sake to spread his wings over you, and as you have been zealous for him to the loss of this life, so that he will give you his holy Spirit to conduct you through death to a better life, which I think will be shortly.

Flower. I hunger for the same, knowing that they can but kill the Body, which I am sure shall receive everlasting life again: Therefore I pray you, and all that fear God, to pray for me, &c.

After this Bonner sent for him, and Proposed many Articles to him, to which he made a stout, and godly answer: Then did the Bishop much press him to return to the unity of the Popish Church, promising to forgive what was past, and to bestow many favors upon him: To whom Flower answered, That he thanked him for his kindness: And whereas it was in his power to kill or not to kill his Body, he was content that he should do what he pleased therein, yet over his Soul he had no such power, which, faith he; Is in the hands of God, not of Man, to save, or destroy, but for his opinions he neither would, or could go from them, and therefore desired that the Law might proceed against him. Then the Bishop proceeded to the Sentence of condemnation, and committed him to the secular power: By them he was carried into Saint Margarets Churchyard. At the Stake he made a confession of his Faith, and Prayed fervently. Afterwards one exhorted him to recant, or else he would be damned: To whom he answered, Sir, I beseech you for Gods sake be contented: For I have been of this Faith from the beginning, and I trust that the living God will give me his holy Spirit to continue therein unto the end. Then he desired all to forgive him, as he forgave all the world: Then his Hand that did the Fact was cut off, he not so much as shrinking at the same. After which was fire set to him, and he Three times repeated, O Son of God have mercy upon me; O Son of God, receive my Soul; and so he resigned up his Spirit unto God.

His cruel  
7.

His cruel  
Martyrdom.

Master John Cardmaker, a godly Minister, who in King Edwards days was a Preacher in Pauls Church, with whose Doctrin the Papiests were so angry, that in the time of his preaching they used to cut, and slash his Gown with their Knives: This Man being apprehended in the beginning of Queen Maries Reign,

Master Card-  
maker.

**Mr. Barlow.** with Master *Barlow*, Bishop of *Bath*, they were both cast into Prison. And after a while they were brought before the Bishop of *Winchester*, and other Commissioners, where they had divers things objected against them; To which they answered so learnedly, and cautiously that the Lord Chancellor [*Gardiner*] allowed of their Answers, yet returned them to Prison; whence after a while, Master *Barlow* was dismissed, and went into voluntary Exile, where he constantly bore witness to the truth of the Gospel.

His voluntary Exile.

Master Cardmaker's Martyrdom.

Master *Cardmaker* during his imprisonment was often baited by the Papists, who by reasonings, persuadings, and threatnings sought to withdraw him from the truth, but all in vain; whereupon Bishop *Bonner* called him before him, objecting many things against him, especially about the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; To which he gave sound, and godly answers: And when the Bishop could not draw him to a recantation, he passed the Sentence of condemnation upon him, delivering him over to the Sheriffs of *London*, by whom he was carried into *Smithfield*. There the Sheriffs talked a great while in private with him, so that the People which heard that Master *Cardmaker* would recant, seeing this his carriage, were much sadned at it. The discourse being ended, Master *Cardmaker* withdrew himself, and was long in private Prayer: After which he stripped himself to his Shirt, and went with a bold courage to the Stake, and kissed it, and so was bound to it. The People hereby being delivered from their fears, cried out with joy, saying, *God be praised: The Lord strengthen thee Cardmaker; The Lord Jesus receive thy Spirit:* And so fire being put to him, he finished his life, and went to receive his everlasting Crown of glory.

*John Warne.*

At the same time there was a Citizen burnt with him, called *John Warne*, who denied the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, &c. For which he was brought before *Bonner*, who labored much to withdraw him from the truth: But *Warne* answered, That he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thereunto persuaded by the holy Scriptures: For this he was condemned, and burnt with Master *Cardmaker*, where he finished his course with much constancy, and joy.

*John Symphon.*  
*John Ardely.*

Their courage, and Martyrdom.

At this time came a Letter from the King and Queen to *Bonner*, complaining that Hereticks were not so reformed as they should be, and therefore they exhorted him to be more diligent, either in reclaiming them, or proceeding against them according to Law: This easily prevailed with him, who was propense enough before to cruelty; whereupon he first began with *John Symphon*, and *John Ardely*, both of *Wigborow* in *Essex*, whom he called before him, objected divers things against them, especially for denying Transubstantiation, exhorted them to recant, &c. But *John Ardely* answered, *My Lord, neither you nor any of your Religion is of the Catholick Church; For you have a false Faith, which will deceive you in the end. You have shed much innocent Blood, and still go on to do the same: If every Hair of my Head were a Man, I would willingly suffer death for the opinion I am in:* Then did the Bishop proceed to condemn them both, and so delivered them to the secular power, who carried them down into *Essex*; where, upon one day, they both finished their course with joy.

*Thomas Hawks.*

*Thomas Hawks*, born in *Essex*, was brought up a Courtier, and was tall, comely, and endued with such excellent qualities, as made him to be much beloved: But that which was most commendable, was his fervent study, and singular love to true Religion, and Godliness. This Master *Hawks* following the Court, entered into service of the Earl of *Oxford*, where he was much esteemed, and beloved of all, all King *Edwards* days: But in Queen *Maries* Reign, Religion growing odious, he left the Court, and retired to his own House, where he might more freely exercise himself in the study, and practice of Godliness. Whilest he thus remained at home, he had a Son born, whom he would not suffer to be Baptized after the Popish manner: This his Adversaries taking notice of, apprehended him, and carried him before the Earl of *Oxford*. The Earl not willing



willing to meddle with him, sent him to London to Bishop Bonner: The Bishop understanding the cause, asked him why he would not have his Child Baptized? He answered, *Because he was commanded to do nothing contrary to the Word of God; as the Papists did, using Oil, Spittle, Cream, Salt, &c.* After much other conference, the Bishop left him for a while, and then one of the Bishops Kinsmen, called Master Darbishire said to him, *You are too curious, you will have nothing but your little pretty Gods Book.* To which Hawks answered, *Sir, Is not that sufficient for Salvation?* Yes, said the other, *but not for our Instruction.* Hawks replied, *God send me the Salvation, and you the Instruction.* Then the Bishop again asked him, *If he would be content to have his Child Baptized, and he should not know of it?* To which he answered, *That if he would have done so, he needed not have come to him, for he had the same Counsel given him before.* why, said the Bishop, *do you not think that the Queen, and I can command it to be done in despite of your teeth?* Hawks answered, *I question not what the Queen, and you can do: But you shall never have my consent to it.* Afterwards the Bishop said to him, *Hawks, I would be glad to do thee good, thou knowest that I am thy Pastor, and must answer for thy Soul if I teach thee not well.* To which Hawks answered, *what I have said, I will stand to; There is no removing me from it.* well, said the Bishop, *what saist thou?* The Scripture saith, *I am the Bread of life, and the Bread that I will give is my flesh, &c.* Do you believe this? Yes, said Hawks, *I believe what the Scriptures say.* well, said the Bishop, *let us go to Evensong.* But Hawks refused to be present with them, saying, that he would not pray in that place, and that he thought himself best at ease when he was furthest from them, and so walked into the Court. Afterwards the Bishop again examined him about the Sacrament of the Altar: To which he answered, *That he knew not what it was:* But, said the Bishop, *we will make you know it: A Fagot will make you do it.* A point for your Fagot, said Master Hawks; *what God thinks fit to be done, you shall do, and no more.* Much other conference he had with the Bishop and his Chaplains, in all which he answered them very judiciously, and resolutely, so that he was committed to Prison.

Papists Blaspemy.

At last he was brought forth to condemnation, where great means was used to draw him to recant; But he still answered that he would never go from the belief which he was in, so long as he lived: Then the Bishop read his Sentence of condemnation, and delivered him over to the Lord Rich, who carried him to Coxshall in Essex: By the way he used much exhortation to his Friends, who were much confirmed in the truth by his example and constancy: Yet being very fearful of the torments of the fire, they intreated him that in the midst of the flame, he would shew them some token if he could, that the fire was not so intolerable, but a Man might therein keep his mind quiet, and patient: This he assented to, and promised that if the rage of the pain were tolerable he would lift up his Hands above his Head before he gave up the Ghost. At the Stake he mildly, and patiently addressed himself to the fire, and after his fervent prayers made to God, fire was put to him: In it he continued long, and when his Speech was taken away by the flame, his Skin drawn all together, and his Fingers consumed with the fire, so that all Men thought that he had been dead, contrary to their expectation, he being mindful of his promise, suddenly lift up his Hands burning of a light fire, and with great joy clapped them Three times together, whereupon there was such shouting amongst the People, especially by those that knew the meaning of it, as the like hath scarce been heard, and so the blessed Martyr presently sinking down into the fire, gave up his Spirit unto God. *Anno Christi. 1555.*

His courage and constancy.

His Martyrdom.

He gives a sign to the godly.

Thomas Watts of Billerica in Essex, was by trade a Linnen-Draper, and a godly, and zealous Professor of the truth, who foreseeing his apprehension, disposed of his estate to his Wife, and Children, and gave much of his cloth to the Poor, and according to his expectation he was shortly after apprehended, and carried before

Thomas Watts.

His Constancy.

His Speech to his Wife and Children.

His Martyrdom.

Thomas Osmond. William Bamford. Thomas Osborn.

Their Martyrdom.

Mr. Bradford.

John Leafe.

Their Martyrdom.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

before the Lord *Rich*, and other Justices; where he was accused for not coming to Church, to hear Mass, but resorting to Conventicles in corners, and disobeying the Laws. To this *watts* answered, *If I have offended the Law I am here subject to it*; And after further examination, they sent him up to Bishop *Bonner*, who examined him about the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. *watts* answered, That he believed *Christs* Body to be in Heaven, and no where else; and that he would never believe that it was in the Sacrament: That he believed the Mass to be abominable Idolatry, &c. The Bishop advised him not to cast away himself, or at least, not wilfully to cast away his Soul, by adhering to such Heresies: To which *watts* answered, *My Lord I am weary to live in such Idolatry, as you would have me to live in*. Other flatteries, and endeavors were used to draw him to a recantation, but they could not prevail; whereupon at last he was brought forth to be condemned: At which time the Articles were read against him, and he was required to deny his Profession: But he said, *God keep me from the Doctrine that you would have me to imbrace; and I beseech God that I may persevere in that I have hitherto held, for I will stand to mine answers*. Hereupon the Bishop condemned him, and delivered him to the Sheriffs, who kept him a while in *Newgate*, and then sent him down to *Chilmesford*: After he had spent there some time in Prayer, he came to his Wife, and Six Children, saying to them, *wife, and my good Children, I must now depart from you; and therefore henceforth know I you no more: As the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you back again to the Lord, whom I charge you to fear, and to obey, and beware that you turn not to this abominable Papistry, against which I shall anon, by Gods grace, give my Blood. Let not the murdering of Gods Saints, cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be stronger in the Lords quarrel, and I doubt not, but he will be a merciful Father unto you*: And so bidding them farewell, he kissed them all, and went to the fire, where he patiently, and chearfully ended his days.

At the same time there were *Thomas Osmond*, *William Bamford*, and *Thomas Osborn*, all of *Coxshall* in *Essex*, who were apprehended for not receiving the Sacrament at *Easter*, and sent up to Bishop *Bonner*. Against these Men many things were objected, to which they made answers after a godly sort: And being often urged to recant, they stiffly refused the same; whereupon the Bishop proceeded to condemn them, and delivered them over to the secular power, by whom they were carried down into *Essex*, and there burnt at several places.

About the same time that holy Martyr of God, Master *John Bradford* suffered Martyrdom, of whom see the Story in my First Part. With him also suffered *John Leafe*, an Apprentice of Nineteen years old, who being examined before *Bonner*, gave a firm and Christian testimony of his Profession: The Bishop assayed by all manner of ways to revoke him from the truth, to error: But notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, *Leafe* continued constant, so planted upon the rock of truth, that neither words, nor deeds could remove him from the same. Hereupon the Bishop proceeded to his condemnation, and delivered him over to the Sheriffs of *London*, by whom he was carried into *Smithfield*, to be burnt with Master *Bradford*, where he finished his days with much comfort, and joy. At his execution there was one Master *Woodrofe*, one of the Sheriffs, who used Master *Bradford* very churlishly, as he had done Master *Rogers* before. He used also to laugh, and make himself sport at the sufferings of these innocent Servants of *Jesus Christ*, and to beat away the People which were desirous to take them by the Hands. But the Lord (who usually punisheth such cruel Persecutors,) shortly after strook him with a lameness on one side, that he could never turn himself in his Bed afterwards, but as Two Men in a Sheet used to stir him: He had also such a doglike appetite to his Food, that he could never

be.



## under the Reign of Queen Mary.

be satisfied with the same: Both which judgments continued Eight years upon him, even till his death.

The next day after, Master *William Minge*, Minister, died in Prison at *Maidstone* in *Kent*, lying there in bonds for Religion; He yielded up his Spirit with great constancy, and boldness.

There was also one *James Trevisam*, dwelling in *Lothbury* in *London*, who being lame, and sick, kept his Bed; He caused his Servant to read to him in the Bible, and one day as he was reading, there came in a Promoter, and went up into his Chamber, where he found the young Man that read, and Three others, all which he apprehended, and carried to Prison: He would also have carried away the sick Man in a Cart, but that the neighbors by importunity prevented it, yet he caused him to put in sureties for his forth coming. The sick Man shortly after dying, they would not suffer him to be buried, so that his Wife was fain to carry him out upon a Table into *Moorfields*, and to bury him there.

About the same time there was in *Kent* one Master *John Bland*, a godly Minister, who had spent his younger time in training up Children in learning, and virtue: Afterwards being called to the Ministry, he was inflamed with an incredible desire to profit the Church of God. Two or Three times he was cast into Prison for it in *Canterbury*; and being delivered by the mediation of Friends, he still returned to the work of the Ministry, for which being again imprisoned, he might have been delivered, if he would have promised to abstain from preaching; But he would not accept of liberty upon those terms, Then was he examined by Doctor *Harpsfield*, Dean of *Canterbury*, who charged him for Preaching that the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, was not the very Body and Blood of *Christ*. Master *Bland* answered, That he perceived that he intended to ensnare him, and therefore he thought not himself bound to make an answer: The Doctor replied, That Saint *Peter* commands him to make an answer to every Man that asked a reason of the Faith that is in him. well, said Master *Bland*, I know what the Apostles meaning is: But for arguments sake, I am content to commune with you: And so they reasoned a long time about the Sacrament. A few days after he was again grought before *Harpsfield*, who charged him for holding divers hainous errors, and for infecting, and deceiving many with his evil Preaching. Then Master *Bland* said, I protest before God and you all, that my Conscience is not guilty of any error, or Heresie, or that willingly I have taught any such thing. *Harpsfield* replied, whereon dost thou ground thy Conscience? Let me here what thy Faith is.

*Bland*. I know no reason why you should examine me of my Faith, more than any other Man here present.

*Harpsfield*. why, thou Heretick, art thou ashamed of thy Faith? If it were Christian, thou wouldest not be ashamed of it.

*Bland*. I am not ashamed of it: For I believe in God the Father Almighty Maker of Heaven and Earth; and in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord, &c. And I believe all the holy Scriptures of God to be most certain, and true: More than this I will not confess.

*Harpsfield*. why, thou Heretick, I will proceed against thee, because thou wilt not confess thy Faith to me: Thou hast taught that the Body, and Blood of Christ, is not in the Sacrament, after Consecration. How saiest thou? Hast thou not?

*Bland*. Sir, you promised to confer with me about this, out of the Scriptures: But now I see you seek to bring me into trouble, rather than to win me. But pray you tell me: Is there in the Sacrament after the Consecration, Christs natural Body, with all the qualities of a natural Body, yea, or no?

*Harpsfield*.

His condem-  
nation.

Harpsfield. *The same natural Body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and is glorified, is also in the Sacrament: But I perceive, thou arrogant Heretick, thou asked me the question, but wilt not answer thy self: And so after much other railing, and reviling language, he was remanded to Prison: And after divers other examinations he was at last brought forth to his condemnation, at which time Articles were exhibited against him, to which he gave his answers; yet they proceeded to read his Sentence, and so delivered him to the secular power.*

His Prayer.

At the time of his death he made this Prayer: *Thou Lord Jesus, for whose love I willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy Cross, and the loss of all earthly things, then to abide the Blasphemy of thy Holy Name, or to obey Man in the breach of thy Commandments: Thou see'st, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth, if I would worship false Gods, I chuse rather the torments of Body, and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but dross, and dung, that I might win thee: which death is more dear unto me, than Thousands of Gold, and Silver: Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my Breast, that I hunger for thee as the wounded Dear desires the soil: Send thy holy Spirit, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which of it self is void of all strength: O Lord as thou of thy goodness hast bidden me to this Banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own Cup amongst thine Elect, give me strength against the fire, that as it's terrible to my sight, so to my mind it may be at thy Commandment, as an obedient Servant, sweet, and pleasant: And through this fire let me pass into thy Bosom, for this mortality, receiving immortality, and for this corruptible, putting on incorruption. Accept this burnt-offering, O Lord, not for the Sacrifice sake, but for Jesus Christ my dear Saviours sake: For whose testimony I offer this free-will-offering with all my heart, and with all my Soul. O Heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Saviour, spread thy Wings over me: O God, grant me thy holy Spirit, through whose merciful inspiration, I am come hither: Conduct me into everlasting life: Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit: Lord Jesus receive my Soul: And so he sweetly, and quietly slept in the Lord.*

His Martyr-  
dom.  
Nicholas Sheterden.

At the same time there was one Nicholas Sheterden, his fellow prisoner, examined before Harpsfield, who asked him the meaning of those words, *This is my Body.* Sheterden replied, *That they must be taken spiritually, else when Christ saith, This Cup is my Blood, the substance of the Cup must be changed into Blood: After much other conference he was at last condemned to be burnt, together with Humphrey Middleton, and John Frankesh, Minister, who were both condemned also for the truth. Nicholas Sheterden at the Stake made an excellent Prayer, wherein amongst other things he hath these expressions. Thou knowest Lord, that if we would but seem to please Men in things contrary to thy word, we might enjoy the commodities of life as others do, as Wife, Children, Goods, and Friends. But seeing, Lord, the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I sin against thy holy Laws: Behold, I give unto thee my Soul, Spirit, and Body; and lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life for the hopes sake of Eternal life purchased by Christs Blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, &c. And grant, Lord, that at the Resurrection of the Just, I may enjoy again these Members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by the fire: O Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit into thy Hands: And so they all Three quietly slept in the Lord.*

Humphrey  
Middleton.  
John Frankesh.Christ prefer-  
red before all.Their Martyr-  
dom.Nicholas Hall,  
Christopher  
Waid, Joane  
Beach, John  
Harpole, Mar-  
gery Boley,  
Martyrs.

A few days after Nicholas Hall, Christopher Waid, Joane Beach Widow, John Harpole, and Margery Boley were all condemned for the truth by the Bishop of Rochester, and burned in Kent. Waid at Dartford: At the time of whole burning, a Fryer going up to preach, Waid called out to the People to take heed of the Doctrin of the Whore of Babylon, and exhorted them to imbrace the Doctrin of the Gospel preached in King Edwards days: This caused the



the Friar to withdraw himself: When the fire was kindled, *Waid* cried, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*, without any sign or token of impatience: Thus he continued holding up his Hands over his Head, not only whilst he was living, but even till his Body was roasted to a Coal, to the great astonishment of his Adversaries.

Shortly after *Dirick Carver*, and *John Launder* of the County of *Surrey*, were apprehended, as they were at prayer together, and sent up to *London*, where they were committed to *Newgate* till *Bonner* could attend to examine them. After a while, the Bishop sent for them, and caused them to swear truly, and directly to answer to such Articles as should be objected against them: This they did, and *Bonner* after many persuasions asked them, whether they would stand to their Answers? Yea, said they, we will never go from our answers so long as we live: Afterwards they had sundry Articles objected against them; whereunto they made such answers that *Bonner* proceeded to condemn them, and so delivered them to the Sheriffs, by whom they were conveyed into *Surrey* to be burned. *Dirick* was a rich Man, yet his riches were no clog to him to hinder him from Heaven: He was so industrious that though at his apprehension he knew not a letter of the Book, yet before his execution he could read any Printed *English*. When he came to the Town of *Lewes* to be burned, the People called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the Faith of *Jesus Christ*. At the Stake he stripped himself, and having made his fervent Prayers unto God, went into the barrel: They threw in his Book also, but he threw it out again to the People: whereupon the Sheriff charged them in the Queens name to throw it into the fire. Then spake he with a joyful voice, saying: Dear Friends, bear witness that I am come to seal with my Blood the Gospel of Christ, because I know that it is true: you all know, that it hath been truly preached to you, but now is not: And because I will not deny that Gospel, and be obedient to mans Laws, I am condemned to die: Dear Friends, so many of you as do believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost unto everlasting life, see that you walk answerable to your profession: But such as believe in the Pope, or any of his Laws, do believe to their utter condemnation, and without Gods great mercy they shall burn in Hell for ever. Then said the Sheriff, Except thou believe on the Pope thou art damned both Body, and Soul: Adding further, Pray now to thy God that he may deliver thee, or else to strike me down to the example of this People. The Martyr answered, The Lord forgive your sayings. He also prayed, saying, O Lord God, thou hast said, He that forsaketh not wife, Children, House, and all that he hath, and takes up his Cross to follow thee, is unworthy of thee: Thou knowest, Lord, that I have forsaken all to come unto thee: Lord, have mercy upon me, for to thee I commend my Spirit, and my Soul doth rejoyce in thee: And so the fire being put to him, he cried, O Lord have mercy on me, and ended his days.

At the same time there was examined before *Bonner*, one *Thomas Trefor* of *Godston* in *Surrey*, Carpenter, before whom he made a good confession of his Faith: The Bishop labored by all means to draw him to a recantation: To whom he answered; I would not recant, and forsake my opinion for all the goods in *London*. I appeal to Gods mercy, and will be none of your Church, nor submit myself to the same: Yea, though there should come an Angel from Heaven to teach me any other Doctrine, than that which I have received I would not believe him: Hereupon he was condemned for an Heretick, and being delivered to the secular power, was burned, finishing his course with much joy.

Presently after there was *John Aleworth* that died in Prison at *Reading* for the Testimony of the truth of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, and was buried in the Fields.

In these troublesome times there was one *James Abbot*, a godly young Man, who for his safety was forced to shift from place to place: But when God had ripened him for himself, he was caught and carried before the Bishop of *Norwich*, who after examination so labored with him, partly by threats, and

His recantation.

His recovery.

His Martyrdom.

John Denley.  
John Newman.

Their Martyrdom.

Dr. Storries  
Blasphemy.

Patrick Packington.

Richard Hook.

William Coker,  
William Hooper, Henry  
Lawrence, Richard  
Collier, Richard  
Wright, William  
Steele, Elizabeth  
Warne, George Tan-  
kerfield, Robert  
Smith, Stephen  
Harwood, Thomas  
East, William  
Hale, Thomas Lyes,  
George King,  
John Wade,  
John Layb-  
ford, Martyrs.

partly by fair promises; that at last the poor young Man yielded to him; whereupon the Bishop gave him some money, and dismissed him: When he was departed, his conscience began to accuse him; and to shew him how he had displeased God, by yielding to their beastly illusions: So that being upon the rack of conscience, he went back to the Bishop and threw him his money, saying, *that it repented him for that he ever gave consent to their wicked persuasions, or that that he took any money of him.* Then did the Bishop with his Chaplains labor a fresh to win him again, but all in vain; For though he had played Peter before, through infirmity, yet now he was resolved, through Gods grace, to stand manfully in his Masters quarrel unto the death, which accordingly he did, being shortly after burned in *Bury*.

In the midst of these troubles there was one *Edmund Tyrel*, Esquire, and Justice of peace in *Essex* who coming from the burning of some godly Persons, upon the way, met with Master *John Denley*, and *John Newman*, both of *Maidston* in *Kent*, going to visit some of their Godly Friends in *Essex*: *Tyrel* suspecting them, caused them to be searched, and finding about them the Confessions of their Faith, sent them up to the Commissioners in *London*, who seeing they could prevail nothing by their persuasions, they sent them to Bishop *Bonner*, who examined them of their Faith, and used many persuasions to withdraw them from the truth: But Master *Denley* answered, *The Lord deliver me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, which you count Heresie; but I know it to be the truth:* Thereupon he sent them to Prison. Afterwards they were brought forth into the Consistory, had Articles objected against them, and when they could not be removed from their steadfastness, were condemned; Master *Denley* was sent to *Uxbridge* to be burned, where in the midst of the flames he sung a Psalm: Whereupon Doctor *Storrie* commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a fagot at him, which hitting him on the Face, made it to bleed, so that he gave over singing: Truly, said Doctor *Storrie*, to him that hurled it, *thou hast marred a good old song:* Then did Master *Denley* sing again till he yielded up his Spirit.

A few days after suffered Martyrdom at the same place *Patrick Packington*, against whom amongst other things wherewith he was charged, this was one; that being at Bishop *Bonnors* Chappel at *Mars*, he would not put off his Hat till it was taken from him: The Bishop laboring to draw him to recant, he protested that the Church wherein the Bishop believed, was no Catholick Church, but a Synagogue of Satan, and therefore he would not turn to it.

Also *John Newman* was burnt at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*. *Richard Hook* at *Chichester*.

About the same time *William Coker*, *William Hooper*, *Henry Lawrence*, *Richard Collier*, *Richard Wright*, and *William Steele*, *Kentish* Men, were all examined before Doctor *Harpfield*, and some others, who all of them sticking close to the truth, were condemned, and burned at *Canterbury*.

The Prisoners of *London* being now filled with Gods Saints; the Queens Commissioners intending to make quick dispatch with them, took out these Ten, viz. *Elizabeth Warne*, *George Tankerfield*, *Robert Smith*, *Stephen Harwood*, *Thomas East*, *William Hale*, *Thomas Lyes*, *George King*, *John Wade*, and *John Laybford*, and sent them to *Bonner*: He willingly received them, and examined them upon the usual Articles, especially about the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament; and when they confessed, and constantly adhered to the truth, he proceeded to condemn them: *Elizabeth Warne* said to him, *Do what you will with me; For if Christ was in an error, than am I in an error, otherwise not:* She was burned at *Stratford-Bow*, *Tankerfield* at his condemnation said to the Bishop, *I will not forsake my opinions, except you confute them by the Scriptures, and I care not for your Divinity; For you condemn all Men, and prove nothing against them:* And turning to the People he said, *Good People, beware of him, and such as he is, for these be they*



they that deceive you: He was burnt at Saint Albans, where with much patience, and constancy, he ended his life. The rest were all burnt in several places, only George King, Thomas Lyes, and John Wade, sick'ned in Lollards Tower, by reason of their cruel usage, and dying in Prison were cast out into the Fields, and so were buried by night by the Faithful Servants of God.

Also William Andrew, being by Bonner cast into Newgate for Religion, died there, was cast out into the Fields, and privily buried by good Men.

William Andrew died in Prison.

Master Robert Samuel.

Master Robert Samuel Minister of Barfold in Suffolk, instructed the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, faithfully, and fruitfully in King Edwards days, and in Queen Maries till he was put from his place: But when he could no longer preach publickly to his People, he did not give over the care of them, but instructed them privately, and by stealth. And when the Queen set forth an Act that all married Ministers should put away their Wives, yet Master Samuel would not do it, but kept her in Ipswich; instructing all about him as he had opportunity: This, Master Foster a neighbor-justice, and a cruel Persecutor, hearing of, sent forth his Emissaries to apprehend him, who watching their time, beset his House, took him, and put him into the Jail, where he meekly passed away his time with his godly Brethren whilst he stayed there: But shortly after he was carried to Norwich, to Doctor Hopton the Bishop, by whom, and his chancellor Dunning, he was most mercilessly used with out all pitty: For in Prison he was chained upright to a great Post in such fort, that standing only on tip-toe, he was faine to bear the whole weight of his Body thereby: They kept him also without meat or drink, so that he was cruelly tormented with hunger, and thirst; only they allowed him every day Two or Three mouthfulls of Bread, and Three spoonfulls of Water, rather to preserve him to further torment, then to save his life thereby. Oft would he in this miserable condition have drunk his own Water, but his Body was so dried up with long emptiness that he was not able to make one drop of Water: At last when he was brought out to be burned, which was an easie pain to what he had suffered before, he related to some Friends what had happened to him in Prison, viz. That after he had been some days pinched with this hunger and thirst, he fell into a sleep, at which time one, cloathed all in white, seemed to stand before him, which ministred comfort to him, saying, Samuel, Samuel, be of good chear, and take a good Heart unto thee; For after this day shalt thou never be hungry or thirsty any more. Which thing also came to pass: Yea, he said: That he had such wonderful comfort from Christ in his afflictions, as he could not through modesty utter the same. As he was going to execution, a Maid met him, took him about the neck, and kissed him, for which she was sought after to have been imprisoned, but it pleased God that she escaped: During Master Samuels burning his Body did shine as bright, and lookt as white as new tried Silver.

Popish cruelty.

A. Miracle.

His glorious Martyrdom.

The next day after his Martyrdom, Two godly Women, Anne Potten, and Joane Trunchfield, were apprehended, and imprisoned in Ipswich; One of them before her apprehension was perswaded to fly from the danger, but she said, I know that it is lawful enough to fly away, but I am tied to an Husband; and have many young children at home: And I know not how my Husband, being a carnal Man, will take my departure from him, and therefore I am resolved for the love of Christ, and his truth to stand to the extremity of the matter. At their first imprisonment, one of them especially was much troubled in mind, by reason of her sufferings: But Christ, beholding the weakness, and infirmity of his Servant, came in with seasonable comfort to her, so that both of them remaining constant in the truth, suffered Martyrdom.

Anne Potten, Joane Trunchfield.

Seasonable comfort.

Also William Allen being imprisoned for the truth, and adhering constantly thereto, was condemned by the Bishop, and burned at Walsingham; In the fire he stood quietly without moving till he died.

William Allen.

Roger Coo.

Also Roger Coo, being apprehended and carried before the Bishop of Norwich, had with him divers conflicts, and at last was committed to the fire at *Texford* in *Suffolk*, where he most blessedly ended his days.

Thomas Cob.

*Thomas Cob* of *Haverhil*, Butcher, being carried before *Dunnings*, the Bloody Chancellor of *Norwich*, was by him examined whether he believed *Christs* Body to be really, and substantially in the Sacrament of the Altar? To which he answered, *That he was taught in the Scriptures, that Christs Body ascended into Heaven, and he never read that he descended since; and therefore he did not believe it to be in the Sacrament*: For this he was condemned, and burned in the Town of *Thetford*.

George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, James Turvy, Thomas Hayward, George Goreway.

In the Diocess of *Canterbury*, *George Catmer*, *Robert Streater*, *Anthony Burward*, *George Brodbridge*, and *James Turvy*, were apprehended, and carried before *Thornton*, Bishop of *Dover*, who examined them of *Christs* presence in the Sacrament, of Auricular Confession, &c. To which they made such answers, that they were all Five condemned, and burned in *Canterbury*.

In the Diocess of *Lichfield*, and *Coventry*, *Thomas Hayward*, and *George Goreway*, were condemned for the truth, and burned in *Lichfield*.

Robert Glover.

In the same Diocess there lived Two godly, and worthy Gentlemen, Master *Robert Glover*, and *John Glover*, his Brother, who being noted for Religion, process was awarded for the apprehension of *John Glover*, who was Heir to his Father, dwelling in the Town of *Manceter*. He was especially enriched with Gods Heavenly grace, which so wrought in him, that he, with his other Two Brethren, *Robert*, and *William*, not only embraced the light of the Gospel, but zealously professed the same. Yet it pleased God to lay his heavy Hand of affliction upon *John*, in inward troubles of mind; yea his pangs were so great, his torment so grievous, the boiling heat of Hell-fire in his spirit was so intolerable, that no Tongue is able to express it.

John Glovers  
spiritual aff-  
lictions.

Master *Fox* saith thus of him: *In his youth I was twice, or thrice with him, whom, partly by his talk I perceived, partly with mine Eyes I saw, to be so worn, and consumed by the space of Five years, that neither almost any brooking of meat, any quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea almost no kind of senses were left him: So that if it had not pleased Christ sometimes to have relieved his poor Servant so far worn, with some seasonable consolations now and then betwixt times, it had been impossible for him to have sustained such torments, yet the matters for which he was so tormented, were of no great moment.*

This was the chief; That he having been graciously called by the light of the Gospel, and having felt wondrous sweet tastes of *Christs* Heavenly Kingdom, his mind after that having fallen into some cogitation about his worldly businesses, was affrighted with that Text, *Heb. 6. 4. For it is impossible that they which were once enlightened, and have tasted the Heavenly gift, &c.* Upon consideration of which words he was fully perswaded that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost: This so wrought upon him, that if he had been in the deepest Pit of Hell, he could almost have despaired no more of his salvation. In this is intolerable grief of mind, though he never had, nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat against his appetite, that thereby he might defer the time of his damnation as long as could be, thinking no less but that he must needs be thrown into Hell, so soon as Breath departed out of his Body: And though *Christ* as he thought, did pity his case, and was sorry for him: yet he thought he could not help him, because that truth must be fulfilled, *It is impossible for such a one to be renewed by repentance.*

But though he suffered for many years such sharp temptations, and strong buffetings of Satan, yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all that while, not only at last did free him from his discomforts, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, as the like hath scarce been seen, in such sort, as he being like one already placed in Heaven, and dead to this World, both in words and affections, led a life altogether celestial, utterly abhorring all profane doings.

His unspeak-  
able joy.

Neither



Neither was his talk differing from the rest of his life, never using any idle, vile, or vain language.

The Bishop of *Lichfield* hearing of his zeal, and ardency in the profession of the Gospel, wrote to the Major and Sheriffs of *Coventry*, to apprehend him so soon as might be: But the Lord of his infinite mercy disposed otherwise of it, for his faithful Servant, who had for many years endured such extream torments, he would not heap more sorrows upon him, neither would deliver him to the flames of fire, who had been so sorely scorched already with the sharp fire of inward affliction. So that the Major having received the Bishops Letter, sent privately to *John* to convey himself away from the danger; who with his Brother *William*, were no sooner departed, but the searchers came into his House to look for him: At last coming into an upper Room, they found *Robert* lying sick upon his Bed of a long disease; yet presently they carried him before the Sheriff, who would fain have dismissed him, saying, That he was not the Man they sought for: Yet at the importunity of the Officer, he carried him away with him to *Coventry* till the Bishop came.

Master *Robert Glover* writing to his Wife about this his apprehension, faith thus, *At the first sight of the Sheriff, nature a little trembled; but before I came to the Prison, through the working of God, and his goodness, my fears vanished: And when I was called before them I found little justice at their hands: But the less justice they shew, the more consolation I find from God, so that when I had been a while in Prison, I wept for joy, and gladness my Belly full, wondering much at the great mercies of God, and saying thus to myself; O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldst bestow this great mercy of being numbered amongst thy Saints, that suffer for thy truths sake! And thus, faith he, considering Gods infinite goodness, and my own vileness, and unworthiness of so high a promotion, I was as it were amazed for a while, and overcome with joy, and gladness, concluding thus within my self: O Lord, thou shewest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness, who shall hinder thee from choosing when, and where thou wilt? As I always zealously loved thy truth, so I always thought my self unworthy to suffer for the same.*

Master Robert Glover Letter to his Wife.

Joy in tribulation.

Whilest he was prisoner in *Coventry* some of the Aldermen would have released him if he would have put in sureties for his forth coming, but he refused it: And when they were gone, he said thus to himself, *I take God to record that I have from time to time moved all such as I conferred with to be no dalliers in the matters of God: But to shew themselves after so great means of grace, zealous, earnest, and constant in the truth, not giving place one jot to the contrary; and therefore if I shall withdraw my self, or by any shifts pull my Neck out of the Coller, I shall give great offence to the weak Brethren, and open the mouths of the Adversaries to slander Gods word, who will be ready to say, he hath encouraged others to be fervent notwithstanding any perils, but will give no such example himself: And therefore he thought it is duty, that setting aside all fear, and worldly respects, he should, by the mighty assistance of Gods Spirit, by his own example ratifie, and confirm what he had taught others, and with peace of conscience, willingly sustain whatsoever the Romish Antichrist should do against him. And thus he continued Prisoner till the Bishops coming, and then he was had before the Bishop, who amongst other things charged him for his not coming to Church, concerning which himself thus writes: *Here, faith he, I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs: For that I had been long out of his Diocess, &c. But I answered him, through Gods merciful help, that I neither had nor would come to that Church so long as the Mass was used there, to save Five hundred lives, if I had them. After some other conference the Bishop commanded Master Glover to be put into some Tower; saying, That he would weed out such Wolves.**

His Confession.

A day or two after the Bishop would have Master Glover, and some other Prisoners to be carried to *Lichfield*, there to be disposed of at his pleasure. Whereupon Master Glover was much troubled, fearing that by reason of his sickness, and their cruel usage he should die in Prison before he came publickly to his answer:

He checks his  
infidelity.

answer: But, said he, *I rebuked immediately, with Gods word, this infidelity of mine, saying, what do I make of God? Is not his power as great at Lichfield, as at Coventry? Doth not his promise extend as well to the one place, as the other? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, and Jeremiah, &c. in their dangerouslest imprisonments? He hath numbered the Hairs of our Head. A Sparrow falls not on the ground without his will: Much more will he care for us if we be not Faithless, whom he hath accounted worthy to be witnesses to his truth, &c.* These meditations so cheered up, and refreshed his Spirits, that hearing one say, that he could not get Horses for them; he said, *Let them then carry us in a Dung-cart if they please, for my part I am contented.*

They were sent forth of Coventry on the Friday in the midst of the Market, that so they might be the more gazed, and wondred at. At Lichfield they were delivered to one *Jephcot*, the Chancellors Man, who having the same night gathered a multitude to stare and wonder at them, had them presently to Prison.

Popish cruelty.

Master *Glover* he put into a dark narrow Room, next unto the Dungeon, giving him a bundle of Straw instead of a Bed, neither allowing him Chair, Stool, or any thing else to sit on. That night, saith he, *God through Prayer, gave me great patience, so that if it had been his pleasure, I could have been content to have ended my life at that time.* Yet afterwards *Jephcot* was content that he should have a Bed of his own providing: But notwithstanding his sickness, none were allowed to come to him to help him in any thing, neither were Pen, Ink, Paper or Books allowed him: only he had the comfort of a New Testament, and Prayer-Book, which he had privily stoll into Prison. Most of his time he spent in Prayer and meditation of the merciful promises of God made unto all that call upon him in the Name of his dear Son *Jesus Christ*. Yea saith he, *I found in my self daily amendment of my health, increase of peace of Conscience, and many consolations from God by the help of his holy Spirit, and sometimes a taste, and glimmering of the life to come, all for his only Son Jesus Christ his sake, to him be all praise for ever and ever.*

A Miracle of  
mercy.

His tempta-  
tions and vi-  
ctory.

An excellent  
Meditation.

Indeed some temptations he was troubled withall, as that he was unworthy to be counted in the number of those which suffered for *Christs* and the Gospels sake; But he answered the Tempter thus, *Were not those whom God formerly chose to be Witnesses, and to bear his Name to the world, Men subject to the like sins and infirmities as other Men be? What have any of us but what we receive? Have we not all received of his fulness? They were no bringers of any good to God, but altogether receivers; They chose not God first, but he chose them first: They loved not God first, but he loved them first; Yea, he loved, and chose them when enemies, full of sin and corruption: He is still as rich in mercy, as mighty, willing, and ready to forgive sins without respect of persons to the worlds end as ever formerly. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any to mind God of his promise, to challenge and claim his aid and assistance in all dangers and distresses; to call upon him in confidence not of our own works, but in his promises made in *Christ*, in whom, by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever approacheth to the Mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient and necessary for Body and Soul in a more ample manner then he can either ask or think: He cannot deny his own promise, Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear, and thou shalt glorifie me. Psal. 50. 15.*

I answered the enemy also in this manner, saith he, I am a sinner indeed, and therefore unworthy to witness to his truth. What then? must I deny the Word, because I am unworthy to profess it? What shall I get hereby, but to add sin to sin? What greater sin is there then to deny the truth of *Christs* Gospel? as *Christ* himself testifies; *He that is ashamed of me and my words before Men, of him also will I be ashamed before my Father, and his holy Angels.* By the same reason I might as well forbear to do any of Gods commandments; These are Satans delusions which must be overcome by Prayer and by the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.

Shortly



Shortly after, the Bishop coming to *Lichfield*, sent for him, who when he came and saw none but the Bishop and his Chaplains and Officers, he was somewhat amazed, wherefore he lifted up his Heart to God for his merciful assistance: The Bishop perswaded him to return to the Church of *Rome*, telling him, That his Church was not known till lately in King *Edwards* time: To which he answered, That he was a member of that Church which is built upon the foundation of the Prophets, and Apostles, *Jesus Christ* himself being the Head Cornerstone, and this Church, said he, hath been from the beginning, though it bear no glorious shew before the world, being usually under the Cross and affliction, contemned, despised, and persecuted.

His courage  
and constancy.

The Bishop was so nettled at this, That he commanded him upon his obedience to hold his peace: Then did Master *Glover* desire him to convince him by the Scriptures: But he instead thereof, propounded sundry questions to him, which he refused to answer in private, but told him that he was ready to answer in publick: *If thou wilt not now answer*, said the Bishop, *thou shalt to Prison again, and shalt neither have meat nor drink till thou hast answered me*. Then Master *Glover*, lifting up his Heart to God desired that he might be enabled to answer according to the truth: And so they fell into a disputation about the Sacraments, how many they were, and whether *Christ* was really in the Sacrament of the Altar: After which he was returned to Prison, where he had divers conflicts with the Bishops Chancellor, and at last was brought out and condemned by the Bishop.

Two or Three days before he was to be burned, his Heart was very lumpy, and destitute of all spiritual comfort, so that he felt in himself no aptness, nor willingness, but rather a great heaviness and indisposition to bear the bitter cross of Martyrdom now ready to be laid upon him: Hereupon he much feared that the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favor from him, and made his moan to a godly Minister that privately came to him, how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no glimmerings of comfort from him; The Minister exhorted him patiently to wait Gods leisure and pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same and to play the Man, nothing doubting but that the Lord in his due time would visit him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation, whereof, he said, he was right certain and sure, and therefore desired him, that whensoever any such feeling of Gods Heavenly mercies should begin to appear in his heart, that he would shew some sign thereof, that so he might witness with him the same; And so he departed for the present.

His temperance  
on before  
death.

The next day as Master *Glover* went to Martyrdom, and was now come within the sight of the Stake; although all the night before, praying for strength and courage, he could feel none, yet suddenly he was so mightily replenished with Gods holy comfort, and Heavenly joys; that he cried out, clapping his Hands together; *Oh Austin* (for so was the Minister called) *he is come, he is come &c.* And so went on with such joy and alacrity, that he seemed rather to be one delivered from some deadly danger to life, then one that was passing out of the world by a painful death.

His insatiable  
comfort.

In the same fire there was burned with him one *Cornelius Bonney*, a Capper, of *Coventry*, condemned by the same Bishop for the truth, which he cheerfully sealed with his Blood.

*Cornelius Bonney*

Master *John Glover* seeing his Brother apprehended for him, was so afflicted with sorrow, that he had small joy of his life, and would gladly have put himself into his Brothers stead, but that his Friends would not suffer him, shewing him that by so doing he might entangle himself, but could do his Brother no good; And thus he continued in much perplexity till towards the end of Queen *Maries* Reign; At which time there was a new search made for him,

Master John  
Glovers won-  
derful delive-  
rance.

The Sheriff with his Officers came to his House, and bursting open the Doors, searched every Room for him; At last they came to the Chamber-door where he was, which was only latched, and he held down the Latch with his Finger; There one of the Officers had his hand upon the string to draw the Latch; but another coming by, bade him come away, saying, That he had searched that Chamber already, whereupon they departed, and went to search other corners of the House, and at last they found his Wife, and carried her away to *Lichfield*; where after much ado she was constrained to give away to their Tyranny

Popish cruelty  
against the  
dead,

Master *John Glover* in the mean time, partly with care for his Wife, and partly by cold taken, when he was forced to lie out in the Woods for shelter, fell sick and died, and was privately buried, in the Church-yard. This the Chancellor hearing of, sent for the Parson of the Parish, and commanded him to take up the body, and to throw it into the High-way; The Parson answered, That having been buried Six weeks, the Body did so stink that none could abide the favor of it; Then said the Chancellor, *Take this Bill, and pronounce him in the Pulpit a damned Soul, and at the years end, when the flesh is consumed, take up his Bones, and throw them into the High-way for Carts and Horses to pass over them.* And thus though he escaped their malice in his life, yet could he not escape it after his death.

The like usage *William*, the third Brother found at their Hands, who dying at *Wem* in *Shropshire*, they would not suffer his Body to be buried either in Church or Church-yard, so that his Friends were forced to bury him in a Broom-field.

The like usage found one Master *Edward Barton*, Esquire, who departing this life the very day before *Queen Elizabeth* was crowned, the Popish Curate would not suffer him to be buried in Consecrated ground, so that his Friends were fain to bury him in his Garden.

Oliver Richard-  
dine.

There was also burned in *Hartford-west* in *Shropshire*, one *Oliver Richardine*, of *Whitchurch*.

William Wolfey  
Robert Pigot.

About the same time *William Wolfey*, and *Robert Pigot*, dwelling in *Wisbich*, being apprehended for Religion, were carried to the Jail in the Isle of *Ely*: Doctor *Fuller* the Chancellor, with two other Doctors came to them in Prison, and said to *Wolfey*, That he was out of the Catholick Faith, and much more to the same purpose: *Wolfey* gave them the hearing a great while, and at last said to Doctor *Fuller*: Good Master Doctor, what did our Saviour, Christ mean when he said; *Matth. 23.* Wo be to you Scribes, and Pharisees, Hypocrites; For ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against Men, ye your selves go not in, neither suffer ye them that would to enter? *Fuller* answered: You must understand, that Christ spake to the Scribes and Pharisees. Yea, said *Wolfey*, Christ spake to you, and your Fellows here present, and to all other such like as you be. Then did the Doctor give him a Book to read, and so departed.

About Three weeks after he came to him again, and asked him how he liked the Book? *Wolfey* answered; *I find it just as I expected.* Afterwards a little before the Sizes, Doctor *Fuller* the Chancellor, came to him again, saying: Thou dost much trouble my conscience. wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy Tongue, that I may have no more complaints of thee, and go to Church when thou wilt, and if thou beest complained of, I promise thee so far as I may that I will not take notice of it. *Wolfey* answered, Master Doctor, I was brought hither by a Law, and by a Law I will be delivered.

*Pigot* was imprisoned for refusing to go to their Church: Whilst they lay together in Prison, there came to them the Bishops Chaplain, a French Man, called *Peter Valentius*, who said thus to them. My Brethren, I am come to talk with you, not to dissuade you from your Faith, but to desire you in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the Gospel, and I beseech Almighty God for his



his Sons sake, Jesus Christ, to preserve you in the truth to the end. And to this purpose he so enlarged himself, that he caused all that were present to shed tears. A few days after, these Two godly persons were called forth to judgment, before Doctor Fuller, Shaxton, Christopherson, and some others; who charged them especially for not believing in the Sacrament of the Altar: They answered, that it was an Idol, and that the natural Body, and Blood of Christ was not really in the same, and to this opinion they said they would stick, believing that the same was no Heresie, but the very truth. Doctor Shaxton said to them: Good Brethren, remember your selves; For I my self was of this fond opinion that you are, but now I am a new Man. Ah, said wolsey, are you now a new Man: Wo be to thee, thou wicked new Man, for God shall justly judg thee.

Wolsey con-  
rage.

After this, judgment was pronounced upon them both, and they were sent back to Prison: Upon the day appointed for their execution, one Peacock was appointed to Preach, after which they were bound to the Stake: Then came there one Collison, a Priest and said unto them: Brother Wolsey, the Preacher hath openly reported in his Sermon this day that you are out of the Catholick Faith: That you deny Baptism, and some part of the holy Scriptures; wherefore I beseech you for the satisfying of my Conscience, and the Consciences of some others here present, that you declare what part of the Scriptures you find fault with: wolsey answered, I take the eternal and everliving God to witness that I do erre in no point, nor part of Gods Book: But hold, and believe the same to be most firm, and sound Doctrin, in all points for our salvation, and for the salvation of all other to the end of the world, whatsoever mine Adversaries report to the contrary, God forgive them for it: Then came one and brought a whole Sheet full of New Testaments to burn them: O said wolsey, give me one of them, and Pigot desired another, which they clasped close to their Breasts: and so fire being set to them, they finished their course with joy.

New Testaments burned.

Their Martyrdom.

This wolsey was full of zeal, and so desirous to glorifie God by suffering Martyrdom, that being very ill in Prison, he feared nothing more than that he should die before the day of his execution, which he called his glad day, came. A Friend came to visit him in Prison, to whom he gave some money to be distributed, according to his appointment: And amongst the rest, he sent a noble to one Richard Denton, a Smith in Cambridgeshire, desiring his Friend to commend him to him, saying, That he marvelled that he stayed so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered the Book of the Holy Scriptures into his Hand, and told him, that it was the truth, and therefore he desired him to make hast after him as fast as he could. This Six shillings and Eight pence being afterwards delivered to Denton according to his desire, together with the message which wolsey sent to him, his answer was: I confess it is the truth, but alas I cannot burn: But he that could not burn for the cause of Christ, was afterwards burnt against his will: For his House being set on fire, whilst he busied himself to save his goods, he was burned in the House with two others that were with him.

Gods judgment upon cowardise.

Presently after, Doctor Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer suffered Martyrdom at Oxford, of whom see the story in my first part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History.

Doctor Ridley, Master Latimer.

About the time of the burning of these eminent Servants of Jesus Christ, a very remarkable judgment fell upon Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of England, who having been an active instrument of much mischief in the Church, I shall here briefly set down his Story.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

He was born in Bury in Suffolk, and in his youth trained up in Cambridge, he had very good natural parts, especially a firm memory, so that he profited exceedingly in the knowledge of the Arts and Tongues, especially applying himself to such studies which had a prospect towards honor, and preferment. Yet together with these qualities, he had many, and great vices. He was very proud, and self conceited, crafty, and subtile, Towards his Superiors of a flattering,

Stephen Gardiner's life, and cruel death.

and fawning disposition: Towards his Inferiors, cruel: Towards his Equals, stout, and envious. He stood much upon his credit, and estimation. In his Religion he was variable, and changing, so that it was hard to say whether he was a protestant, or Papist. He was a great stickler about King *Henry* the Eighth his divorce from the Lady *Katherine of Spain*; whereupon he was made Bishop of *Winchester*.

Gods judgment on Stephen Gardiner.

At the abolishing of the Popes supremacy, who was so ready to swear, so forward to write against the Pope as he? Afterwards, in emulation of the Lord *Cromwells* Estate, he was an utter Enemy both to him, and his Religion. In King *Edwards* time, he smelled of the Gospel and seemed to preach for it, but afterwards he turned from it, and became a cruel Persecutor of it to his dying day, for which he escaped not the just judgment of God in this life: For the same day that doctor *Ridley*, and Master *Latimer* were burned at *Oxford*, the old Duke of *Norfolk* came to Dine with this Bishop of *Winchester*: The Bishop deferred dinner till about Four a clock in the afternoon, at which time came one of his Servants, posting from *Oxford* to bring him the news of their death: Hereupon he came out rejoycing to the Duke, laying, *Now let us go to dinner*. The Table was immediately furnished, and the Bishop began to eat merrily: But he had eaten but a few bits, when a sudden stroke of Gods terrible Hand fell upon him, so that being carried from the Table, he was laid in Bed, where he continued for Fifteen days in such intolerable anguish, and torments, that he could neither avoid any thing by order or urine: His Tongue was swoln, and black, that his Mouth could not contain it, and his Body being miserably enflamed, he so ended his accursed life.

His profane nels.

John Webb.

In the beginning of his sickness Doctor *Day* Bishop of *Chichester* coming to him, began to speak to him about the merciful promises of God, and free justification by the Blood of *Christ*: To whom he answered, *what my Lord, will you open that gap now? Then farewel altogether: Open this window to the people, and farewel altogether*.

George Roper, Gregory Park, and two other Martyrs.

About the same time *John Webb* was brought before the Bishop of *Dover*, [*Doctor Harpsfield*] and some others, where such common Articles were objected against him, as against others, to which he answered, That he did believe that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper was left in commemoration of his death, and not that it was transubstantiated into his Body, &c. After which he, with *George Roper*, and *Gregory Park*, and Two other godly Men, were all brought forth together, who all constantly adhering to the truth, were condemned, and carried to the place of their Martyrdom: By the way they said divers *Psalms*. *Roper* at the Stake putting off his Gown, fetched a great leap; And so they all Three were consumed in the flames at *Canterbury*, abiding their torments most patiently, and rejoycing that they were counted worthy to suffer for *Christs* Gospel sake.

William Wiseman, murdered in Prison.

*William Wiseman*, a Clothworker of *London*, being cast into *Lollards Tower*, for the testimony of *Jesus*, was there, by the cruel Papists made away, and cast out into the fields, all being forbidden to bury him; yet did some godly Persons privately bury him in the night.

Master John Philpot.

At the same time Master *John Philpot* after much cruel usage in Prison suffered Martyrdom, whereof read the Story in my first part of the *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*.

Thomas Whittle, Bartlet Greene, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Brown, Isabel Foster, Joane Warne, Martyrs.

Anno 1556. They still continue their Bloody rage against the poor Servants of *Jesus Christ*, and in *January*, the first moneth of the year, these Seven Persons, *Thomas Whittle* Minister, *Bartlet Greene* Gentleman, *John Tudson*, *John Went*, *Thomas Brown*, *Isabel Foster*, and *Joane Warne*, were all burned together in one fire in *Smithfield*. The Articles objected against them were all the same. This *Thomas Whittle* was a Minister in *Essex* in King *Edward* the Sixths days: And in the beginning of Queen *Mary* was driven from his place; whereupon he went up and down preaching the Gospel, as he had occasion, and opportunity: At last



last he was apprehended, upon hope of reward, by one *Edmund Alabaster*, and carried before the Bishop of *Winchester* in the beginning of his last sickness: The Bishop instead of rewarding him, asked this *Alabaster*, whether he had no Body else to carry such rascals to but him: *Get thee gone, thou Varlet, out of my sight*, said he, *and trouble me with no such matters*. Yet did this *Alabaster*, still gaping after a reward, carry Master *Whittle* to *Bonner*, Bishop of *London* and by the Bishop he was laid in the Porters lodg all night upon the bare earth: The next morning he sent for him to his Chamber and asked him many questions about the Sacrament, &c. to which Master *Whittle* returned such answers, as much angered the Bishop: whereupon he told him that he should to Prison, where he should be fed with Bread, and Water: And not content therewith, he fell upon him, and beat him with his fists, and then put him into a little Room, where he lay upon a Table Two nights: Yet saith he, *I slept very soundly, thanks be to God*.

*Bonner buffeteth  
Master Whittle.*

A few days after, the Bishop sent for him again, and gave him many fair words, appointing Doctor *Harpsfield*, to draw up some Atticles, unto which if he would subscribe, he should be dismissed. Doctor *Harpsfield* drew up the Bill very subtilly, only to this purpose: That he should detest all Heresies against the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Sacraments, and that he should believe the Faith of the Catholick Church, and live accordingly. To this Bill Master *Whittle* set his hand being much importuned, and counselled thereunto. *The flesh*, saith he, *being desirous to have liberty, I considered not throwly, the inconveniences that might come thereby*. But, saith he, *after I had done it, I had little joy: For by and by, my Conscience told me by Gods word, that I had done evil, by so slight a means to shake off the sweet Cross of Christ*. Oh the crafty subtilty of Satan in his members. Let every Man whom God shall deliver into their hand, take heed of them, and cleave fast to Christ: for they will leave no corner of his conscience unsearched, but will attempt by all guileful, and subtil means to corrupt him, and to cause him to fall from God and his truth.

*Master Whittle's weakness*

*His terrors of conscience.*

The night after he had subscribed, he was greatly troubled, and through affliction of Conscience, could not sleep: For saith he, *though I might have delivered my Body out of bonds, yet I could have no joy, nor comfort: but still my Conscience was tormented more and more, being assured by Gods Spirit, and his word, that through evil advice, and counsel, I had done amiss: And so, partly through my cruel usage, and partly through distemper of mind, I was very ill, lying upon the ground when the Keeper came: whereupon I desired him to send Doctor Harpsfield to me which accordingly he did*.

When he came, Master *Whittle* told him that he was very much grieved in his Conscience, because he had subscribed: Adding, that his Conscience did so accuse him through the just judgment of God, and his Word that he felt an Hell in his Conscience, and Satan ready to devour him; and therefore he intreated him to let him have his Bill again, for that he would not stand to it. The Doctor courteously sent for it, and gave him it: Whereupon Master *Whittle* tore out his Name; and professed that now he was satisfied, and much rejoiced though he should die for it. After which he thus writeth: *Being condemned to die, my Conscience, and mind, I praise God is quiet in Christ, and I by his grace am very willing, and content to give over this Body to the death for the Testimony of his truth, and pure Religion against Antichrist, and all his false Religion and Doctrine*: And accordingly, within a few days after, he, with the other Six, sealed up the Testimony of his Doctrine with his Blood, which he willingly, and cheerfully gave for the witness of the truth. This Master *Whittle* is the *Essex* Minister mentioned in my first part in *Master Philpotts Life*.

*His recovery.*

*His Martyrdom.*

Mr. *Bartlet Greene*, above mentioned, when he was condemned, spent all his time in *Newgate* either in prayer, which he was much addicted to, or in Godly meditations, and exercises. When he was to die he went cheerfully to the place of his torments, often repeating this Distich.

*Christe Deus, sine te spes est mihi nulla salutis :  
Te duce vera sequor, te duce falsa nego.*

O Christ my God, sure hope of health.  
Besides thee I have none :  
The truth I love, and fallhood hate  
By thee my guide alone.

M<sup>r</sup>. Greens  
humility.

His charity.

He was a man of admirable modesty so far abhorring pride, and arrogancy, that he could not abide to have any thing spoken in his praise. When he was beaten, and scourged with Rods by Bishop *Bonner*, he greatly rejoyced in the same; yet was his modesty such, that he would never speak of it, till a little before his death, when he declared it to a bosom Friend. He was very charitable, and merciful, visiting, and relieving the poor Prisoners, that were with him in Prison.

John Lomas,  
Anne Albright,  
Joane Catmer,  
Agnes Snoth,  
Joane Sole,  
Martyrs.

Immediately after followed in *Canterbury*, the Martyrdom of *John Lomas*, *Anne Albright*, *Joane Catmer*, *Agnes Snoth*, and *Joane Sole*. *John Lomas* being examined about his Faith, answered, That he believed so much as is contained in Gods Book, and no more. *Agnes Snoth* being examined about the Sacrament of the Altar, answered, That she believed that so many as received the Sacrament as *Christ* and his Apostles ministred it, received it to their comfort: But as now, said she, it is used in the Church, no Man can receive it otherwise than to his damnation, as I think. *Anne Albright* being examined about Auricular confession, and the Sacrament of the Altar, answered, That she would not be confessed; Saying that the Priests were the Children of Perdition, and could do no good by their Absolution. And for the other, she said, That the Sacrament of the Altar, was a naughty, and abominable Idol. The like said the other Two Women; whereupon they were all condemned: And when the fire flamed about their Ears, they sung *Psalms* till they resigned up their Spirits to God.

Dr. Cranmer.

Presently after followed the Martyrdom of Doctor *Cranmer*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Story whereof you may read in my first Part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History.

Agnes Potten,  
and Joane  
Trunchfield.

Presently after in the Town of *Ipswich* *Agnes Potten*, and *Joane Trunchfield* were examined about their Religion, and their opinion about the Sacrament; whereto they answered, That in the Sacrament was the memorial only of *Christs* death, and passion: For, said they, *Jesus Christ* is ascended into Heaven, and there sits at the right hand of God, according to the Scriptures; And therefore he is not in the Sacrament: For this they were condemned, and burned; At which time, with comfortable words of the Scriptures, they earnestly intreated the People to intertain, and believe the truth of God, and not to trust the inventions, and devices of Men, and institutions of the *Romish* Antichrist: But to abominate him with all his Superstitions, and rotten Religion. In the fire they held up their Hands, and called upon God earnestly so long as life did endure, yielding up their Spirits with much joy and comfort.

John Maundrel.

His Study of  
the Scriptures.

About the same time, in the Diocess of *Salisbury*, *John Maundrel* of the Parish of *Revel* in *Wiltshire*, after the Scriptures were translated into English by Master *Tindal*, became a diligent hearer, and a fervent imbracer of the truth, delighting in nothing so much as in hearing, and conferring of Gods Word, always carrying a New Testament about him: And because he could not read himself, when he came into any Company that could read, his Book was always ready, and having a very good memory, he could recite by Heart most places of the New Testament: His Life, and Conversation was very honest, and full of charity: And thus he continued till *Queen Maries* days: And then when Popery was again restored, and Gods true Religion persecuted, he left his House,



Houſe, and went into *Gloceſterſhire*, going up and down to ſuch as he knew feared God, and ſometimes remained as a Servant with ſome of them. At laſt he went to a Friend of his at the *Vizes*, declaring to him his purpoſe of returning to his own Houſe; His Friend would have diſſwaded him, but he told him that he muſt needs go home, and ſo did.

There he uſed to meet with *William Coberley*, and *John Spicer* to confer with them: Theſe Three agreed the Sabbath following to go to the Pariſh Church, where ſeeing the People to follow the Proceſſion, and to worſhip the Idol, they exhorted them to leave the ſame, and to turn to the living God: Afterwards the Prieſt going into the Pulpit, where he prayed for the Souls in Purgatory, &c. *John Maundrel* ſpeaking to him ſaid, That Purgatory was the Popes pinfold, which his other Two Friends affirmed alſo: For this, by the command of the Prieſt, they were put into the ſtocks; Then had before a Juſtice of Peace, who ſent them to *Salisbury* to the Biſhop, Doctor *Capon*; The Biſhop examined them of their Faith, and caſt them into Priſon: When they were brought to a public hearing, they were examined about the Sacrament of the Altar? &c. They answered, That the Popiſh Maſs was abominable Idolatry, and injurious to the Blood of *Chriſt*, &c. For this they were condemned, and ſo delivered to the Sheriff; whereupon *John Spicer* ſaid, *Oh Maſter Sheriff, now muſt you be their Butcher, whereby you will make your ſelf guilty of innocent Blood.* When they came to the place of their Martyrdom, they kneeled down and prayed together; Then having ſtript themſelves to their Shirts, *Spicer* ſaid, *This is the joyfulleſt day that ever I ſaw*; and ſo in the flames they chearfully gave up their Souls to God.

*William Coberley, John Spicer,*

*Their Martyrdom,*

Preſently after *Robert Drake*, and *William Tims*, Miniſters; *Richard Spurg*, *Thomas Spurg*, *John Cavel*, and *George Ambroſe*, Tradeſmen, all of *Effex*, were apprehended, and ſent up to *London* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who ſent them to Priſon, where they lay almoſt a year till after the Biſhops death; and Doctor *Heath* ſucceeding in the Chancellorſhip of *England*, Four of theſe Men being weary of Priſon, petitioned *Heath* for their enlargement. Hereupon Sir *Richard Read* was ſent to the Priſon to examine them; Before him they confeſſed that they had not been at Church ſince the *Engliſh* Service was taken away. *Robert Drake* was alſo examined, and *William Tims*, who answered boldly according to the truth, and ſo ſhortly after theſe Six perſons were brought forth before Biſhop *Bonner* in his Conſiſtory.

*Robert Drake, William Tims, Richard Spurg, Thomas Spurg, John Cavel, George Ambroſe, Martyrs*

The Biſhop began with *Tims*, and told him that he was the ring-leader and ſeducer of the reſt, &c. Then ſaid *Tims*, *My Lord, I marvel that you dare begin with a lie; For there are none of theſe, but before their impriſonment held the ſame opinions that they do now, ſo that they learned not their Religion in Priſon; And for mine own part, I never knew them till we met in Priſon; How then could I be their Teacher?* The Biſhop then asked him if he would ſubmit to the Catholick Church, otherwiſe he ſhould be condemned for an Heretick: Then ſaid another of the Priſoners, *My Lord, you judge us according to your own luſt, but if you will judge us according to the Holy Teſtament of Chriſt, which is the word of Truth, we will ſtand to it*; This ſo angered the Biſhop, that he called him buſie Knave, and bid him hold his Tongue; Then ſaid *Tims*, *My Lord, I doubt not, but I am of the Catholick Church whatſoever you judge of me: But as for your Church, you your ſelf have formerly renounced it, and by your Oath promiſed never to conſent to the ſame; contrary to which you have now ſubmitted to the Popes Authority, and therefore all of you are falſly forſworn and guilty of perjury; Yea, you have both ſpoken and written earneſtly againſt the Popes power, and yet you now burn Men that will not acknowledge it.*

*Tims courage*

*Bonner.* where have I written any thing againſt the Church of Rome?

*Tims.* *My Lord the Biſhop of Wincheſter wrote learnedly againſt it in his Book De vera obedientia, to which you prefixed an Epistle, inveighing largely againſt the*  
Biſhop

Bishop of Rome, reproving his Tyranny and falshood, calling his power false and pretended, &c.

Indeed, said Bonner, my Lord of Winchester wrote a Book against the Supremacy of the Popes Holiness, and I prefixed a Preface before it, but this we did because of the perillous world that then was; For then it was treason to maintain the Authority of the Pope, and therefore fear compelled us thereunto: But since the coming in of the Queens Majesty, we have acknowledged our faults; Do thou also as we have done.

My Lord, quoth Tims, that which you then wrote was agreeable to the holy Scriptures; But that which you now do is against the word of God, as I can well prove. After other such like conference, the Bishop fell to intreating, and perswading them earnestly to revoke their Errors, and to conform themselves to the Church of Rome: To which Tims answered, The See of Rome is the See of Antichrist, and therefore to that Church I will not conform my self, nor once consent unto it. The like said all the rest; whereupon the Bishop proceeded to their condemnation, and delivered them over to the secular power.

His godly Letters.

Out of Prison Master Tims wrote many godly Letters to his Friends in Hockley, and elsewhere, in one of which he hath these passages. I give hearty thanks to GOD for you, that he hath given you such loving Hearts to CHRISTs Gospel, and to his poor afflicted Flock: Remember, I beseech you, what I have taught you, and then I doubt not, but we shall shortly meet together with a most joyful meeting; I am now going to the Bishops Coalhouse, but I hope I shall not long tarry there, before I be carried up to my dear Brethren and Sisters, that are gone before me to Heaven in a fiery Chariot; Hie you after me, I have tarried a great while for you; and seeing you are so long making ready, I will tarry no longer; you shall find me singing merrily, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabbath, at my journeyes end; Therefore now, my dear Hearts, make hast, and loiter not by the way, lest night overtake you, and so ye be shut out with the Foolish Virgins; And now in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, I here write my Name with my Blood, for a Testimony unto you, that I will seal my Doctrin with the rest: And thus fare you well, and God defend you from Antichrist, and all his Ministers, the false Priests, Amen. Continue in Prayer; Ask in Faith, and obtain your desires.

Shortly after in the flames they quietly and joyfully resigned up their Spirits unto God.

John Harpool, and Joane Beach.

John Harpool, and Joane Beach, being brought before the Bishop, were examined of the like Articles, and persevering in the truth, were condemned, and suffered Martyrdom together in the same fire, at Rochester in Kent.

Mr. John Hullier.

Also Master John Hullier, Minister, first brought up in Eaton School, and then in Kings Colledge in Cambridge, suffered under Thurlbey, Bishop of Ely, for the sincere preaching of the Gospel.

Christopher Lyster, John Mace, John Spencer, Simon Foy, Richard Nichols, John Hammond.

At Colchester these Six persons Christopher Lyster, John Mace, John Spencer, Simon Foy, Richard Nichols, and John Hammond, were examined by the Bishop, and sent up to London to Bonner, who examined them of sundry ordinary Articles; To which they answered according to the truth: And when neither by flattery nor fear, they could be brought to recant, he condemned them, and so delivered them to the secular power: Then were they sent to Colchester, where they ended their lives to the glory of Gods Holy Name, and the great encouragement of others.

Hugh Laverock, John Ap-Rice, and one blind cured by Martyrdom.

Hugh Laverock, an old lame Man, and John Ap-Rice, a blind Man, being accused by some of their Neighbors to Bishop Bonner, were sent for, and by him examined about the Sacrament of the Altar. To which Hugh Laverock answered, that he would stand to his first Answer, and that he could not find in the Scriptures that the Priest should lift over his Head a Cake of Bread: Then the Bishop asked Ap-Rice, what he said to it? Who answered, The Doctrin which you teach is so agreeable to the world, and embraced of the same, that it cannot be agreeable to the word of God, neither are you of the true Church; For you make Laws



to kill Men, and you make the Queen your Hangman. Then did the Bishop denounce the Sentence of condemnation against them, and delivered them to the temporal power, and so they were carried in a Cart from Newgate to Stratford-Bow.

When they were chained to the Stake, *Laverock* threw away his Crutch, and comforting *Ap-Rice*, said unto him, *Be of good comfort, my Brother, For my Lora of London is our good Physician, he will heal us both shortly; Thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness: And so patiently suffering the pains of the fire, they resigned up their Spirits unto God.*

About the same time *Katherine Hut*, *Joane Hornes*, *Elizabeth Thackvel*, and *Margaret Ellis*, were sent up to Bishop Bonner out of Essex by Sir John Mor-dant, and Edmund Tyrel, Esquire: The Bishop received, and examined them, especially about the Sacrament of the Altar; To which *Katherine Hut* answered, *I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb God, and made with Mens Hands: The like* said all the rest, whereupon they were condemned, and being carried into *Smithfield*, they there joyfully suffered Martyrdom.

*Katherine Hut,*  
*Joane Hornes,*  
*Elizabeth*  
*Thackvel,*  
*Margaret Ellis.*

In my first Part, mention is made of a blind Boy, that came to Bishop Hooper at Gloucester a little before his Martyrdom: This poor Boy being shortly after apprehended, and cast into Prison, was at last brought forth before the Chancellor of Gloucester, who examined him whether he believed *Christs* Body to be really present in the Sacrament of the Altar? To which he answered negatively. Then said the Chancellor, *who taught thee this Heresie?* The Boy answered, *Tou, Master Chancellor, when in yonder Pulpit you taught us, that the Sacrament was to be received spiritually by Faith, and not carnally and really as the Papists teach.* But said the Chancellor, *Do thou as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning.* The Boy answered, *Though you can so easily dispense with your Conscience, and mock God and the World, yet will not I do so.* Then said the Chancellor, *God have mercy upon thee, for I will read the Sentence of condemnation against thee.* Gods will be fulfilled, said the Boy. So the Chancellor condemned him, and another called *Thomas Croker*, delivering them over to the secular power, by whom they were both burned, constantly, and joyfully yielding up their Spirits into the hands of God.

A blind Boy.

*Thomas Croker.*

About the same time *Thomas Spicer*, *John Dennis*, and *Edmund Poole* being apprehended for not coming to Church, and receiving the Sacrament, were carried before *Dunnings*, Chancellor of Norwich, who assayed by all means to turn them from the truth; But when he could not prevail, he condemned them, and delivered them over to the Sheriff, Sir *John Silliard*, who burned them at *Beckles* in Suffolk: At the Stake when they had made their prayers, and said the Belief, fire was put to them, and in the flames they praised God with such an audible voice, as was wonderful to all that heard them. Hereupon *Robert Bacon* willed the Tormentors to throw a Fagot to stop the Knaves Mouths, as he called them: But these good Men not regarding his malice, confessed the truth, and yielded their lives as a testimony thereunto constantly, and very joyfully.

*Thomas Spicer,*  
*John Dennis,*  
*Edmund Poole.*

Their Martyrdom.

Papish cruelty.

A great Persecution was raised up at the same time, against many godly persons of *Winson* and *Mendlesham* in the County of Suffolk, who by the rage of their Enemies were forced to leave their Houses, and Estates, and to fly for their lives.

A great Persecution.

There was an honest poor Man of *Maulden*, called *Gregory Crow*, who with his Man and Boy was going over into *Kent* to fetch *Fullers* Earth: But by the way, meeting with a storm, his Boat was driven upon the Sand, so that it sunk, and the Men were forced to hold upon the Mast: At which time *Crow* seeing his New Testament in the Water, caught it up, and put it into his Bosom: The tide being gone, they were left upon the Sands at least Ten miles from the Land: There they made their prayers together, that God would send some Ship that way: For within half an hour, it would be flood: In which time they found their

*Gregory Crow.*

A Miracle of mercy.

their Chest wherein was Five pound Six shillings Eight pence: But *Crow* cast it into the Sea, saying; *If the Lord will save our lives he will provide us a living, and so they went up the Mast where they hung by the Arms, and Legs for Ten hours together, in which time the Boy was so weary, and beaten with the Sea that he fell off, and was drowned.*

The Water being gone, and the Sand dry, *Crow* said to his Man, *Its best for us to take down our Mast, and when the Flood comes to sit upon it, and so it may please God to bring us to some Ship that may take us in:* This they did, and rid upon the Mast Tuesday night, Wednesday, and Wednesday night, in which time the Man was so tired out with hunger, watching, and cold, that he died. Then was *Crow* left alone, who being driven up and down in the Sea, prayed to God for help, but durst not sleep lest the Sea should beat him off: When he was almost spent, his Flesh being sodden with the Water, and his Mouth and Eyes almost closed up with salt, behold the providence of God! A Ship that was going for *Antwerp*, the Wind being not good, was driven out of the way, whereby they spied something afar off in the Sea; But supposing it to be a Fisher-Boy, they steered from it: This *Crow* seeing, held up his Cap, and shook it above his Head, whereby at length they were moved to go to him, and so they took him in: When he came into the Ship, though half dead, yet careful of his New Testament, he pluckt it out of his Bosom, and gave it to them to dry. The Ship-men were very careful of him, and at last recovered him, and carried him to *Antwerp*; where the People, hearing of his miraculous deliverance, came to see him; some giving him Clothes, and others Money, so that he was no loser by his dependance upon God.

*William Slech* being Prisoner in the *Kings Bench* for the truth of the Gospel, died there, and was buried in the Back-side of the said Prison.

*Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas Avington, Thomas Read, Thomas Whood, Thomas Mills, Martyrs, William Aderal, John Clement,* died in Prison.

A young Man, Eleven Men, and Two Women. Popish cruelty.

Constancy.

A great persecution.

*Thomas Flier* murdered.

*Thomas Parret, John Norrice, Martin Hunt,* died in Prison.

*Roger Bernard.*

*William Slech* being Prisoner in the *Kings Bench* for the truth of the Gospel, died there, and was buried in the Back-side of the said Prison.

At *Lewis*, in *Sussex* were burned *Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas Avington, and Thomas Read*, for their constant adhering to the truth.

Shortly after them were burned in the same place, Master *Thomas Whood*, Minister, and *Thomas Mills* for the same cause.

In the *Kings Bench* Master *William Aderal*, Minister, and *John Clement*, dying were buried in the Back-side of the Prison.

A godly young Man, Servant to a Merchant, suffered grievous persecution, and at last was burnt at *Leicester*.

Presently after Eleven Men, and Two Women, were condemned by *Bonner*, and sent to *Stratford-Bow* to be burnt. The Sheriff divided them into Two parts, and went to the one, and told them that their Fellows had recanted, wishing them to do the like, whereby their lives might be saved: To whom they answered, That their Faith was not built on Man, but on *Christ Crucified*. When he could not prevail with them, he went to the other part, telling them that their Friends had recanted, desiring them to do the like, and not wilfully to cast away themselves: But they answered, as the other, that their Faith was not built on Man, but on *Christ*, and his sure Word. Thus seeing that he could prevail with none of them, he carried them to the fire. There they prayed earnestly unto God, and went joyfully to the Stake, embracing, and kissing it, and so cheerfully yielded up their Souls to God.

About the same time a great Persecution was raised in the Diocess of *Litchfield*, by Doctor *Bane*, the Bishop thereof, whereby many were forced to do penance, and amongst the rest one *Thomas Flier* of *Utoxiter*, was slain by a desperate Papist.

In the *Kings Bench* *Thomas Parret, John Norrice, and Martin Hunt*, died in Prison for the truth, whereof the latter was famished to death, and were all buried in the Prison-yard.

At *Saint Edmundsbury*, *Roger Bernard* being brought before Doctor *Hopton*, the Bishop, was examined whether he was shriven at Easter? To which he answered, That he had not confessed his sins to the Priest, but he had confessed them.



them to Almighty God, who he hoped had forgiven them. The Bishop told him that he must confess them to the Priest: To which he answered, That by Gods grace he would not do it. Then the Bishop called him Heretick, &c. *Bernard* answered, That it grieved him not to be called Heretick by him; For so his Fore-fathers had called the Prophets, and Confessors long before him. After some other conference, the Bishop bad the Jailor take him away, and lay Irons enough on him; For he would tame him before he had done. Then went divers Priests to him, who with flattering, and enticing words, sought to pervert him from the truth: And when that would not prevail, they threatned him with stocking, Whipping, and burning: To whom he answered, *Friends, I am not better then my Master Christ, and the Prophets, whom your Fathers served after such sort; And I for his Names sake am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God shall so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same, according to his promise, in spite of the Devil, and all his instruments.* Then carried they him to the Bishop, who condemned him, and delivered him to the secular power.

A brave  
Speech.

*Adam Foster* of *Mendlesham* in *Suffolk* was apprehended by *Thomas Monse* and *George Rivet* for not coming to Church, and carried before *Sir John Tyrel*, who sent him to *Norwich* to the Bishop; But it pleased God, that immediately *Monse* was stricken by God with a grievous disease, and died shortly after: And *Rivet* not warned thereby, but persisting in his ways, had a great swelling in his Legs, which grievously vexed, and troubled him, and at length falling into a fearful disease, he died most miserably, and in so impatient a manner that it terrified all that heard thereof.

Adam Foster.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

*Robert Lawson* being also apprehended for not going to Church, was by *Sir John Tyrel* sent to the Bishop, and so all these Three godly Men being condemned, were to be burnt at *Bury*: At the Stake they made their prayers unto God, and died with much chearfulness: About the same time one *John Fortune*, a godly and zealous Professer of the truth, was made away by the Bishop and his Ministers.

Robert Lawson.

John Fortune murdered.

*John Carelesse* of *Coventry*, Weaver, was there imprisoned for the truth; But in the Jail he so carried himself, that the Jailor would sometimes let him go abroad upon his word, he returned at the hour appointed to Prison again: At length by a Writ, he was removed to *London*, and imprisoned in the *Kings Bench*, whither came one *Doctor Martin* to examine him, betwixt whom there passed such like communication.

John Carelesse.

Martin. What is thy name?

Carelesse. My name is John Carelesse.

Martin. It will appear by that I have done with thee, that thou art a true careless Man indeed. Where wast thou born?

Carelesse. At Coventry.

Martin. How camest thou hither?

Carelesse. By a writ I was sent hither by the Lord Chief Justice.

Martin. I wish thou wouldst play the wise Mans part: Thou art an handsome Man, and its pitty but thou shouldst save that which God hath bought.

Carelesse. I thank your Mastership, and I put you out of doubt that I am most sure, and certain of my Salvation by Jesus Christ: So that my Soul is sore already, what pains soever my Body suffer here for a time.

Martin. Yea marry. For thou art so predestinated to life, that thou canst not perish in whatsoever opinion thou dost die.

Carelesse. That God hath predestinated me to eternal life in Christ I am most certain: And even so I am sure that his Holy Spirit, wherewith I am sealed, will preserve me from all Heresies, and evil opinions, that I shall die in none at all.

Martin. Let me hear your Faith about Predestination?

Ppp

Carelesse.

Careleffe. *I believe that Almighty God, our most dear, and Heavenly Father, of his great mercy, and infinite goodness through Jesus Christ, did elect, and appoint in him before the foundation of the world was laid, a Church which he doth continually guid, and govern by his grace, and Holy Spirit: So that not one of them shall finally perish.*

Martin. *Why? who will deny this? Pray thee, Careless, prove thy self a wise Man, and do not cast away thy self wilfully.*

Careleffe. *The Lord knows I would gladly live, so that I may do the same with a safe Conscience.*

Martin. *Thou art a tall Fellow, and mayest do the Queen good service in Ireland; wilt thou go thither, and serve Her Majesty there?*

Careleffe. *Wheresoever I am, I am ready to do her Grace the best service I can with Body, Goods, and life: And if she, or any under her require me to do any thing contrary to Christs true Religion, I am ready also to do service in Smithfield, as my Bed-fellow, and other Brethren have done: Praised be God for it.*

Martin. *By my troth thou art as pleasant a Fellow as ever I talked with, of all the Protestants, &c. And so after some other discourse they parted.*

During this his imprisonment, he fell into some heaviness, and perplexity of mind; whereupon he wrote to Master Philpot, lying then in the Bishops Coal-house; From whom he received a consolatory Letter, which through Gods mercy, gave him great satisfaction. He wrote also divers other Letters during his imprisonment, which continued about Two years; At the end whereof he fell sick, and died, being thereby deprived of that Crown of Martyrdom which he so much longed after.

He died in  
Prison.





THE LIFE OF  
Mr. JULINES PALMER.



*Julines Palmer* was born in *Coventry*, where his Father had been Major; He was carefully brought up in learning, and sent to *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*, where he profited very much in the knowledge of the Arts and Tongues. At last he fell to the study of Divinity, recompensing his short time therein with the greatness of his diligence; And his late coming to the knowledge of the truth, with his earnest, and zealous progress in the same. He was of a civil behavior. Of manners courteous, of countenance chearful, of speech pleasant; quick-spirited, yet humble: Apter to be deceived than to deceive: A great contemner of reproaches, and injuries: Using to say, That none were to be accounted valiant but such as could despise injuries. In his studies he was indefatigable. He rose early, and went to Bed late: Getting so much credit in the Colledge, that he was chosen Fellow, and Reader in the same. At first he was addicted to Popery, and kept company only with such as were Enemies to the Gospel of *Christ*. Sermons he would not hear himself, nor by his good will suffer any of his Pupils to hear them, believing that they might be better occupied at home. The Preachers, and all such as were setters forth of sound Doctrine in King *Edward* the Sixths time, he despised; For which obstinacy he was oft punished by the Officers in the Colledge, sometimes in his Purse, sometimes in his Commons.

His Character.

Not long before King *Edwards* death, certain scandalous Verses were scattered abroad against Doctor *Haddon*, President of that Colledge: Whereupon *Palmer* was suspected, and examined about them: But he did not only stoutly deny them, but also gave such reproachful Language to the Officers, that upon further consideration, he was expelled the House. After this to provide himself a subsistence, he betook himself to teach Children in the House of Sir *Francis Knolles*, where he continued till the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, and then, when Visitors were sent to *Oxford* to expel Protestants, and to put Papists in their rooms, Master *Palmer* repaired to them, and acquainting them with his former expulsion for his zeal to that cause, he was by them again restored to his Fellowship.

He is expelled the Colledge.

After a while it pleased God, that he met with *Calvins Institutions*, and read it over: After which, meeting with an old companion of his in *Pauls Church London*, they looked upon a Rood that was lately set up: Whereupon *Palmer* said, *Is this our God for whom we have so smarted?* No, said the other, it is but his Image.

His Conversion.

His Image? said *Palmer*, I tell thee plainly, John Calvin, whose Institutions I have lately read, tells me plainly by Gods word that it is an Idol, and that the Pope is Antichrist, and that his Clergy is the filthy sink-hole of Hell: And now I believe

it, for I feel it sensibly. Oh that God had revealed this to me in times past: I would have bequeathed this Roman Religion, or Irreligion rather to the Devil of Hell, whence it came. Believe me, I will rather have these Knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder Jackanapes (so he called the Rood) God help me, for I am born to trouble, and adversity in this world.

His Zeal.

Thus God wrought in his Heart, that he became very inquisitive how the Martyrs were apprehended, what Articles they were examined of, how they behaved themselves at their death; Insomuch that he sent one of his Pupils to Gloucester to observe how Bishop Hooper demeaned himself at his burning: And himself being present in Oxford, when Ridley, and Latimer suffered Martyrdom, as he came back, he said to his Friends, Oh raging cruelty! Oh Tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous!

From that day forward he studiously set himself to find out the truth: Read Peter Martyrs Commentary upon the First of the Corinthians, and other good Books: And so through hearty Prayer, and diligent searching of the Scriptures, At length he believed, and imbraced the truth with great joy, and so profited in the same, that daily he declared it more and more in word and deed. Yea at length, through Gods grace, he grew up to such maturity, and ripeness in the truth, that he spared not to declare the same both in words, and actions: Hereupon he began to be first suspected, and then abhorred by the President, Master Cole, and others, who had formerly been his great Friends.

His Faith.

For which cause, finding that he could not with a safe Conscience be present at their Idolatrous services, he addressed himself to leave his fellowship; and to depart the House: And being asked by a Friend, how he would live when he was gone; He answered, Domini est terra, & plenitudo ejus; The earth is the Lords; and the fulness of it. Let the Lord work, I will commit my self to him, and the wide world.

A Prediction.

Before his departure, a great Papist that formerly had been his great Friend, meeting with him, and in discourse finding him zealous in defence of the truth, said unto him: well Palmer, well, now thou art stout, and stiff in thine opinion, but if thou wert brought to the Stake, I believe thou wouldst tell me another tale. I advise thee beware of the fire, for its a shrewd matter to burn: Truly said Palmer, I have been in danger of burning once, or twice, and yet, through Gods mercy, have escaped it, but I verily believe it will be mine end at last: welcome be it, by the grace of God: Indeed its an hard matter for them to burn that have their Souls linked to their Bodies, as a Thiefs foot is tied in a pair of Fetters: But if a Man be once able by the help of Gods Spirit to separate the Soul from the Body, its no more for him to burn, then for me to eat this piece of Bread.

He teacheth School at Reading.

Hypocricie.

Having left his Fellowship, it pleased God, who never faileth those that depend upon him, that he was presently after settled in the Grammar-School of Reading, where he was well approved of by those that feared God, not only for his learning, but especially for his earnest zeal, and profession of the truth: But Satan envying his proceedings, and prosperous success in the same, would not suffer him long to be quiet there: For he stirred up certain Hypocrites, who under pretence of zeal, to the truth, insinuated themselves into his secrets. He, good Man, suspecting no deceit, imbraced them joyfully, and acquainted them with all his proceedings: For himself having sincerely imbraced the truth, and being full of Heavenly zeal, he had an incredible desire by all means possible to encourage others in the profession of the same. These disssembling Hypocrites, watching their opportunity when he was abroad, rifled his study, seized upon his Books and writings, and amongst the rest, they found sundry arguments written by him, against the Popish proceedings, especially against their brutish Tyranny, exercised towards the poor Saints, and servants of God. Having gotten these things into their Hands, they threatened to return them to the Privy Council, except he would resign the School to one of their chusing, and presently depart out of the Country.

Thus



Thus was this innocent Man, by the malice of these dissemblers forced to quit Reading, leaving his Books in the Hands of his Adversaries, and a quarters stipend unpaid, and so he went to *Evesham*, where his Mother dwelt, hoping to obtain a legacy, left to him by his Father in her Hands. His mother having beforehand understood the occasion of his coming, when upon his Knees he craved her blessing, she said, *Thou shalt have Christs curse, and mine, wherever thou goest. He amazed at this heavy greeting, paused a while, and then said, Oh Mother, your curse you may give me, which God knows I never deserved; But Gods curse you cannot give, for he hath already blessed me. Nay, said she, thou wentest out of Gods blessing, when thou wast banished for an Heretick out of Oxford, and now for the like knavery art driven out of Reading. Alas Mother, said he, you are misinformed, I resigned my places of mine own accord, and Heretick am I none; For I stand not stubbornly against any truth, but defend it to my power. Well, said she, I am sure thou dost not believe as thy Father, and I, nor as our Forefathers did, but as thou wast taught by the new Law, in King Edwards days, which is damnable Heresie. Indeed, answered he, I so believe, but it is not Heresie, but the truth, and not new, but as ancient as Christ, and his Apostles. Well, said she, get thee out of my House, and fight, and never take me for thy Mother more: As for money I have none for thee, thy Father bequeathed no legacy to Hereticks: Fagots I have to burn thee, and more thou gettest not at my Hands. Master Palmer for her curses returned blessings, and prayers, and so weeping abundantly, he departed from her: This so mollified her hard Heart, that she threw an angel after him, saying, Take that and keep thee a true Man.*

He leaves Reading.

An unnatural Mother.

Master Palmer finding such entertainment from his Mother, knew not now which way to turn himself, but after a while he resolved privately to return to *Magdalen Colledge*, upon the confidence that he had in a Friend or Two in that House. When he had been there a while, he gate Letters commendatory for his preferment to a School in *Glostershire*, but as he went by the way thitherward, musing with himself, he resolved to go privily back to *Reading*, trusting that by the help of his Friends, he might recover his Books, and quarteridge. Hereupon he went closely thither, yet not so closely, but the viperous generation of Hypocrites had knowledg of it, and consulting together, suborned a cunning dissembler to go to him, to fish out the cause of his coming. This was easily effected, and the very night after, as he was in Bed, came the Officers with Bills, and Staves, requiring him in the Queens Name quietly to go along with them: And thus the young Man, betrayed by those Judases, was led away as a Sheep to the slaughter, and was thrust into a vile, deep, stinking Dungeon, where they left him hanging by the Hands, and Feet, in a pair of Stocks, so high that scarce any part of his Body touched the ground, and there they left him for Ten days. Then was he brought before the Major, and these dissembling Villaines charged him with Treason, Sedition, and supposed Murther, and Adultery. Master Palmer answered, That if any such hainous crimes could be proved against him, he would patiently submit to all kind of torments they could inflict: But, saith he, *Oh cruel Blood-suckers, ye follow the practice of your progenitors, the viperous brood of Pharises and Papists: But be you well assured, that God Almighty sees all your cruel, and crafty packings, and will not suffer the outrageous fury of your venomous Tongues, and fiery Hearts to escape unpunished.*

He is betrayed and apprehended. Popish cruelty.

He cheats himself.

The things which they alleadged against him, were, That he should say, that the Queen had not the Sword put into her Hand to execute Tyranny, and to kill, and murder the true Servants of God; That her Sword was blunt towards the Papists, but towards true Christians, it was too sharp: That he was a sower of Sedition, and a procurer of unlawful Assemblies; That they had found him alone with his Hostess by the fire in her Hall. Upon this evidence the Major sent him to the Cage to be a publick spectacle of ignominy to the Eyes of the world.

In the afternoon he was brought forth to his answer ; At which time, he did so mightily, and clearly enervate their evidence, and prove his own innocency, that the Major himself was much ashamed that he had given such credit to them, so that he sought means how to convey him privily out of the County. Yet in the *interim* he kept him in Prison ; whither a godly Man coming to him, said, *O Master Palmer, you have deceived our expectations, For we hear that you suffer not for righteousness sake, but for your own demerits : To whom he answered, Indeed, Brother, these are the old practices of the Satanical brood : But assure your self, and God be praised for it, I have so purged my self, and detected their falshood, that henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith.*

He is charged  
with Heresie.

His modesty.

Thomas Askin.

But his Adversaries fearing that if he should escape secretly, it would tend to their shame, and danger ; they now charge him with Heresie, which they had gathered out of his Papers stoln out of his study. Then was he again sent for before the Major, the Official, and some others ; where he was required to render an account of his faith. And so having gathered out of his own Mouth sufficient matter to intrap him ; they drew up Articles against him, and sent him to Doctor Jeffery, who then kept his Visitation at Newberry. But before his going, Master Rider of Reading, a godly Man hearing how cruelly he had been dealt withal in Prison, and almost pined for lack of necessities, sent secretly to him in the night a bowed Groat in token of his love, requiring to know what he lacked, and he would provide it for him: Master Palmer answered the Messenger, *The Lord reward your Master for his benevolence towards me, a miserable object in this world ; But tell him, that God be praised, I lack nothing.* The morning before he went to Newberry, one Thomas Askin, his fellow Prisoner in Christs cause, sitting at Breakfast, and seeing Master Palmer leaning in a Window very sad, asked him, why he came not to Breakfast ? because said he *I have not money to pay for it. Come on Man, said Askin, God be praised for it, I have enough to pay for us both.*

John Guin.

His confession  
with  
Doctor Jeffery.

When they came to Newberry, they were presently committed to the Blind-house, where they found John Guin, their faithful Brother in the Lord.

Shortly after Palmer was called before Doctor Jeffery, and other Commissioners ; where his Papers were shewed to him, and he asked, whether they were his Writings : Master Palmer looking upon them, acknowledged that they were.

Jeffery. *Sayest thou so ? I will make thee recant them, and wring peccavi out of thy lying Lips before I have done with thee.*

Palmer. *I know that though of my self I can do nothing, yet if you, and all mine Enemies bodily and ghostly should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pass ; neither shall you prevail against Gods mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth, and speak it so boldly.*

Jeffery. *I perceive you are full of words.*

Palmer. *Christ hath promised not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them such force of matter, as the gates of Hell shall not be able to prevail against it.*

Jeffery. *Christ so promised to his Apostles ; But I hope you will not compare your self with them.*

Palmer. *With the holy Apostles I may not compare, neither have I any affiance in mine own wit and learning ; Yet I am sure, this promise belongs to all such as are appointed to defend Gods truth against his enemies in times of Persecution ; And I am assured through his grace, that at this time it appertaineth unto me, as I doubt not to make it appear, if you will give me leave to dispute with you before this Audience in defence of all that I have written.*

Jeffery. *Thou art a Beardless Boy, and darest thou presume to challenge a Doctor ?*

Palmer. *Remember Sir, Spiritus ubi vult spirat. The Spirit breatheth where it pleaseth him ; and Out of the mouths of Infants, &c. And, Thou hast hidden*



hidden these things from the wife, and learned, &c. *God is not tied to time, wit, place, or learning; and though your wit and learning be greater, yet your love to the truth, and zeal to defend the same, is not greater then mine.*

After much other conference about the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and Infant-Baptism: The High Sheriff Sir Richard A Bridges, proffered him great preferment if he would recant his opinion: To which he answered, thanking him courteously for his offer; But said he, *I have already in Two places renounced my living for Christs cause, and so by Gods grace will I be ready to yield up this life also, when God calls me to it.*

Sir Richard A Bridges proffereth him favour if he would recant.

Presently after he, with his Two Brethren were condemned by Doctor Jeffery, and delivered over to the Secular Power.

Their condemnation.

About an Hour before they went to Execution in the presence of many, Master Palmer thus comforted his Fellows: *Brethren, be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not: Remember what Christ saith. Blessed are ye when Men revile, and persecute you for righteousness sake: Rejoyce, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. Fear not them that kill the Body, and are not able to hurt the Soul. God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted beyond that which you are able. We shall not end our lives in the fire, but only change them for a better life; yea, for Coals, we shall receive Pearls, For Gods holy Spirit certifieth our Spirits that he hath even now prepared for us a sweet supper in Heaven for his sake which suffered first for us.*

As they were singing a Psalm, came the Sheriff with many Men in harness to guard them to the fire. At the Stake they all fell down and prayed, and Master Palmer with an audible voice, pronounced the 31. Psalm. Then came to him Two Popish Priests, exhorting him yet to recant, and save his Soul: To whom he said; *Away, away, tempt me no longer: Away, I say, from me all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears. Then all of them putting off their clothes, went to the Stake, and kissed it. Then said Master Palmer, Good People, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end; And for Christs sake beware of Popish Teachers, for they deceive you.* Hereupon an Officer threw a Fagot at his Face, so that the Blood gushed out in divers places; But the Sheriff was so offended at this, that he brake the Fellows Head. When the fire began to take hold of their Bodies, they lift up their Hands to Heaven, and quietly and chearfully as if they felt no smart, cryed out, *Lord Jesus, strengthen us: Lord Jesus assist us; Lord Jesus receive our Souls,* and so they continued without struggling till they had finished their course.

Their Martyrdom.

Popish cruelty.

Agnes Wardall.

About the same time there was in Ipswich, one Agnes Wardall, a Woman that feared God, and abominated all the Popish trash, and therefore desired rather with hard fare, and evil lodging to be abroad, then by remaining at home, to be in the tents of the ungodly: Her Husband also fearing God, was forced to flie from his own habitation, and to betake himself to a Marriners life.

This Agnes Wardall on a time came home to see her poor Children, which some Enemies of the truth having notice of, they presently went to the Constable, and told him of it: Hereupon he presently charged the watch (it being in the night-time) and sent every company to his place; They went also and beset the House round about. Then the Constable knocked Three times at the Door; At last a Woman spake out at a Window, asking who was there? *Ah,* said the Constable, *are you so wigh, and would not speak before? what is the reason of it?* *Marry I will tell you,* said the Woman: *I am but a stranger here, and I have heard that Spirits walk hereabouts, and if a Man answer at the first or second call, he is in great danger.* At this they laughed, and commanded her in the Queens Name to open the Door. Agnes was asleep at first, but being awakened by her Maid, and told of the danger, she got up, and put on her clothes, and so her Maid locked her up in a Press, and then went and opened the Door. The Constable asked her, who was in the House? *None,* said the Maid, *but a woman that is a lodger here, and Two Children:* Then searched they the whole House, and every corner

A special Providence.

corner of it; and one laying his Hand on the Press, said, *This is a fair Press, for ought I know she may be in it*; yet they went their wayes without breaking it open, and so searched the Yard, and Out-houses. In the mean time the Woman was almost smothered in the Press, and therefore called to the lodger to open the Press, which she could not do of a long while; yet at last, through Gods mercy, she opened it, and *Agnes* came forth all on a sweat, and as pale as Ashes; Then went she forth into the Garden, and creeping through the Pales, got into the Fields, and so shrouded her self in a Ditch amongst long Nettles; And thus through the power and goodness of God, was this his Servant delivered from the cruelty of her Enemies.

Peter Moon and his Wife.

The same year Bishop *Hopton*, and *Dunnings* his Chancellor, kept their Visitation at *Ipswich*; And in *Suffolk* there were divers Godly Persons, who were accused by their wicked and malicious Adversaries; Amongst which, one *Peter Moon* and his Wife, were charged for not coming to Church, and for neglecting other Popish Ceremonies. *Moon* was first examined, Whether the Pope were the supream Head of the Church? Whether the Queen were right Inheritor to the Crown? And whether *Christs* Body were really present in the Sacrament? And he being of a timorous disposition, answered so, as his Adversaries were satisfied; His Wife also by his Example, fell into the like dissimulation; whereupon they were dismissed: But when they came home, and began to bethink themselves what they had done; they fell into such sorrow, and trouble of conscience, that they were ready to despair; and *Moon*, seeing his Sword hanging in a Parlor, was tempted to have made away himself, but the Lord prevented it, and after upon their repentance was pleased to comfort them.

Their weakness.

Their trouble of conscience.

Catherine Cowches.  
Guillemine Gilbert.  
Perotine Massie.

Also about the same time there were Three Women in the Isle of *Gernsey*, accused for not coming to Church; Their names were *Catherine Cowches* the Mother, *Guillemine Gilbert*, and *Perotine Massie* the Two Daughters; These being examined by the Dean, and some other of the Clergy, were condemned for Hereticks, and delivered to the secular power. When they were fastned to Three Stakes, *Perotine* being great with Child, when her Belly brake by reason of the violence of the fire, a fair Man-Child fell out of the same, which was taken out of the fire, and laid upon the grass; And afterwards one took the Child, and carried it to the Bailiff, who adjudged it to be carried back, and cast into the fire, which was accordingly done.

Horrid cruelty.

Tho. Dungate.  
John Foreman.  
Mother Tree.  
Thomas Moore.

At *Greenstead* in *Sussex*, *Thomas Dungate*, *John Foreman*, and Mother *Tree* were burned for their constant adhering to the truth

At *Leicester*, one *Thomas Moore*, being examined about *Christs* presence in the Sacrament, said, That *Christ* was in Heaven, and not in the Pixe, for which he was by the Bishop condemned, and burnt, finishing his life in the flames with much joy, and comfort.

Joan Waste, a blind Maid.

In the Town of *Darby*, there was one *Joane Waste*, who was born blind, who in the days of King *Edward* the Sixth, frequented daily Divine service, and Sermons, by means whereof it pleased God to convert her: And she, having learned to knit, got so much money as bought her a New Testament, which she would get some to read unto her; and sometimes she would give a penny, or Two pence to some to read certain Chapters to her: So that in the Reign of Queen *Mary* she had gotten many Chapters by heart, and was grown so well acquainted with the Scriptures, that she was able thereby to confute their Idolatrous practices: For this at last she was convented before Bishop *Baine*, and Doctor *Draicot*, his Chancellor: Before whom she was charged for denying the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacraments, &c. To which she answered, That she believed so much therein as the word of God taught her. She desired them not to trouble her being a poor blind Woman, but if they would proceed, she professed that with Gods assistance, she was ready to yield up her life in the defence of her Faith, in what manner they should please to appoint. The Bishop pressed her much with the argument of Gods omnipotency, mixing also many terrible threatnings

Her knowledge.

Her Zeal.



threatnings of imprisonment, torments, and death; whereupon she said, *My Lord, if before this company you will take it upon your Conscience, that the Doctrin which you would have me believe about the Sacrament, is true, and that at the dreadful day of Judgment you will answer for me therein, you shall know my further answer*: To this the Bishop answered, That he would: But the Chancellor hearing him say so, said, *My Lord, you know not what you do; you may not answer for an Heretick*; whereupon the Bishop retracted his word: Then said the poor Woman, *If you refuse to do this, I will answer no farther, but you may do with me as you please*: Then they pronounced Sentence against her, and delivered her to the Bailiff of Darby; by whom she was shortly after burned, calling upon God for mercy as long as life lasted.

Her Martyrdom.

Presently after a godly and zealous Man called *Edward Sharp*, was condemned by the Bishop of *Bristow*; where constantly, and manfully persisting in the defence for the truth, he suffered Martyrdom.

Edward Sharp.

At *Mayfield* in *Sussex* *John Hart*, *Thomas Ravensdale*, with Two others were condemned for the truth, and in the fire constantly, and joyfully yielded their lives for the Testimony of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*.

John Hart, Thomas Ravensdale, with Two others.

The like did a young Man, a Carpenter, at *Bristow*, presently after.

A young Man at Bristow.

Also *John Horne*, and a Woman died joyfully for the truth, being burned at *Wotton Under-hedge* in *Glostershire*.

John Horne, and a Woman.

Also in the same Town there lived one *William Dangerfield*, a very honest, and godly Man, who by his Wife *Joane* had Nine Children, and she now was lying in of the Tenth. *William Dangerfield* for his greater security had absented himself from home for a time, but hearing that his Wife was brought to Bed, he came home to visit her and his Children; which being known, the House was presently beset by his Popish Neighbors, and he being taken, was carried to Prison, and afterwards was so cruelly persecuted by the Bishop [*Brooks*] that his Legs were almost eaten off with the Irons. His Wife also, having lien in but Fourteen days, was carried out of her Child-bed, together with her Infant, and was put into the common Jail with Thieves, and Murtherers. Then did the Bishop send for the Man, and told him that his Wife had recanted, who was as well learned as he, and therefore perswaded him that he should not persist in his own opinion, but that he should recant also; and the better to induce him, he was suffered to go to his Wife, and had a form of recantation given him, and he promised to subscribe the same: But when he had told his Wife what he had done, and shewed her the recantation, her heart clave in sunder, and she cried out, *Alas Husband, thus long we have continued one, and hath Satan so far prevailed with you as to cause you to break your vow, which you made with God in your Baptism*: Hereupon the good Man, seeing how they had beguiled him, began exceedingly to bewail the promise that he had made to the Bishop, and made his Prayer to Almighty God, desiring him that he might not live so long, as to call evil good, and good evil: And shortly after he died, having lien in Prison Twelve weeks. *Joane* his Wife continued long in Prison, till her Infant through cold, and Famine, her milk being dried up, died: and she herself also survived not long, but ended her life in Prison.

Popish cruelty.

Popish subtilty.

His Wives zeal.

He died in Prison, and his Wife and Child.

In *Northampton*, a godly Shoemaker was burned for Religion, and about the same time in the Castle of *Chichester*, Three godly Confessors being in bonds for the truth, by reason of the cruel handling of the Papists, died in Prison, and were buried in the Fields.

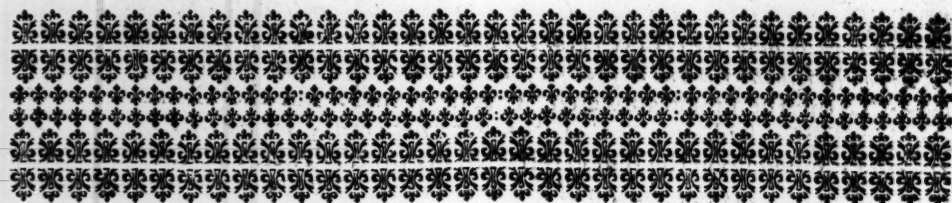
A Shoemaker. Three godly Confessors die in Prison.

At *Chester* one *Hook* a true witness of the Lords truth, was burned for the same.

Hook.

About the same time Doctor *Harfsfield* cast into *Canterbury* Castle, Fifteen godly persons, of which number not one escaped, but were either burnt in the fire, or else famished in Prison.

Fifteen godly persons.



THE LIFE OF  
SIR JOHN CHEEK.



His prefer-  
ment in the  
University.

He is made  
Tutor to  
Prince Ed-  
ward.

**J**ohn Cheek being carefully brought up in learning was sent to *Cambridg*, where following his study hard, and having excellent natural Endowments, he so profited in learning, that he was first chosen Fellow of Saint *Johns* Colledg; Then the University Orator, and the *Greek* Reader in *Cambridg*: Afterwards he had the honor to be the first *Regius Professor* of the *Greek* Tongue in that University: By which means he grew so famous, that King *Henry* the Eighth committed his Son Prince *Edward*, being not at that time full Seven years old, to his tuition: His care in the education of that young Prince was such, that he not only instructed him in good Letters, but sowed those Seeds of Religion in him, which daily fructified (through Gods mercy) till he became famous, and an Instrument of beginning an admirable Reformation in the Church, of *England*, as you may read at large in his Life, in my *Second Part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*.

Yea, by Sir *John Cheeks* means, the same saving truth was sweetly instilled also into the Lady *Elizabeth*, by those who, through his procurement, had the guidance of her younger years, and studies; amongst whom, one was *William Grindall*, a hopeful young Man of Saint *Johns* Colledg in *Cambridg*, who wanting other means, Sir *John Cheek* took him in his service, *Anno Christi* 1544. and and soon after preferred him to the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom he continued, so long as he lived, in favor, and good esteem; And when he died, his place was presently supplied by Master *Roger Ascham*, who had been Master *Cheeks* Scholar whilst he was Fellow in *Cambridg*, and was his Successor in the Orators place in that University; A Man dear unto him for the similitude of his studies, but more, for his zeal to the true Religion.

*Anno Christi* 1551. King *Edward* Knighted Sir *John Cheek*, 1553. made him one of his Privy Council: But the King shortly after dying, Sir *John Cheek* was cast into Prison by Queen *Mary*, for favoring the title of the Lady *Jane*: Yet not long after getting his liberty, he amongst many others, fled into *Germany*; and lived in good credit in the City of *Stratsburgh*: But after a while, having obtained King *Philips* safe conduct to pass and repais by the means of the Lord *Paget*, he went to *Bruxels* to see the Queens Ambassadors: After which, as he, and Sir *Peter Carew* were bringing the Lord *Paget* on his way towards *Antwerp*, they were by the Provost Marshal apprehended, bound Arms, and Legs, and so tied in a Cart with Ropes, and carried to the Sea-side, where they were shipped, and thrust under Hatches till they came into *England*: Then was Sir *John Cheek* clapped up in the Tower close Prisoner, there was he put to a miserable choice, either to forego his life, or that which was far more precious, his liberty of conscience. No means, neither his great learning, his known integrity, nor

He is Knight-  
ed.

His Impri-  
sonment.  
He flies into  
*Germany*.

His tempta-  
tion.



nor the intercession of his Friends, and (among the rest) of Abbot *Fecknam*, a Man that could do much with *Queen Mary*, could prevail for his pardon at any lower rate than by recanting his Religion. This he was very unwilling to accept of, till his hard condition of Imprisonment, joyned with threats of much worle in case of his perseverance, and the many large promises made to his submission, with what other insinuating means humane Policy could invent, wrought so upon him, whilst he consulted with flesh and blood, as drew from him an Abrenuntiation of that truth which he had so long professed, and still, believed. Upon this he was soon restored to his liberty, but never to his comfort: For the sense and sorrow of his own Apostasie, and the daily sight of the cruel Butcheries exercised upon others for their constant profession of the truth, made such deep impressions upon his broken Spirit, as brought him to a speedy, yet through Gods mercy, to a comfortable end of his miserable life. He died in September in London, at the House of *Peter Osburn* Esquire, and his Body was interred in *Saint Albans Woodstreet*, Anno Christi, 1557.

His weakness

Danger of Apostasie.

His death

A Bloody Commission

The next Moneth after there came out another Bloody Commission from the King and Queen, further to kindle the fire of Persecution, by reason whereof all the quarters of the Realm were full of Persecution, and the Prisons were stuffed with the Saints of God. And first, to begin with the Town of *Colchester*, where the wind of Persecution began fiercely to arise, insomuch as Twenty three Men and Women were apprehended in one day; Of which number one onely escaped; The other Twenty two were driven like sheep to London, ready to lay down their lives for the Gospels sake. Yet the Bishops being afraid to execute so many together, drew up a very easie submission for them, to which most of them subscribed, yet divers of them were afterwards apprehended again, and executed.

Three and Twenty Men and Women apprehended

Also about the same time *Thomas Loseby*, *Henry Ramsey*, *Thomas Thirty*, *Margaret Hide*, and *Agnes Stanley*, being sent out of *Essex* to Bishop *Bonner*, were examined, and standing stedfast in the truth, were by him condemned, and in *Smithfield* all of them in one fire, most joyfully, and constantly ended their lives.

Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirty, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley, Martyrs.

Anno 1557. *Stephen Gratwick* was brought before the Bishop of *Winchester*, and after divers Articles objected against him, the Bishop asked him, if he would recant; To whom he answered, *My Lord, my Faith is grounded more stedfastly then to change in a moment, yea, it is no process of time that can alter me, unless my Faith were like the waves of the Sea*: Whereupon the Bishop condemned him; Then said he with a loud voice, *Lord, lay not my Blood to their charge, if it be thy holy will*; As he went back to Prison, he began to speak to the people; whereupon they cryed out, *Cut out his Tongue; or stop his Mouth*. Shortly after he, with *William Morant*, and one King were burnt together in *Saint Georges Fields* in *Southwark*.

Stephen Gratwick.

His Confession.

William Morant, and King.

In the Diocess of *Canterbury*, *Joan Bradbridg*, *Walter Applebie*, and his Wife, *Edmund Allen*, and his Wife, *Joan Mannings*, and a blind Maid, were examined before the Bishop, and by him condemned, and all of them burnt in one fire at *Maidstone* in *Kent*.

Joan Bradbridg, Walter Applebie and his Wife.

Edmund Allen, and his Wife, Joan Mannings, and a blind Maid.

Also in the same Diocess, *John Fishcock*, *Nicholas White*, and *Nicholas Par-due*, with Four Women were imprisoned for the truth. Amongst these was one *Alice Benden*, who for a while was kept with the other in *Canterbury Castle*, but afterwards was by the Bishop removed into a Dungeon under ground, where none of her Friends could come to her; There she was fed with a half penny Bread, and a farthing Beer a day, neither could she get any more for her money; Her lodging was upon a little short Straw between a pair of Stocks, and a Stone-wall: There she lay Nine weeks, never changing her apparel, so that she fell into a pittiful condition: This made her grievously to bewail and lament her estate, reasoning with her self, why her Lord God did in so heavy a wise afflict her, and suffer her to be sequestred from her loving Prison-Fellows: In such

John Fishcock, Nicholas White, Nicholas Par-due, Four Women, Popish priests.

Alice Benden, her sorrow.

Her comfort.  
Psal. 42. 11.

extream misery and in these dolorous mournings she did continue till on a night, repeating that of the Psalmist: *why art thou so heavy, O my soul? and why art thou so cast down within me? Still trust in God, &c.* And Gods right hand can change all this, &c. She received comfort in the midst of her sorrows, and so continued joyful till her release. At last she was sent for to the Bishop; who asked her, if she would yet go to Church? promising favor if she would do it: To whom she answered, *I am fully perswaded by the great extremity which you have shewed towards me, that you are not of God, your doings being so ungodly, and that you seek my destruction;* withal, shewing how lame she was by reason of her ill lodging and diet, so that she was scarce able to move her self without pain: Hereupon the Bishop delivered her out of that filthy hole, and sent her to another Prison, till she, together with her other Fellows were brought forth, and condemned to the fire.

Their Martyrdom.

At the place of their Execution, they poured out their Prayers with so much zeal and affection to the Lord, that their very Adversaries could not but like it, and so preparing themselves for the fire, in the midst of the cruel flames, they comfortably resigned up their Spirits unto God. Bradbridges Wife, who was one of them, had Two Children, whose Names were *Patience* and *Charity*; and when she was condemned by the Bishop, she said to him, *My Lord, if you will needs burn me, yet I hope you will then take and keep Patience and Charity: Nay, quoth the Bishop, by the Faith of my Body, I will meddle with neither of them both.*

Richard Woodman and Nine more.

In the Town of *Lewis* were Ten faithful Servants of God put into one fire, of which number *Richard Woodman* was one: He was by occupation an Iron-maker, dwelling in the Parish of *Warbleton*, in the County of *Sussex*. The occasion of his first apprehension was this: There was one *Fairbanck*, the Minister of that Parish, who in the days of King *Edward* had often perswaded his People, not to credit any other Doctrin but that which he then preached: But in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, he wheeled about, and taught the clean contrary: Whereupon *Woodman* admonished him to teach them the truth, and reproved his inconstancy: For this he was apprehended and carried before the Justices, and by them was committed to the *Kings Bench*; where he continued for a year, and an half, and then by Doctor *Story* was removed to the Bishops Coal-house: yet after some time he was released, and so enjoyed his liberty, the Bishop only enjoying him that he should be an honest Man, and a member of the true Catholick Church, founded on the Prophets, and Apostles, *Christ* being the Head of it.

Woodmans imprisonment.

His release.

Upon his delivery, the Papists reported that he had consented to the Bishop; But the contrary shortly after appeared: For he went from Parish to Parish, confirming, and strengthening the Brethren: Hereupon the Commissioners complained of him to Sir *John Gage*, the Queens Chamberlain, telling him that *Woodman* went about Baptizing Children, and marrying Persons, with many such lies, to make him the more odious: Upon this information, divers Warrants were sent abroad for his apprehension: But through Gods mercy, he had warning of the danger, and so kept himself out of the way.

His second apprehension.

Shortly after Sir *John Gage* sent Three of his Men to apprehend him: *Woodman* being at plough with his Servants, just in the way, as they were going to his House to seek him, they espying of him, arrested him, and told him that he must go with them to their Lord. This made his flesh to tremble on the sudden; yet he answered, that he would go with them; only he requested them that they would go with him to his House, till he had broke his fast, and changed his apparel; which they consented to. By the way he said in his heart: *why am I thus afraid? They can charge me with no evil, and if they kill me for well doing, I shall be happy, &c.* This much quieted his heart, though he was loth to part with Wife, and Children, and Estate: Yet, (saith he) as soon as I was perswaded in my mind to die, I had regard of nothing in this world; but was as joyful, and merry

He blames his infidelity.



merry (I praise God) as ever I was in my life. This battel lasted not above a quarter of an hour, but it was sharper to me then death it self, for the time it lasted.

After Breakfast, he asked them for their Warrant, that so he might the better prepare himself for his answer: But they told him, that they had not their Warrant there: Then said he to them, *It's strange that you should come to fetch me away without a Warrant, which makes me think you have none, but that you do it only to pick a thank with your Master. Indeed I have heard that there were some warrants out for me, but that they were called in again, upon a letter which I wrote to the Commissaries Court, wherein I informed him that I was falsely accused, with Baptizing Children, and marrying, which I never did, being no Minister, and therefore not appointed thereunto: wherefore satisfie yone selves, for I will not go with you, unless you carry me by force, and if you attempt that, do it at your own peril: And so* he withdrew himself from them into his Chamber: Upon this they were so affrighted, that they presently went their ways. Woodman conceived that God had hereby opened a door for his escaping, yet went he after them, and said, *Friends, if you have a Warrant, I desire you for Gods sake to shew it me, and I will go with you: But if you have none, I desire you to depart in Gods peace, and the Kings.*

He refuses to go with them.

These Men went strait to fetch the Constable, and some others to carry him away by force; But before they came, he was gone, as God would have it: They searched every corner of the House for him, and in the night after they made another search, but to no purpose; yet afterwards he came home, and his Wife told him all things. Then he, presuming that great wait would be laid for him, told his Wife that he would hide himself in a Wood not far off, and so taking his Bible, with his Pen and Ink, he went into it, and lay there Six or Seven weeks, his Wife bringing him meat daily, as he had need. Afterwards a report was spread abroad, that he was seen in Flanders; whereupon they gave over seeking for him any longer. So when all was hushed, he went abroad amongst his Christian Friends, and afterwards went over into Flanders, and France; but thought every day Seven years till he was at home again, and therefore he returned as soon as possibly he could.

He hides himself in a Wood.

But as soon as his return was known, the Popish Clergy procured Warrants, and caused his House to be searched often: Thus he remained above half a year, sometimes abroad, and sometimes at home, doing his business openly, and yet his Adversaries had no power to lay Hands on him, his Hour being not yet come; But at last he was betrayed by his own Brother, his Father conspiring together with him; For he had left a good Estate in their Hands to pay his debts, and to provide for his Wife, and Children: Hereupon Richard Woodman sent some Friends to his Father, requesting him to come to an account with him, which he consented to, and the day and hour were appointed; But against that time his Father, and Brother had discovered his being at home, and so divers were appointed to apprehend him. When they came near the House, a Girl cried out to her Mother, that some were coming to take her Father; whereupon her Mother shut the Doors: And he hearing a voice, crept into a private hole. Then did his Wife open the Door, and they came in, and with a Candle, searched every corner of the House; but could not find him: But when they were gone out, a Traitor, to whom he had formerly shewed this secret place, asked them whether they had searched over the Window in his Hall: Then did they return to search there, but could find no entrance into it. But Woodman perceiving that the place was discovered, and that they would break it open, he set his shoulders to some Boards, and brake them down, and so leaped forth, and ran his way down a lane that was full of sharp Cinders, and being barefoot, the Cinders did miserably cut his Feet; so that seeking to escape them, he fell into a miry hole, by reason whereof, one that pursued him laid hold of him: Then carried they him back to his House, where his Father met him, and had him

A special providence. His Father and Brother betray him.

An untrustful Father.

A Judas.

His third apprehension.

him remember himself; So I do, said he, I praise God. *This day was appointed by God for me to be delivered into mine Enemies Hands, but woe be to him by whom I am betrayed, it had been good for him if he had never been born, if he speedily repent not. The Scripture is fulfilled on me: The Father shall be against the Son, and the Brother shall deliver the Brother unto death.* Then they bound his Arms, for which he rejoiced that he was counted worthy to be bound for the Name of *Christ*. So he took his leave of his Wife and Children, and they presently carried him away to *Christopher* Bishop of *Chichester*.

Christ preferred before Wife, and Children.

The Bishop told him that if he would be reformed, he might enjoy his Wife, and Children &c. To whom he answered, *I love my Wife, and Children in the Lord; And if I had Ten thousand pounds in Gold, I had rather forego it all then them: But yet I have them as if I had them not, and must not for their sakes displease God.*

After other discourse, Doctor *Story* moved the Bishop to send him away presently to the *Marshalsee*; which he much rejoiced at, that so he might be amongst his Brethren, and old Prison-Fellows, which the Bishop perceiving said, *Methinks he is not afraid of the Prison.*

Popish prophane.

Woodman. *No I praise the living God.*

*Story.* This is an Heretick indeed: He hath the right terms of all Hereticks. The Living God: I pray you, be there any dead Gods, that you say the living God?

Woodman. *Be you angry with me, because I use the words which are written in the Bible?*

Their Martyrdom with Nine others. Ambrose died in Prison. Richard Lush.

*Story.* Bible, Bable, Bible, Bable. what speakest thou of the Bible? After much other talk, he was sent to Prison, and several times after sent for and examined, and at last condemned, and carried to *Lewis* in *Sussex*, where he, with Five other men, and Four Women were burned together in one Fire.

Simon Miller.

About the same time one *Ambrose* died in *Maiden* Prison who otherwise had been burnt for the truth: And one *Richard Lush* suffered Martyrdom under the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*.

There was dwelling in the Town of *Linn* one *Simon Miller*, a godly, and zealous Man, and a Man that much detested and abhorred all Idolatry. He going to *Norwich*, and seeing a multitude of People coming out of the Church, from their Popish service, asked aloud, where one might go to have the Communion?

Elizabeth Cooper.

The People wondered at his boldness. and shortly after he was apprehended, and carried before *Dunnings*, the Chancellor, who examined him of his Faith, and then had him to the Bishops House, where he was kept Prisoner: But by the connivance of his Keeper, he went home to *Linn*, where he continued till he had set his Household-affairs in order, after which he returned back to the Bishops House, and constantly abiding in the profession of the truth, was at last condemned and burned.

Their Martyrdom.

And there was burned together with him one *Elizabeth Cooper*, who having formerly made a recantation in *Saint Andrews* Church in *Norwich*, was exceedingly troubled in mind for the same, and could have no peace of Conscience, till, going into the same Church before all the people, she had retracted, and revoked her recantation; For which she was apprehended, and carried to Prison, and after condemned: When the fire came first to her, she a little shrunk, crying *Ho*: Whereupon *Simon Miller* put back his Hand to her, bidding her to be strong, and of good cheer: For, good Sister, said he, we shall have a merry, and joyful Supper: This so quieted her Heart that she stood very still, being glad to finish that work that she had before so happily begun: And so committing their Souls into the Hands of God, they ended their lives in the flames.

We heard before of Twenty two Persons sent up from *Colchester*, most of which upon an easie submission were sent home again by Bishop *Bonner*; amongst which were *William Munt*, of *Much-Bentley* in *Essex*, and *Alice* his Wife, and

Rose



*Rose Allen* her Daughter: These godly Persons after their return, abstained from the Popish service, and frequented the company of good People, and spent their time in reading, conference, and prayer: Which so angered *Thomas Tie*, Priest of the Parish, that he procured divers others to joyn with him in Petitioning against them to the Lord *Darcie*.

He wrote also to Bishop *Bonner* against them, so that they were fain to hide themselves from that storm that hung over their Heads for a while; But upon the first Sabbath in *Lent*, at Two of the Clock in the morning, one Master *Edmund Tyrel*, taking the Constables and divers others with him, beset *Munt's* House round about, and then called to him to open the Doors; which being done, *Tyrel* and his Complices went into the Chamber, where Father *Munt* and his Wife lay, willing them presently to rise, for they must go with him to *Colchester* Castle: Mother *Munt* hearing that, being very sick, desired that her Daughter might first fetch her some drink, for that she was very ill; Then *Tyrel* gave her leave, and so *Rose Allen* went with a Candle to fetch some: As she came back *Tyrel* met her, and bade her give her Father and Mother good counsel, and to advise them to be good Catholics: She answered, *They have better Instructors then I, for the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, which will not, I trust suffer them to err? What, said Tyrel, art thou of that mind still? Its time to look to such Hereticks as thou art. Sir, said she, After that way which you call Heresie, so worship I the Lord my God, I tell you the truth.*

*William Munt and his Wife apprehended.*

*Tyrel. Then I perceive that thou wilt burn, Gossip, with the rest of the Company.*

*Rose. No Sir, not for the Companies sake, but for my Christs sake, if I be called to it, and I hope in his mercies if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.*

*Tyrel* turning to his Company, said, *This Gossip will burn; do you not think it? Then said one, Marry Sir, prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by.* Then this cruel *Tyrel* took the Candle out of her Hand, and held it so long under her wrist, till the very sinews crackt asunder: Then said *Tyrel* to her, *what whore, wilt thou not cry? To which she answered, That she had no cause, she thanked God, to cry, but to rejoyce rather; And that he had more cause to weep, if he considered the matter well: At this he thrust her from him, saying, Ah strong whore, Thou shameless Beast, Thou Beastly whore, &c. Then said she, Sir, Have you done what you will do? Yea, said he, and if thou likest it not, thou mayest mend it: Mend it, said she? nay the Lord mend you, and give you repentance if it be his will.*

*Rose Allen Hand burnt.*

This *Rose Allen* being afterwards asked how she could endure the pain of that cruel Burning: answered, That at first she felt some pain, but afterwards very little or none at all. *Tyrel* further searching the House, found in it one *John Thurston*, and *Margaret* his Wife, whom with the rest, he carried away immediately to *Colchester* Castle. These Five persons, with Five others, were often examined of their Faith, which they boldly confessed, and constantly adhered to, for which they were all of them condemned; Six of them were brought forth in the morning, viz. *William Bungeor, William Purchas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silver-side, Hellen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folks*; And at the place of Martyrdom they kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to Almighty God; and then arose, and prepared themselves for the fire: *Elizabeth Folks* putting off her Petticoat, would have given it to her Mother, who kissed her, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord; But the Executioners would not suffer her: Whereupon she threw the Petticoat from her, saying, *Farewel all the world: Farewel Faith; Farewel Hope*; and taking the Stake in her Hand, she said, *welcome Love.* As the Officer was nailing the Chain to the Stake, he missed his mark, and hit her a great blow with his Hammer on the Shoulder-bone; At which she lifted up her Eyes to Heaven, and with a smiling countenance prayed to God; and then proceeded to exhort the People

*A Miracle of mercy. John Thurston, and Margaret his Wife.*

*William Bungeor, William Purchas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silver-side, Hellen Ewring, Elizabeth Folks, Martyrs.*

William Munt,  
and his Wife,  
John Johnson,  
and Rose Al-  
len,

People again. When the fire was kindled about them, they clapped their Hands for joy in the flames; whereupon the Spectators cried, *The Lord strengthen you; The Lord comfort you; The Lord pour his mercies upon you, &c.* and so they joyfully yielded up their Spirits together. In the afternoon were brought forth, *William Munt, John Johnson, Alice Munt, and Rose Allen*, who after their Prayers to God, were joyfully tied to the Stake, calling upon God, and exhorting the people earnestly to fly from Idolatry, and so they suffered Martyrdom with joy. *John Thurston* aforementioned died in Prison, a constant Confessor of *Jesus Christ*.

George Eagles  
called Trudge-  
over.

*George Eagles*, a Tailor by occupation, being eloquent, and of good utterance, gave over his calling, and applied himself to the prophet of *Christs Church*; and when he saw so many of Gods Saints persecuted and murdered for the truth, he wandred abroad into divers Countries, where he could find any of his Brethren, whom he earnestly encouraged and comforted, now tarrying in one Town, then in another, as occasion served; Lodging, sometimes in Houses, sometimes in the Fields, and Woods; and for his excessive pains in travelling about, he was called *Trudgeover*; when he lay abroad he spent most of his time in earnest and faithful prayer unto God; his diet was exceeding slender, so that for three years he drank nothing but Water.

His apprehen-  
sion.

His abode was most about *Colchester*: But the Devil at last stirred up his Instruments to lie in wait for him, and Spies were sent abroad with a command to seize upon him wheresoever they found him, and to bring him either alive or dead. Yet he kept himself still in secret places, so that they could not catch him; Then did they procure a Proclamation in the Queens Name, that whosoever could apprehend him should have Twenty pounds for his pains. At length he was espied at *Colchester*, whereupon a great multitude pursued him; And he, to escape them, first fled into a Grove, and then into a Corn-Field, where he hid himself, and all his pursuers, despairing to find him were returned, but only one crafty Knave, who climbed up into a Tree, and sat there watching for him. *Eagles* hearing no noise, supposing all safe, rose upon his knees, whereby this Villain spied him, and coming down, laid Hands on him, and carried him Prisoner to *Colchester*, expecting the promised reward of Ten pounds, but never got but a very small sum of money, for the reward of his treachery.

He is con-  
demned for  
Treason.

After he had been Prisoner a while at *Colchester*, he was carried to *Chelmsford*, where he spent the whole night in prayer, and from thence to *London*, where after he had been imprisoned a while, he was sent back to *Chelmsford*, there to be tried at the Sessions, being accused of Treason, for that he had assembled companies together, and though he defended his cause stoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his Religion, and Faith before the Judges; yet the Indictment went on, wherein he was charged, that he prayed that God would turn the Queens Heart, or else that he would take her away; The first he confessed, but denied the second, yet was he condemned for a Traitor.

Much means was used to perswade him to confess that he had offended the Queen, and to ask her forgiveness; which he refused to do, and so was drawn on an Hurdle to the place of execution.

All the way he read upon a Psalm-Book, and at the place he prayed unto God, stood very constant till he was turned off the Ladder.

At his death this was remarkable; Two Thieves being to be executed with him, he exhorted them to embrace the truth, and to persevere therein; whereupon one of them scoffingly said, *why should we doubt of going to Heaven, seeing this holy Man shall go before us, as our Captain in the way? we shall certainly flee thither strait, so soon as he hath made us the entry*; But the other Thief reproved him for it, and gave good heed to *George Eagles* exhortation, earnestly bewailing his own wickedness, and crying to *Christ* for mercy; whereas the other, the more he was bidden to leave off his scoffing, the more perverse he was, and

continued



continued in his wickedness. At last coming to the place of Execution, the Penitent Thief upon the Ladder, exhorted the People to take heed to themselves, and to beware by his example of transgressing the Commandments of God, and and so humbly commending his soul into the Hands of God, he ended his life quietly and in a godly manner.

A Penitent Thief.

When the mocker came upon the Ladder, he likewise would have said something, but his Tongue did so fumble and falter in his Head, that he was not able to speak one word: He would fain have uttered his mind, but could not; Then one bade him say the Lords Prayer, but neither could he do that, but dreamed out now and then a word: This Spectacle much astonished those which took notice of Gods just judgments upon him, for his former mocking at so serious a matter.

Gods judgment on a Scoffer.

*George Eagles* being cut down before he was dead, was hacked, and mangled by one *William Swallow*, Bailiff of *Chelmsford*, his Body opened, Heart pulled out and so his Body divided into Four quarters, which were set up in several places. But shortly after Gods terrible judgment fell upon this *Swallow*. His Hair coming off his Head, his Eyes were so closed, that he could scarce see, the Nailes fell off from his Fingers, and Toes, and a Leaprosie overspread his whole Body, and his Estate so wasted that he fell into Beggary.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

Also one *Richard Pott*, that had vexed, and molested *George Eagles*, both in the Inn, and as he went to execution; it pleased God that not long after, he fell down in his House foaming at mouth, and could neither speak word, nor understand what was said to him, in which case he continued for Three or Four days, and so died.

About the same time there suffered at *Norwich* a godly, and constant Martyr of *Christ* called *Richard Crafshfield*, who being examined by *Dunnings*, the Chancellor, about the Sacrament of the Altar and such like questions, made a good confession of his Faith, and constantly adhered to the same, notwithstanding all the flatteries and threatnings used to pervert him, for which he was condemned, and delivered to the secular power; And a few days after was by the Sheriffs had to the Stake, where in the flames, he constantly, and comfortably ended his days.

*Richard Crafshfield*.

In the same moneth a Man called *Frier*, and the Sister of *George Eagles*, were burnt together in *Rocheſter* for the truth.

One Frier, and *George Eagles* Sister: *Mistress Joyce Lewis*.

*Mistress Joyce Lewis* was a Gentlewoman born, brought up tenderly, and delicately in her youth; First married to one *Appleby*, and afterwards to *Thomas Lewis* of *Manceter* in *Warwickſhire*: In the beginning of *Queen Maries* Reign, she went to the Maſs, as others did: But hearing of the cruel Martyrdom of *Master Lawrence Saunders* at *Coventry*, she enquired what was the cause of it: And being informed that it was for his oppoſing of the Maſs, she began to be much troubled in her mind, and reſorted to the Houſe of *Master John Glover*, (before mentioned) deſiring him to diſcover to her the faults that were in the Maſs, and of other things then urged as neceſſary to ſalvation.

*Master Glover* perceiving her troubled Spirit, and reſtleſs deſire to be informed of the truth, moſt diligently inſtructed her in the ways of the Lord, proving by Gods Word, that both the Maſs, and all other Popiſh inventions, were odious, and abominable unto God, reproving her alſo for her too great delight in the vanities of this world, which ſhe was too much addicted to: And it pleaſed God ſo to bleſs this his wholeſome counſel, that ſhe began to wax weary of the world, throughly ſorrowful for her ſins, and was much enflamed with a love to God, deſiring to ſerve him according to his Word, reſolving to abandon whatſoever was diſpleaſing to him. So that, when afterwards her impetuous Husband forced her to go to Church, ſhe turned her back upon the holy Water, which ſhould have been ſprinkled upon her, and manifeſted her deteſtation of the ſame; For which ſhe was accuſed to the Biſhop, and a Summoner preſently was ſent for her.

Her conversion.

The Summoner giving the Citation to her Husband, he was so incensed, that he bade him take it back again, or he would make him to eat it: The Summoner refusing the first, he set a Dagger to his Heart, and forced him to eat it up, and to drink after it, and so let him depart. Presently after, both he, and his Wife were sent for before the Bishop, and *Lewis* himself incontinently submitted, and begged pardon: And the Bishop was willing to accept of his submission, provided that his Wife would do the like also; But she stoutly refused, telling the Bishop that by her rejecting the holy Water, she had neither offended God, nor broken any of his Laws. This much enraged the Bishop, yet because she was a Gentlewoman, he was content to give her a moneths time to consider of it, taking Bond of her Husband, at the moneths end to bring her in again.

Her courage  
and constancy.

When they came home, she betook her self to earnest, and fervent prayer to God, and oft resorted to Master *John Glover*, who much encouraged her to stand to the truth, yet withal advised her to take heed of vain glory, and told her what it was like to cost her, and therefore she should be sure to be well grounded or else she would not hold out.

The moneth being expired, Master *Glover*, and some other Friends, perswaded her Husband that he should endeavor the perservation of his Wife, and rather forfeit his Bond then cast her into the fire: Her Husband answered, that he would lose nothing for her sake, and so delivered her up to the Bloody Bishop, by whom she was examined, and through Gods mercy, was more stout, and resolute then she was before death was threatened.

Her unkind  
Husband.

Incontinently she was sent to a stinking Prison, which was so noisom, that a Maid appointed to attend her, fell into a swoon. During her imprisonment she was oft examined, and being found unmovable, was at last adjudged for an Heretick worthy to be burned.

Popish cruelty.

Being asked by the Bishop why she would not be present at the Mass, and receive the Sacraments, she answered, Because she found them not in Gods word, otherwise, said she, *I would with all my Heart reverence, esteem, and receive them*: The Bishop replied, *If thou wilt believe no more than is written in the Scriptures, thou art in a damnable condition*: At this she was much amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, she told him, his words were ungodly, and wicked.

After her condemnation she was committed to the Sheriff, then newly chosen, who kept her in Prison all his year, and could by no means be forced to burn her, for which he was afterwards in great trouble; and hardly himself escape death.

Her behavior  
after her con-  
demnation.

During all the time of her imprisonment, she behaved her self so holily, and unblamably, that all that observed it, did much bewail that such a Woman as she should be put to death. At last a Writ coming down for her execution, she sent for her Friends, consulting with them, how she might behave her self, at the time of her death, so as might bring most glory to God, edification to his Church, and so as might most tend to the shame of her Adversaries. As for death, said she, *I fear it not, for when I behold the amiable countenance of Christ my dear Saviour, the ugly face of death doth not much trouble me*: She also reasoned most comfortably with them out of the Scriptures about Election, and Reprobation.

Death not  
feared.

The night before she was to suffer, some Priests sent to her that they were come to hear her confession; For they should be sorry that she should die without it. She returned answer, That she had made her confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose Hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As for the cause for which she was to die, she had no reason to confess that, but rather to praise God who counted her worthy to suffer death for his words sake: And as for that absolution, which they were authorized by the Pope to give her, she defied, and detested it from the bottom of her Heart.

The



The Priests having received this answer, *well*, said they, *to morrow her stoutness will be tried*; And so in great discontent they departed.

All the night she was wonderfull chearfull, and merry; yet with a certain gravity, so that the Majesty of Gods Spirit did wonderfully appear in her, which expelled the fear of death out of her Heart.

Comfort before death.

She spent her time in reading, prayer, and conferring with her Friends that came to comfort her.

About Three of the clock in the morning, Satan began to molest her; and to shoot his fiery darts against her, questioning with her, how she knew that she was elected to life, and that *Christ* died for her, &c.

Her temptations.

Those about her being made acquainted with it, bade her answer the Tempter in these words of *Paul*, which hath loved me, and given himself for me: Suggesting also that her vocation by the word was a manifest token of Gods love to her, especially Gods Spirit having wrought in her Heart, a love to God, and a desire to obey him in all things, &c. By this means, and especially by the comfortable promises of *Christ*, brought out of the Scriptures, Satan was put to flight, and she received much comfort.

Gal. 2. 20

At Eight a clock in the morning the Sheriff brought her word that she had but one hour to live in this world, and therefore, said he, *prepare your self as it stands you in hand*: This message so abruptly delivered, made her somewhat abashed: But a Friend standing by, said, *Mistress Lewis, you have cause to praise God, who so speedily will take you out of this miserable world; and make you worthy to be a witness to his truth, and to bear record unto Christ that he is the only Saviour*.

This so revived her, that she said: *Master Sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God, who accounts me worthy to lay down my life in his quarrel*.

When the Sheriff came for her, one of her Friends desired him to give him leave to go along with her to the Stake, which the Sheriff granted, for which he was afterwards much molested by some enemies of the truth. At the Stake she prayed earnestly Three times, and especially that God would abolish the Idolatrous Mass, to which almost all the multitude, and amongst them the Sheriff himself, cried *Amen*. Then taking a Cup of Beer, she said, *Drink to all them that unfeignedly love the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that wish the abolishment of Popery*: Her Friends pledged her, and a great number of People, especially of Women, for which afterwards they were enjoined penance.

Her Martyrdom.

Being tied with a Chain to the Stake, she looked with an exceeding chearful, and ruddy countenance, and stood so patiently, that the people much lamented for her, and with tears bewailed the Tyranny of her Popish Adversaries. When fire was set to her, she neither strived, nor struggled, but with her Hands lift up to Heaven, she quickly gave up the Ghost. Some cruel Papist suborned some to rail upon her, and one was appointed to write down the Names of her Friends, yet God wonderfully preserved them out of their Hands.

There was one *Ralph Allerton*, who coming into his Parish Church of *Bently* in *Essex*, and seeing the People idle, or ill employed there, he exhorted them to go to Prayer, whereunto they consented: And Prayer being ended, he read unto them a Chapter out of the New Testament: For which, being informed against, he was forced to hide himself in Woods, and other solitary places; but at last being apprehended, he was sent to *Bishop Bonner*, who by his subtil persuasions, and flatteries, so prevailed with this poor Man, that he drew him to recant his former profession, and so dismissed him.

Ralph Allerton.

But this base cowardize of his, brought him into such bondage and terror of Soul, and Conscience, and so cast him down, that if the Lord had not been exceeding gracious to him, he had perished for ever; but the Lord looking with the eyes of mercy, after he had chastened him, raised him up

Howe's story.

Howe's story.

Howe's story.

Howe's story.

Howe's story.

again, giving him not only hearty, and unfeigned repentance, but also a constant boldness to profess his Name, and Gospel even to the death.

This was quickly discovered by his Adversaries; whereupon he was apprehended, and again sent up to Bonner, at which time ensued this conference.

Bonner. *Ah Sirrah, how chance you are come hither again, I hope thou art accused wrongfully?*

Ralph. *Yea, my Lord, so I am, for I should be sorry to be guilty of such things as I am accused of.*

Bonners prophaneness.

Bonner. *By Saint Mary, it is well said, but let me hear what thou sayest?*

Ralph. *I desire to hear who are my Accusers? and what my accusation is?*

Bonner. *Wilt thou so? Before God, if thou hast not dissembled, thou needest not fear to answer for thy self; But tell me, didst thou not dissemble?*

Ralph. *If you will not produce mine Accusers, my Conscience constrains me to accuse my self; For I confess that I have grievously offended God, by my dissimulation at my last being before you, for which I am heartily sorry, as God knoweth.*

Bonner. *wherein didst thou dissemble?*

Ralph. *In that I set my Hand to a Writing, that I did believe all that the Catholick Church teacheth, &c. wherein I shamefully dissembled, in that I did not disclose my mind concerning the difference between the true, and untrue Church.*

Bonner. *Pray thee let me hear more of this gear; For I fear thou wilt smell of an Heretick anon. Which is the true Church as thou sayest? Is it not the Church of the Hereticks?*

Ralph. *I utterly abhor the Church of Hereticks, and the Church Catholick is that only which I imbrace, whose Doctrine is sincere, pure, and true.*

Bonner. *By Saint Austin, that is well said of thee: For by God Almighty, if thou hadst allowed the Church of the Hereticks, I would have burned thee: By our Lady, how say you Sirrah, which is the Catholick Church?*

Ralph. *Even that which hath received the joyful sound of Gods word.*

Bonner. *Thou sayest true before God; For that way which is taught in all Christendom, must needs be the true Catholick Church.*

Acts 20. 29.

Ralph. *My Lord, it's true, the Gospel hath been preached, and persecuted in all Lands, first in Jewry by the Scribes and Pharisees, then by the Roman Emperors, &c. and now also is the Apostle Pauls saying fulfilled, There shall come grievous Wolves among you, devouring the Flock.*

Bonner. *Now by the blessed Sacrament, thou art the rankest Heretick that ever came before me: Now by Saint All-hallows, thou shalt be burnt, thou whore-son Varlet, thou pricklunce Knaave, &c. And so after much more communication, he was sent to the Little-ease, and afterwards had Articles exhibited against him; to which he subscribed thus, Except it be proved otherwise by the holy Scriptures, I do affirm these Articles to be true. And so at last he was brought forth to his condemnation; where Bonner asked him what he had to say why Sentence should not be pronounced against him? To which he answered, You ought not to condemn me for an Heretick, seeing I am a good Christian. But go to, do as you have determined; For I see that truth is oppressed, and cannot find entertainment amongst you.*

His condemnation.

James Austoo, and Margery his Wife, and Richard Roth, Martyrs.

Then did the Bishop proceed to condemn him, and delivered him over to the secular power, by whom he was shortly after burned at *Islington*, together with *James Austoo*, and *Margery* his Wife, and *Richard Roth*: All which persons joyfully yielded up their Souls to God in the midst of the flames.

We have heard before of Ten godly Persons that were burnt together at *Colchester*, at which time there were Two other good Women, viz. *Margaret Thurston*, and *Agnes Bongier*, that should have suffered with them, but it pleased God



God thus to prevent it. *Margaret Thurston*, a little before they were to suffer, found a great trembling in her flesh; whereupon she went apart to make her earnest Prayer to God for his assistance; And in the mean time came the Jailor; and whilst she stepped aside to fetch her Psalter, he took forth the other Prisoner, and left her behind.

A special providence.

The other called *Agnes Bongier* was left behind, because her Name was mistaken in the Writ: *Agnes Bomyer*, for *Agnes Bongier*: But when upon that occasion she saw her self separated from the rest of her other Prison-Fellows: Oh what pitious moan that good Woman made? How bitterly she wept? What strange thoughts came into her mind? How naked, and desolate did she esteem her self without them? And how was she plunged into care, and despair? It was pittiful, and wonderful to see; And all because she did not with them, give her life in the defence of the truth, which she was fully prepared, and resolved to have done; and accordingly had that morning sent away her little Infant, which had sucked on her during her imprisonment till then: Yea such an ardent desire had she to be sacrificed with them, that death seemed far more welcome to her than life.

*Agnes Bongier* troubled, because she escaped Martyrdom.

In this her great perplexity, a godly Friend finding her, asked her, whether *Abrahams* obedience in purposing to offer up his Son unto God, was not as much accepted as if he had offered him? To which she thus answered, *I know that Abrahams will was as much accepted with God, as if he had done the deed, because he would have done it, if the Angel of the Lord had not stayed him. But in this I am unhappy, in that the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity; and therefore Abrahams case and mine are not alike. Why*, said her Friend, *would you not willingly have gone with your company, if the Lord had suffered it? Yea*, quoth she, *withal my heart, and because I did it not, it is now my great grief, and trouble.* Then said he, *My dear Sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thy self well, and thou shalt see that the case differs not at all. But alas*, quoth she, *there was a far greater matter in Abrahams trial, For he should have offered up his only Child; but so should not I. I know well*, said he, *that Abraham should have offered up his Son; And have not you*, said the other, *done the like by your sucking Babe? Consider also that whereas he was commanded but to offer his Son, you are heavy, and grieved because you offered not your self, which is more than Abrahams obedience, and therefore doubts not but it is accepted with God, &c.* After this discourse she was somewhat quieted, and wholly employed herself in reading, and prayer, wherein she found much comfort.

Presently after came a new Writ, for the burning of these Two good Women. When they came to the place of execution, they fell down upon their Knees, and made their humble, and hearty Prayers unto God; and so rising up, they went joyfully to the Stake, and being chained to it, and in the midst of the flames, with great rejoicing, and triumph they resigned up their Spirits unto God.

*Margaret Thurston, and Agnes Bongier, Martyrs.*

There was dwelling at *Laxefield* in the County of *Suffolk* one *John Noyes*, a Shoemaker, and a godly Man, whome some of his Popish spiteful Neighbors agreed amongst themselves to apprehend, and accordingly going to his House, they found him going out of Doors, and One of them calling to him, asked him whither he went? He answered, *To a Neighbors of mine*: To whom the other replied, *Your Master hath deceived you now, you must come, and go with us*: *Noyes* answered, *Take heed that your Master deceive not you.* So they took him, and carried him before the Justices, who after examination, sent him to *Eye-dungeon*, and after he had lien there a while, to the Bishop at *Norwich*: There he was examined about the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, &c. To which he answered, that he believed *Christs* Body to be in Heaven, and therefore not in the Sacrament: For which, Sentence was read against him by the Bishop. Afterwards a Brother in Law coming to comfort him

His condemnation.

him, asked him, Whether being to die so painful a death, he was not afraid of it, when the Bishop came to pass Sentence upon him? To which he answered, That he thanked God he feared it not at all. After this he was sent to *Laxefield* to be burned, and against the time of his burning, all the People in the Town had put out their Fires, only some smoak was spied in one Chimney; Whereupon the Sheriff and his Officers went to that House, and brake open the Doors, and so gat fire.

His Martyrdom.

*John Noyes*, when he came to the place of execution, kneeled down, and repeated the One and fiftieth Psalm, with some other Prayers: and being bound to the Stake, he said: *Fear not them that can kill the Body, but fear him that is able to cast both Body, and Soul into everlasting fire.* Seeing his Sister weep, and make moan for him: He bade her not to weep for him, but for her sins. Then took he up a Fagot, and kissed it, saying: *Blessed be God that ever I was born to come to this.* Then said he to the People, *They tell you, that they can make God of a piece of Bread, but believe them not. Good People, bear witness, that I believe to be saved by the passion, and merits of Jesus Christ alone, and not by mine own good works.* When the fire was kindled, he said: *Lord, have mercy upon me: Christ, have mercy upon me: Son of David have mercy upon me,* and so he yielded up the Ghost.

Cicely Ormes.

At the burning of Two godly Persons at *Norwich*, there was present one *Cicely Ormes*, who told them that she would pledg them of the same Cup that they drank of: For which she was apprehended, and carried before the Chancellor, who asked her, What it was that the Priest held up over his Head? She said, *Bread: and if you would make it any better, it is worse.* For this he sent her to Prison. Afterwards he sent for her again, and told her, that if she would go to Church, and hold her Tongue, she should be at liberty to believe as she listed: To whom she answered, *I will not consent to your wicked desire therein, do with me what you will: For if I should, God would plague me for it.* The Chancellor told her, that she was an ignorant, and foolish Woman, and that he had proffered her more favor then ever he shewed to any, but if she persisted in her wilfulness, he must condemn her. She answered, That she passed not for his threats, and that if he did proceed to it, he should not be so desirous of her sinful flesh, as she, through Gods grace, would be content to lay it down in so good a quarrel. Then read he the Bloody Sentence against her, and so delivered her to the secular power.

Her constancy.

Her former weakness.

Her recovery.

About a year before, she had been apprehended, but through weakness had recanted; after which she was never quiet in Conscience till she had utterly renounced all her Popish superstitions: And thereupon had gotten a Letter drawn up to certifie the Chancellor, that she repented of her recantation from the very bottom of her Heart, and would never do the like again whilst she lived: But before she could send this Letter, she was again apprehended, and dealt withal, as we have heard before.

Her Speech at death.

When she came to the Stake, she kneeled down, and prayed earnestly unto God: Then rising up, she said, *Good People, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, Three Persons and one God: This I will never recant. But I recant utterly from the bottom of my Heart, that I have ever been accessary to the doings of the Pope of Rome, and all his Popish Priests, and shavelings, whom I utterly renounce, and will never have to do with them again by Gods grace. And good People, I would not have you think, that I expect to be saved, because I offer my self here to death for the Lords cause; But I believe to be saved by the death, and passion of Jesus Christ: And this my death shall be a Testimony of my Faith to you all here present: Good People, as many of you as believe, as I do, pray for me.* When she came to the Stake, she kissed it, and said, *welcome the Cross of Christ: welcome the sweet Cross of Christ.* When the fire was kindled about her, she said,



said, *My Soul doth magnifie the Lord; and my Spirit doth rejoyce in God my Saviour*: and so casting up her Head, and Eyes towards Heaven, and holding up her Hands against her Breast, she there continued them till the sinews of her Arms brake, and then they fell down; and she yielded up her life unto the Lord as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, and as one feeling no pain.

Her Martyrdom.

In the Diocess of *Chichester* many godly Persons were persecuted, condemned, and burned for the truth.

About the same time, one *Thomas Spurdance*, a Servant of *Queen Maries*, was brought before the Chancellor of *Norwich*, who asked him, whether he had been with a Priest at confession? He answered, *No, he had confessed his sins to God, who promiseth that if a sinner confesseth, and forsaketh his sins, he shall have mercy; And that, saith he, is sufficient for me.*

Thomas Spurdance.

Chancellor. *When did you receive the Sacrament of the Altar?*

Spurdance. *I will not meddle with it as you use it: The Sacrament of the Lords Supper belongs to Christs Church; But you are none of Christs members; For you teach Laws contrary to Christs Laws.*

Chancellor. *Do'st thou not believe that after the words of Consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the same Body of Christ as was born of the Virgin Mary?*

Spurdance. *No; For that Body consisted of flesh, blood, and bones; and here is no such thing.*

Chancellor. *Thou art an Heretick; Thou deniest the Sacrament of the Altar.*

Spurdance. *If you will know how I believe: I believe, that if I come worthily, as God hath commanded me, to his holy Supper, I receive him by Faith, believing in him. But the Bread is not God: For God dwelleth not in temples made with Hands, neither will he be worshipped with the works of Mens Hands; Therefore you do very ill to make the People fall down, and worship the Bread.*

Chancellor. *Thou deniest Christs presence in the Sacrament.*

Spurdance. *The Servant is not greater then his Master: Your predecessors killed my Master Christ, the Prophets, and Apostles; and now you kill the Servants of Christ; so that all the righteous Blood, which hath been shed, shall be required at your Hands.* After this he was examined by the Bishop, and when he could not be removed from his steadfastness, he was condemned, and burnt in *Bury*.

His Martyrdom.

There were Three godly Men, viz. *John Hillingdal*, *William Sparrow*, and *Richard Gibson* brought before Bishop *Bonner*, and by him examined about the Sacrament of the Altar, and such like things, and they making a good confession before him, and adhering to the truth, were by him condemned, and delivered to the Secular power, by whom they were carried into *Smithfield*, and after their Prayers made unto God, they were there consumed in the fire.

John Hillingdal, William Sparrow, Richard Gibson, Martyrs.

About the same time were brought before *Bonner*, one *John Rough* a Minister, and *Margaret Mearing*. This *Rough* was born in *Scotland*, and at the age of Seventeen, entred into the Order of *Black Friars* at *Sterling*, where he remained Sixteen years, and then the Lord *Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, taking a liking to him, procured him to be dismissed thence to be his Chaplain; with him he remained one year, during which time it pleased God to open his Eyes, and to give him some knowledge of the truth; and thereupon the Earl of *Arran*, being governor of *Scotland*, sent him into *Ayre* to preach there: In that place he remained Four years, and then was appointed to abide in *Saint Andrews*, where he had a Pension of Twenty pounds *per annum*, from our King *Henry the Eighth*. But at last Master *Rough*, considering the danger wherein he lived, and from his Heart abhorring the Idolatry, and Superstition of his Country, and hearing of the freedom of the Gospel in *England* under King

John Rough and Margaret Mearing.

King Edward the Sixth, he resolved to tarry no longer in *Scotland*, and therefore presently after the Battel at *Muscleborough*, he went first to *Carlile*, and afterwards to the Duke of *Summerset*, Lord Protector of *England*, by whom he had a Pension of Twenty pounds *per annum* granted him out of the Kings Treasury, and was sent to preach at *Carlile*, *Barwick*, and *Newcastle*. At that time he married a Wife, and was Shortly after called by the Arch-Bishop of *York* to a Benefice neer *Hull*, where he continued till the death of King Edward.

Master Rough  
flies into  
*Friseland*.

His return in-  
to *England*.

He is chosen  
Pastor of a  
private  
Church.

His apprehen-  
sion.

In the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, seeing the alteration of Religion, and the Persecution that was like to ensue, fearing his own weakness, he took his Wife, and fled into *Friseland*, dwelling at *Norden*, where he labored hard for his living, knitting Caps, Stockings, &c! But when he lacked Yarn to employ himself about, he came over into *England* to make provision, and arrived at *London*, and hearing of the Congregation of Gods Faithful People, that met privately together, he joyned himself to them, and after a while was chosen their Pastor, and continued most faithfully to perform his Office amongst them, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the Gospel of *Christ*. But at length, he, with *Cuthbert Simpson*, and others, by the craft and treachery of a false Hypocrite, and dissembling Brother, were apprehended at an House in *Ipsington*, where the Church purposed to assemble themselves according to their custom for Prayer, and preaching the Word: Then were they carried before the Council, and after divers Examinations, they sent Master *Rough* to *Newgate*, and transmitted his Examinations to Bishop *Bonner*.

His courage  
and constancy.

*Bonner* minding to make quick dispatch, within Three days sent for Master *Rough* out of Prison, and examined him upon the usual Articles, as about the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. Master *Rough* answering to them according to the truth, was shortly after brought forth to his condemnation; At which time *Bonner* with many fair persuasions labored to withdraw him from the truth, and to draw him to make a recantation: But Master *Rough* justified his marriage, and said, That his Children begotten in Wedlock were Legitimate; That he detested the Mass, and other service used by them, and that if he should live as long as *Methuselah*, he would never come to Church to partake with them therein: Hereupon the Bishop proceeded to his degradation and condemnation, and so delivered him over to the Secular Power, who carried him back to *Newgate*.

*Bonnors* fury.

Whilest he was before the Bishop he told him that he thanked God he had lived Thirty years, in which he had never bowed his Knee to *Baal*; And that he had been twice at *Rome*, and there had seen that which he had often heard before; *Viz.* That the Pope was Antichrist: That he had seen him carried about upon Mens shoulders, and the false named Sacrament before him, and that the People shewed more reverence to the Pope, then to that which they accounted their God. *Bonner* hearing this, rose up in a rage, and said; *Hast thou been at Rome, and seen our Holy Father the Pope, and doest thou Blaspheme him on this sort?* And with that he flew upon him, and plucked off a piece of his Beard.

*Margaret*  
*Mearing*.

Their Martyr-  
dom.

At the same time when Master *Rough* was burnt, there was also burnt with him one *Margaret Mearing* against whom the Bishop having no particular charge, examined her upon the usual Articles; To which she answered in particular, adding that she would stand to the truth which she had professed even to the death; For saith she, *the very Angels in Heaven do laugh you to scorn, to see the abominations that you use in the Church*; Then did the Bishop condemn her, and so both of them ended their lives joyfully together in the fire.

Not long before Master *Roughs* apprehension, he went into *Smithfield*, to see the burning of *Austoo* before mentioned; And as he returned back, a Friend met him, and asked him where he had been? where said he? even where I would not for one of mine Eyes but I had been; For I have been to learn the



the way. Also, *Margaret Mearing*, after the apprehension of Master *Rough*, hearing that one *Sergeant* was suspected to have informed against him, she went to his House, and enquired whether one *Judas* did not dwell there? To whom they answered, that there dwelled none such there. No, said she, dwelleth not *Judas* here that betrayed *Christ*? His name is *Sergeant*, and so went her way. Shortly after seeing *Cluny* the Bishop of *Londons* Summoner going to her House, she followed him in, and asked him whom he sought for? Marry for you, said he, and so apprehended her, and carried her away.

*Cuthbert Simpson*, who was apprehended with Master *Rough*, was Deacon of the same Church, a faithful and zealous Man, laboring incessantly to preserve the Flock from the Errors of Popery, and to secure them from the danger of Persecution; yea, the pains, travel, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this Man was admirable: And it pleased God that a few nights before Master *Rough*, and he were apprehended, that Master *Rough* dreamed that *Cuthbert* was taken by Two of the Guard, and that he had about him the Book, wherein were contained the names of all that belonged to the Congregation, wherewith being much troubled, he awaked, and told his dream to his Wife, and afterwards falling asleep, he again had the same dream, and awaking said to his Wife, O Kate, *I cannot be quiet; I must get up, and go to my Brother Cuthbert*: But whilest he was making himself ready, *Cuthbert* came in, and brought that Book of names, and accounts of the Congregation with him. Then Master *Rough* told him his dreams, and charged him that he should no more carry that Book about him: *Cuthbert* answered, dreams are but fancies, and therefore I will not lay aside the Book. But Master *Rough* straitly charged him in the Name of the Lord to do it; whereupon *Cuthbert* left it with Master *Roughs* Wife, and within Two or three days after was carried to the Tower.

Having lain there a few days, the Constable of the Tower, and Recorder of *London* sent for him, and examined him of those which came to the *English* Service; To whom he answered; That he would declare nothing. Then they caused him to be cruelly racked upon an Iron rack, and asked him if he would yet tell them; But he still answered them as before; Then was he loosed, and carried to his lodging again. The Sabbath following they sent for him again, examining him as before; But he still refused to answer. Then the Lieutenant swore by God, that he should confess, and so caused his Two Fore-fingers to be tied together, and an Arrow betwixt them, and then drew forth the Arrow so violently, that the Blood followed; and when that prevailed not, they racked him twice; and he still remaining constant, they sent him to his Prison.

Afterwards the Lieutenant came to him again, and asked him, Whether he would yet confess? He answered, that he had said as much as he would. Then was he sent to *Bonner*, At whose Hands said he, I received the Popes curse, for bearing witness to the truth of *Christ*.

*Bonner* before all the people said thus of him. You see this Man what a personable Man he is; and for his patience, if he were not an Heretick, I should much commend it: For he hath been Thrice racked in one day, and in my House he hath indured some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience once moved.

The night before this blessed Martyr *Cuthbert Simpson* was condemned by *Bonner*, he lying in the Stocks in the Bishops *Coal-house*, a little before midnight, heard as he thought, one coming and unlocking the First, Second, and Third doors, and though he neither saw Torch nor Candle, yet he saw a great light in the prison; and he that came in said to him, *Ah*, and so vanished; This brought exceeding joy and comfort to his soul, as himself related to sundry persons afterwards.

*Cuthbert Simpson.*

*Master Rough dreams.*

*A special providence.*

*He is racked cruelly.*

*Popish cruelty.*

*His Patience.*

*A special providence.*

Hugh Fox,  
John Devenish,  
Their Martyr-  
dom.

William Ni-  
chols.

William Sea-  
man, Thomas  
Carman, Tho-  
mas Hudson.  
Martyrs.

Gods judg-  
ment on a  
Persecutor.

The next day he was brought before the Bishop in his Consistory, and charged with sundry Articles; To which he made a clear and full answer; whereupon he was condemned. There were also condemned with him at the same time, one *Hugh Fox*, and *John Devenish*, who also were apprehended with him at *Islington*; And so these blessed Servants of *Jesus Christ* were burned together in *Smithfield*, finishing their lives with much constancy and joy.

About the same time, there was one *William Nichols* apprehended by the Instruments of Satan at *Haverford-west* in *Wales*, who was also condemned, and burnt there.

Presently after *William Seaman*, *Thomas Carman*, and *Thomas Hudson*, were apprehended in *Norfolk*: The Persecutor of them was Sir *John Tyrel*, who charged his servants to search for *Seaman*; one of which, named *Robert Baldwin*, was neighbour to *Seaman*, and one in whom he put much confidence, yet did this treacherous person, together with his other fellow, to gratifie their Master, search *Seamans* House in the night-time; and finding him at home, they carried him presently away to their Master: As they went on the way, a strange light fell from the Element betwixt them, and parted them: After which *Baldwin*, though at that time in his best age, never after enjoyed good day, but pined away till he died.

When he came before Sir *John Tyrel*, he asked him, Why he did not go to Mass, and receive the Sacrament, and worship it? *Seaman* answered, Because it was no Sacrament, but an Idol, and therefore he would not worship it: Then did *Tyrel* send him away to *Norwich* to Bishop *Hopton*, who after Examination, condemned him.

*Thomas Carman* was apprehended, for that he pledged *Richard Crasbfield*, at the time of his burning: For this cause, being examined by the Bishop, and adhering constantly to the truth, he also was condemned.

*Thomas Hudson* was by occupation a Glover, and it pleased God to enlighten him with the truth, he applied himself to learn to read, and profited much in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and considering the danger that he was in, he absented himself from his House, travelling from one place to another, as occasion was offered. At last he returned home to visit and comfort his Wife and Children: But perceiving that his abode there would be dangerous, he devised with his Wife, to make him a place amongst his Fagots to hide himself in, in which place he remained all day long, reading, and praying continually for the space of about half a year: At last came the Vicar of the Town to the Woman, enquiring for her Husband, and threatening to burn her, if she would not betray him to them: When *Hudson* understood this, he waxed every day more valiant, and zealous than other, continually praying, reading, and singing of *Psalms*, to the wonder of many, the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations, and vehement prayers. At last he walked openly about the Town, inveighing against the Mass, and other Popish trumpery; And afterwards returning home, he fell upon his Knees, and spent Three days, and nights in praying, reading, and singing of *Psalms*. But the Constables being provoked by one of his Popish neighbors, went one morning to apprehend him.

Hudsons ap-  
prehension.

When *Hudson* saw them come in, he said: *Now mine hour is come: welcome Friends, welcome, you are they that will lead me to live with Christ, for which I thank God, and the Lord enable me thereunto, for his mercy sake in Christ Jesus: For it had been long his desire, and prayer, that if it were the Lords will, he might lay down his life for the Gospels sake.* Then they took him, and carried him to the Vicar, who was a Commissary, who asked him if he did not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar? *Hudson* answered, That it was wormes meat, and that he did believe in *Christ* crucified. *Do'st not*, said the other, *believe the Mass to put away sins?* *God forbid*, said *Hudson*, *for it is a patched Monster, and a disguised puppet.*



*puppet.* This so enraged the Vicar, that he stamped, fumed, and called him villain, &c. Afterwards he asked Hudson whether he would recant: *The Lord forbid,* said Hudson, *I had rather die many deaths than so do so.* Then did he lend him to *Norwich* to the Bishop, and all the way as he went, he sung *Psalms*, and was very merry: He lay in prison about a moneth, spending all his time in reading, and invoking the name of God, and so at last was condemned.

These Three godly persons being carried out to Execution together, when they came to the Stake, made their humble prayers to Almighty God: after which, being chained to the Stake, *Thomas Hudson* suddenly slipped out from under the Chain, to the wonder of many, divers fearing lest he would have recanted. His Two Friends at the Stake cried out to comfort him all that they could, exhorting him in the Bowels of *Christ* to be of good cheer, &c. But *Hudson* felt more in his Heart, than they knew of: For (poor Soul) he was full of grief, and heaving of mind, not for fear of death, but for lack of feeling his *Christ*: And therefore being much troubled, he went aside, and fell down upon his Knees, praying most vehemently, and earnestly to the Lord, who at last, according to his wonted mercies, sent him comfort: And then he arose joyfully, as a Man new raised from death to life, and said, *Now I thank God, I am strong, and pass not what Man can do unto me:* And so returning to his fellows at the Stake, they all joyfully suffered together, yielding up their spirits with much constancy, and comfort to the Lord.

*Commissary Berry*, which had a great hand in the death of these, and divers other godly persons, was a very vicious Man in his life and conversation, was a great swearer, and a Whoremaster, persecuting the godly, and compelling Men to Idolatry: But though the Lord had Leaden Feet, yet he had Iron Hands, and at last found him out by a terrible judgment: For on a Sabbath-day this *Berry* having made a great Feast, after Dinner went into his Chamber, and there continued with his Whore till even-song, and then went to Church and admistred the Sacrament of *Baptism*. But as he came out of the Church, he fell down suddenly to the ground, with an heavy groan, and never stirred after, nor shewed so much as one sign of repentance. About the same time also *Dannings* the Chancellor, a merciless Tyrant, died suddenly, as the other had done before him.

About the same time *Joane Seaman*, Mother to the said *William*, being about Sixty six years old, was cruelly persecuted by Sir *John Tyrel*, so that she was forced to forsake her House, and many times to lie in Bushes, Groves, and Fields: Thus she continued for some time, till her Husband, being Eighty years old, fell sick, which she hearing of, returned home, not regarding her own safety so much as the faithful performance of her duty to her Husband, whom she carefully attended, till it pleased God to take him away by death: Then by Gods providence, she fell sick, and shortly after departed this life in her own House, whereby she was delivered from the rage of her merciless enemies; yet such was their malice, that they would not suffer her to be buried with Christian burial, but her Friends were fain to put her into an Hole by a Motes-side.

Also in the Town of *wetherset*, there was one Mother *Barnet*, a good Woman, who was persecuted out of the Town, for not going to Mass, &c. Yet at last she returned privately to her own House, and there sickned, and departed this life joyfully, and being denied Burial, was laid in a Grave by the Highway side. She was very merciful to the poor, and her Husband once merrily saying to her, that if she had been sparing, they might have been much richer; she answered, Alas good Husband, be content, let us be thankful, God hath given us enough: I cannot hoard up, and see the poor want, and thereby displease God: But Husband, let us be rich in good works, and so shall we please the Lord, and have all good things given us.

William Har-  
rk, Richard  
Day, and Chri-  
stian George,  
Martyrs.

A Proclama-  
tion against  
good books.

Godly persons  
apprehended.

Roger Holland.

A Prophecie.

Their Martyr-  
dom.

Immediately after there were Three other godly persons, *William Har-  
rk, Richard Day, and Christian George* a Woman, imprisoned, and condemned at Col-  
chester: When they were brought to the Stake, they poured out their fervent  
prayers to God, and in the midst of the flames, triumphed over their enemies,  
praising God, and dying chearfully.

In the moneth of June, *Anno Christi. 1558.* came out a sharp Proclama-  
tion against good Books, either brought from beyond seas, or printed in this  
Realm, that whosoever should be found to have any of those Books, or  
having them, do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing, or reselling  
them to any other person, should be reputed, and taken for a rebel, and shall  
be presently executed for that offence, according to the order of Marshal  
Law.

Shortly after this Proclamation, Forty godly Men, and Women, were ap-  
prehended together in a back close, near *Islington* to pray, and read Gods holy  
word: And whilst they were together, there came a Man, and looking over  
the Hedge, saluted them, saying, That they looked like persons that meant no  
hurt, and so departed. Within a quarter of an hour after came the Constable  
of *Islington*, with Six, or Seven Armed Men in his company. These he left in  
a private place near at hand, and with only one in his company, he went a-  
mongst them, viewing them, and what Books they had, commanding them  
to deliver their Books to him: They understanding that he was the Constable,  
refused not to do it. Then came forth the other Armed Men, commanding  
them to stand, and not depart: They answered, That they would be obedient,  
and ready to go whether they would carry them. Then were they led to Sir  
*Roger Chomley*, the Recorder of *London*. By the way some of the Women esca-  
ped, and more might, if they had listed. The Recorder after examination, sent  
them to *Newgate*, and if they would have heard Mass, they might have been  
delivered; But they refused, and therefore at last were brought before *Bonner*;  
who after examination finding them constant, condemned them, and Thirteen  
of them were burnt in *Smithfield*. and Six at *Brinsford*.

Amongst these godly persons, there was one *Roger Holland*, who had much  
bickering with *Bonner*, who in conclusion said thus unto him: *God hath heard  
the prayers of his servants, which have been poured forth with many tears for the  
afflicted Saints, whom you have daily persecuted, as you do us now: But this I dare  
be bold in God to speak (which by his Spirit I am moved to say) that God will shorten  
your cruelty, so that for a time you shall not molest his Church: And, dear Brethren,  
that you may perceive the truth of this, know that after this day, in this place,  
there shall not any by him be put to the trial of Fire, and Fagot: Which accor-  
dingly came to pass; For they were the last that were burnt in Smithfield for the  
testimony of the truth.*

*Bonner* hearing this, said, *I perceive, Roger, thou art as mad in thy Heresie,  
as ever thou wast; and now in thy anger thou wouldst become a railing Prophet: But  
though thou, and all thy companions, would see me hanged, yet I shall love to  
burn you, yea, and will burn every one of you, that come into my Hands; and so he  
departed.*

Then *Roger* exhorted the people to repent, and to think well of them that  
suffered for the testimony of the Gospel, adding moreover, that God would short-  
en those cruel, and bloody days, for his elect sake.

Upon the day that they suffered, a Proclamation was made that none should  
speak to, or talk with them, or touch them upon pain of imprisonment without  
bail, with divers other cruel threatnings. Yet did the people cry out, desiring  
God to strengthen them. They also prayed for the people, that God would send  
them his word. Then *Roger* embracing the Stake, said, *Lord, I humbly thank  
thee, that thou hast called me from the state of death, to the light of thy Heavenly  
word, and now also to the fellowship of thy Saints, that I may sing, and say, Holy,  
Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts. Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit. Lord,  
bless*



blest these thy people, and save them from Idolatry. And so with his fellows praying and praising God, they sweetly ended their lives in the flames.

Amongst the Six that suffered at *Braintree*, was one *William Pake*, who whilst he was at liberty about Midsummer time, and at Noon day took his Bible, and going into his Garden, sat down abroad upon it. When suddenly there fell Four drops of fresh Blood upon his Book, he not knowing whence it came: Whereupon he called his Wife, and shewed them to her, saying, I well perceive, the Lord will have Blood: His will be done, and God grant the Grace to a *holy* *trial*, and so they went to prayer: And not long after he was apprehended, and burnt, as you have heard before.

Amongst these persons apprehended at *Wilmington*, was one *Thomas Hincham*, a young Man of about Twenty years old, whom *Bonner*, after sundry examinations, took him to *Fulham*, and there also he labored to pervert him from the truth; and not prevailing, he kept him in the Stocks, and sent Doctor *Harpfield*, his Arch-Deacon to him; who after much reasoning, fell into a great chafe, asking him if he thought that he went about to damn his Soul: *Hincham* answered, that he was persuaded, that they went about to uphold their dark and devillish Kingdom; and that they did it not out of any love to the truth. This so enraged *Harpfield*, that he went, and complained to the Bishop of him, who thereupon sent for *Thomas Hincham* into his Garden, and there in an Arbor caused him to put down his Breeches, and the Bishop having gotten Two Willow Rods, fell a whipping of him till he was out of breath, and till he had wasted one of the Rods upon him, and so returned him to Prison: But not long after, it pleased God that this *Hincham* fell sick of a Fever, and being more like to die than live, the Bishop by importunity, was prevailed with, to let him go home to his Master [Master *Pugson* in *Pauls Church-yard*,] where he remained sick for the space of a year, and in the mean time *Queen Mary* died, and thereby he escaped burning.

Amongst the aforelaid persons apprehended at *Wilmington*, there was also one *John Willes*, who was by *Bonner* first set in the Stocks in his *Coalhouse*, and then removed to *Fulham*, where he was kept in the Stocks also, and often examined: The Bishop having a Stick in his Hand, wherewith he often rapped him on the Head, and flirled him under the Chint, and on the Ears: And when this prevailed not, he had him into his Orchard, and there wasted a rod upon him to the stumps, and then called for another: After which he returned him to Prison. And many times examined him, and amongst other talk said to him: Ye call me *Bloody Bonner*, A vengeance on you all: I would fain be rid of you, but I think you have a delight in burning: But if I might have my will, I would sow up your mouths, and put you in sacks, and so drown you.

On a time *Bonner* came to the Stocks, where he lay, saying, How like you your lodging, and fare? *Willes* answered: well, if it would please God, that I might have a little straw to lye upon. Whilst they were talking together came in *Willes* his Wife great with Child, and near her count, intreating the Bishop for her Husband, and said, That she would not go out of his House, but there lay her Belly, except her Husband might go with her. Then said *Bonner* to *Willes*: How sayest thou, thou Heretick, if thy wife, and her Child should miscarry, and perish, dost not thou think that their Blood would be required at thy Hands? In brief, the Bishop could not be rid of the Woman, and therefore fearing lest she should cry out in his House, he was at last content upon easie terms to release him: Yet would he have a Kinsman of *Willes* to pass his word to bring him before him again the next day, or else, saith he, thou art an Heretick as well as he. The Man having no greater a charge than that, neglected to bring him: Yet shortly after *Willes* of his own accord went to him, and there subscribing a paper which had no great matter in it, was dismissed.

Master *Richard Teomans*, a godly Minister, who had been formerly Curate under Doctor *Taylor* at *Hadley*, and was by him left to supply his place

place when he was removed from it. But after a while he was put out of that place.

He was a very holy old Man, of the age of Seventy, was well seen in the Scriptures, and being put out of *Hadley*, he went up and down from place to place, exhorting all Men to stand faithfully to Gods word, and earnestly to give themselves to prayer, and to prepare themselves for the patient bearing of the Cross; with boldness to confess the truth before their Adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the Crown of everlasting happiness: But at last, perceiving that his Adversaries lay in wait for him, he went into *Kent*, selling Points, Pins, and Laces, and such trifles to get something wherewith to maintain himself, his poor Wife, and Children. At last a Justice of Peace, one Master *Moyle*, took him, and laid him in the Stocks, but after a while, having no evident matter against him, released him.

Then returned he secretly to *Hadley*, and abode with his poor Wife, locked up in a Chamber for about a Twelvemonth together, spending much of his time in reading, and prayer, and the rest in carding Wool, which his Wife did spin, and by such like poor means they maintained themselves.

At length the Parson of the Parish perceived that this good old Man was thus kept private by his Wife: And therefore taking some Officers with him, in the night-time he brake open the doors, and searching the House, found Father *Teomans* in Bed with his poor Wife, and Children; whereupon in an anger he said, *I thought I should find a Knave, and an whore together, and withal would have pulled off the Bed-clothes: But Father Teomans held fast, saying, Neither Knave nor Whore, but a married Man and his Wife, according to Gods ordinance, and blessed be God for lawful Matrimony. I thank God for this favor, and I despise the Pope, and all his Popery.* Then had they him away to the Cage, and there set him in the Stocks.

*John Dale.*

*His Zeal.*

In the same place there was one *John Dale*, who had lain Two or Three days there: The occasion was this: He had been present at Church, when the Parson and his Curate were at their *Ramish* Service, and the poor Man being offended at it, in the fervency of his Spirit, said, *O miserable, and blind guides, will you ever be Blind leaders of the Blind? will you never amend, and see the truth of Gods word? will neither the threats, nor promises of God work upon your Hearts? will the Blood of the Martyrs nothing mollifie your stony Spirits? O obdurate, hard-hearted, perverse, and crooked Generation! O damnable persons, whom nothing can do good upon!* For this the Parson caused him to be laid in the Stocks.

*Popish cruelty.*

The next day the Parson called hard upon Sir *Henry Doile* to send them both to Prison. Sir *Henry* earnestly labored to perswade the Parson, they being so old, to let them go with that punishment: But the Parson was restless till he had gotten a Warrant, whereby he sent them both to *Bury* Goal. As they went, they were carried pinioned, and bound like Thieves: And when they came thither, because they continually reproved Popish practices, they were thrown into the lowest Dungeon.

*Dale dies in Prison.*

In that place *John Dale*, by reason of evil keeping, felt sick, and died, and his body was buried in the Fields. After this Father *Teomans* was removed to *Norwich* Prison, where he was still used very cruelly. At last he was examined of his Faith: And he boldly, and constantly confessed, that he was of that Faith, which was set forth by King *Edward* the Sixth of blessed memory; from which he would in no wise vary. And being commanded to submit himself to the Pope, he answered; *I despise him, and all his detestable abominations: Yea, I will have nothing to do with him, nor with anything that appertains to him:* For this he was degraded, condemned, and burnt at *Norwich*.

*Teomans his Martyrdom.*

*John Alcock.*

There was living also in *Hadley* a young Man called *John Alcock*, by trade a Shearman, who after the Martyrdom of Doctor *Taylor* used in the Church of *Hadley* to read the Service in *English* till the coming of Parson *Newhall* thither:

After



After which, this *Alcock* being in the Church when the Parson was going by with the Proceſſion, *Alcock* neither moved his Hat, nor ſhewed any reverence to it: Which the Parſon taking notice of, ran to him, laid Hands on him, and called for the Conſtable, commanding him to have him to the Stocks: The Conſtable happened to be his Maſter, and told the Parſon that he ſhould not go to the Stocks, but ſhould be forth coming, and ſo the Parſon went on in his Proceſſion: The Conſtable told *Alcock* that he was ſorry for him, that if he behaved not himſelf wiſely the Parſon would effect his deſtruction. *Alcock* answered, Sir, I am ſorry that I am a trouble to you: But as for my ſelf I am not ſorry, but I commit my ſelf into the Hands of God; who, I truſt, will give me a mouth, and wiſdom to answer according to the truth. Yet, ſaith the Conſtable, take heed of him, for he is a Bloodſucker, and will uſe you the worſe for my ſake, againſt whom he hath an old grudge.

His Faith

I fear not, ſaith *Alcock*; He can do no more than God will give him leave, and happy ſhall I be, if God will call me to die for his truths ſake.

Then went they to the Parſon, who ſaid to him: Fellow, what ſayeſt thou to the Sacrament of the Altar? I ſay, quoth *Alcock*, as you uſe the matter, you make a ſhameful Idol of it, and you are falſe Idolatrous Priests, even all of you. I told you, quoth the Parſon, that he was a ſtout Heretick: And ſo the next day he carried him to London, where he was clapt up in Newgate, and after many examinations, and troubles, becauſe he would not ſubmit to ask forgiveness of the Pope, nor to be reconciled to the Romiſh Church, he was caſt into the lower Dungeon, where by reaſon of his cruel handling, and evel keeping, he contracted a ſickneſs whereof he died; Yet then did not their malice end towards him: For they would not ſuffer him to be buried with honeſt, and decent Burial: But put him into an hole in the Fields.

He died in Prison.

Maſter *Thomas Benbridge*, a Gentleman in the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, who might have lived a pleaſant and honorable life in this world, yet choſe rather, through the ſtrate gate of perſecution to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: For which end he manfully ſtood for the defence of the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt* againſt Popiſh ſuperſtitious: And therefore being apprehended, was carried before Doctor *White*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who examined him upon ſundry Articles: As about Auricular confeſſion: The real preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, &c. To all which he made a ſtout answer according to the truth, and was condemned for the ſame. When he was brought by the Sheriff to the place of execution, he put off his Apparel, which was very rich, and be- took himſelf to fervent prayer unto God: When he was faſtened to the Stake, one Doctor *Seaton* willed him to recant, and he ſhould have his pardon: But he rejected it, like a faithful Souldier of *Jeſus Chriſt*. The Doctor turned to the people, and bad them not to pray for him any more than they would pray for a Dog. Maſter *Benbridge* ſtanding at the Stake, with his Hands liſt up to Heaven, the Doctor again urged him to recant: To whom he ſaid, *Away Babylonian, away*. Then was the Fire kindled which burnt off a piece of his Beard, yet was he nothing moved with it: Then the Fire took hold of his Legs, and his Stockings being of Leather, the pain was ſo grievous that he cried out, I recant: At which words, ſome of his Friends plucked away the Fire, and the Sheriff returned him to Priſon again: But it pleaſed God ſo to awaken his conſcience, that recanting his recantation, he was that day *Sevensnight* carried to the Fire again, and there burned.

Mr. Thomas Benbridge

His weakness

His recovery, and Martyrdom

Shortly after Four godly Perſons, viz. *John Cook*, *Robert Miles*, *Alexander Lane*, and *James Aſbley* were examined before the Biſhop of *Norwich*: The chief matter alledged againſt them was, for not going to Church: And when they had given a good account of their Faith, they were condemned and burned together at *Saint Edmundsbury* not long before the ſickneſs of *Queen Mary*.

John Cook, Robert Miles, Alexander Lane, James Aſbley, Martyrs

About

Alexander  
Gouge, and  
Alice Driver.

About the same time *Alexander Gouge*, and *Alice Driver* were hunted after by one Master *Noone*, a Justice in *Suffolk*, so that for their safety they were fain to hide themselves in an Haymow: But the Justice with his Men coming to it, and striking Pitchforks into the Mow, at last discovered them, and sent them to *Melton Gaol*, where after they had lain a time, they were removed to *Bury*, and there at the Assizes, they boldly confessed *Christ* crucified, defying the Pope with all his superstitious trash: And *Alice Driver* compared Queen *Mary* in her persecution to *Jesabel*, for which the Judge caused her Ears presently to be cut off, which she joyfully suffered, thinking her self happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Name of *Christ*.

Alice Drivers  
courage and  
zeal.

Their Martyr-  
dom.

After this they were removed to *Ipswich*, and there examined before Doctor *Spenser*, Chancellor of *Normich*. The chief matter that they insisted upon was about *Christs* presence in the Sacrament, wherein *Alice Driver* did so baffle them, that they had nothing to say: Whereupon she thus concluded, God be praised, you are not able to resist the Spirit of God in me a poor Woman. I was an honest poor Mans Daughter, and never brought up in the University, as ye have been; yet in the defence of Gods truth, and in the cause of my Master *Christ*, by his grace, I will set my Foot against the Foot of any of you all in maintenance of the same, and if I had a Thousand lives, they should all go in payment thereof. Then did the Chancellor condemn her, and delivered her to the Secular Power. *Gouge* also sticking fast to the truth, was condemned, and so both of them ended their lives sweetly together in the Fire at *Ipswich*. When the Chain was fastened about *Alice Drivers* Neck, O said she, *Here is a goodly Handkerchief, God be praised for it.*

Gods judg-  
ment on a per-  
secutor.

Philip Hum-  
phry, John Da-  
vid, and Henry  
David Mar-  
tyrs.  
A poor Wo-  
man.

As they stood at the Stake, some came to take them by the Hand; whereupon the Sheriff bad his Men to lay Hands on them; But thereupon there came such a multitude to them, that the Sheriff was fain to let them alone.

There was one *Bate*, a Barber, that was a very busie Man about burning of them; But presently after Gods judgment fell upon him, so that within Three or Four Weeks after he died in much miserie.

The same Moneth that Queen *Mary* died, there were burned at *Bury* Three godly Persons, whose Names were *Philip Humphry*, *John David*, and *Henry David*, his Brother.

There lived in *Cornwal* an honest poor Woman, whose Husband was much addicted to the Popish Superstitions practised in those days, and would force his Wife to joyn with him in the same, which was a great trouble to her Spirit; whereupon she prayed earnestly unto God for his mercy, and direction, and it pleased God that one night as she lay in her Bed, she received abundance of joy, and comfort in her Soul; insomuch as leaving Husband and Children, to enjoy the peace of her Conscience, she went about spinning for her Living, yet at last she returned to her Husband again. Where after a while she was accused by her Neighbors, apprehended and carried to *Exceter* to the Bishop.

Christ prefer-  
red before all.

A Prophecie.

The chief matter for which she was condemned was, for denying the real presence, and speaking against their Idolatry: The Bishop bad her remember her Husband and Children: She answered, *I have them, and I have them not; whilst I was at liberty, I enjoyed them; But now standing here, as I do in the cause of Christ, and his truth, where I must either forsake Christ or my Husband, I am content to stick to Christ only, my heavenly Spouse, and to renounce the other.* The Bishop after much other talk, gave her a Moneths liberty to bethink her self; In which time she, going into one of the Churches, saw a *Dutchman* making new Noses to many Images, which had been defaced in King *Edwards* time; To whom she said, *what a mad Man art thou to make new Noses for those Images, which within a few days will lose their Heads?* For this being complain-  
ed.



ed of to the Bishop, she was clapt up close Prisoner, and had no more liberty. During her Imprisonment she was tried by great sufferings, threatnings, <sup>Great tortures,</sup> taunts and scoffs, called Anabaptist, a mad Woman, a Drunkard, a Whore, <sup>a one infected,</sup> a Runnagate: She was tried by liberty, to go whither she would; she was tried by flattery, and many fair promises; she was tried with Husband, goods, and Children; yet nothing would prevail: Her Heart was fixed; she had cast Anchor, and utterly contemned this wicked World, with all the baits and allurements of it: She was wholly without Learning, yet so versed in the Scriptures, <sup>Her knowledge in the Scriptures,</sup> that she could not only fitly and appositely quote them, but name the Book and Chapter also.

Her Adversaries seeing that by no means they could remove her from her constancy, at last condemned her, and delivered her to the Secular Power. Then did the Gentlemen of the Country exhort her yet to call for grace, and to forsake her fond opinions, and so to return to her Husband and Children: For, said they, *Thou art an ignorant woman, and these things are to high for thee to meddle withal: I am,* said she, *indeed, and yet with my death I am content to be a witness of Christs death; and I pray you delay me no longer; my Heart is fixed, I will never say otherwise than I have, nor turn to their superstitious doings.* Then said the Bishop, *The Devil leadeth her; No, my Lord,* quoth she, *it is Gods Spirit that leadeth me.* When she heard her sentence of death pronounced, she lifted up her voice, saying, *I thank thee, my Lord, my God, This day, I have found that which I have long sought for.* Then was she again promised Life if she would recant: *Nay, that I will not,* said she, *God forbid, that for this natural and temporary life, I should lose Life eternal; I will never turn from my Heavenly Husband to my Earthly; from the fellowship of Angels to mortal Children: And if my Husband and Children be faithful, then am I theirs; God is my Father, God is my Mother, God is my Sister, my Brother, my Kinsman; God is my Friend, and that most faithful.* Then was she led forth to execution, multitudes of people going with her. At the place where she was to suffer, the Popish Priests again set upon her; But she prayed them to speak no more to her, and then said, *God, be merciful to me a sinner; God, be merciful to me a sinner.* <sup>Her Martyrdom,</sup> In the flames she stood with admirable patience, and so finished her course with joy; she had such a cheerful and lively countenance, as though she had been prepared for the day of her Marriage, was very patient in her words and answers: She had always been sober in meat, drink, and apparel; she would never be idle, and was a great comfort to as many as talked with her, liberal to the poor, according to her ability, and in her trouble would take no money when it was proffered her; For, said she, *I am going to a City, where money beareth no mastery; And whilst I am here, God hath promised to feed me.* <sup>Her charity: Money contented.</sup>

In the City of *Bristol*, there was one *Richard Sharp*, a Weaver, who being <sup>Richard Sharp,</sup> apprehended for Religion, was carried before Doctor *Daly* the Chancellour; who after examination about the Sacrament of the Altar, so wrought upon him by perswasions, that he drew from him a promise to make a publike recantation, and the time and place were appointed for it: But after this promise, <sup>Humane infirmity.</sup> *Sharp* felt such an Hell in his Conscience, that he was not able to follow any business, but decayed in his Body, and wholly lost his colour: Whereupon on a Sabbath, going to his Parish Church, he went to the Quire-door, and with a loud voice said, *Neighbours, bear me record, that yonder idol, pointing to the Altar, is the greatest and most abominable that ever was, and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God.* Hereupon the Constable was commanded to apprehend him; but he let him alone, and *Sharp* went home to his House; yet afterwards was he apprehended in the night, and carried to prison, and continuing constant, was by <sup>Recovery,</sup> the Chancellor condemned, and burnt, which he patiently endured, sealing the truth with his Blood. <sup>His Martyrdom.</sup>

At the same time there was burned with him another Citizen of *Bristol*, <sup>Thomas Hale,</sup> called *Thomas Hale*, whom Two of the Aldermen fetched out of his House in the night,

night; To whom he said, You have sought my Blood these Two years, and now much good do it you. He was condemned by *Dalby* for saying, that the Sacrament of the Altar was an Idol; and patiently yielded up his Spirit unto God in the flames.

Thomas Benson.

Also *Thomas Benson* of the same City, Weaver, was apprehended, and examined before *Dalby*, and by him was committed to prison, for saying, That the Sacrament was nothing but Bread, as they used it; and for denying Five of their Seven Sacraments: And shortly after he was condemned, and executed, dying in a godly, constant, and patient manner.

John Cornford, Christopher Brown, John Hurst, Alice Snot, and Katherine Knight, the last Martyrs in Queen Marys days.

The last that suffered Martyrdom in Queen *Maries* time, were Five godly Persons at *Canterbury*; Their Names were, *John Cornford*, *Christopher Brown*, *John Hurst*, *Alice Snot*, and *Katherine Knight*. The things for which they were persecuted and condemned were, for denying *Christs* real presence in the Sacrament of the Altar; and for saying, that wicked Men do not receive *Christs* Body; That it was Idolatry to creep to the Cross; That Saints should not be prayed to, &c. When sentence of condemnation was read against them, *John Cornford* being moved in Spirit with a vehement zeal for God, in the Name of himself and his fellows, said: *In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his Holy Spirit, and authority of his Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church; we do here give into the Hands of Satan to be destroyed, the Bodies of all those Blasphemers, and Hereticks, that do maintain any Error against his most holy word, or that do condemn his most holy Truth for Heresie, to the maintenance of any false Church or feigned Religion; so that by this thy most just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy Adversaries, thy true Religion may be known to thy great glory, and our comfort, and to the edification of all our Nation: Good Lord, So be it, Amen.* And this Excommunication of his, took such effect against the enemies of the Truth, that within Six days after Queen *Mary* died, and the Tyranny of all English Papists with her: Yet the Arch-Deacon and his Associates condemned, and hastried the Execution of these godly persons, knowing that the Queen was sick past recovery. When they came to the place of their Execution, they made their prayers to Almighty God, and amongst all other things, desired God that their Blood might be the last that should be shed; wherein God answered their prayers, and they joyfully and comfortably in the fire resigned up their Spirits unto God.

Popish persecutors excommunicated.





## CHAP. IX.

*The Scourging of some in the Reign of Queen Mary.*

Mongst those that were persecuted, and miserably imprisoned for the profession of *Christ* in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, there was one *John Fetty*, a godly Man, dwelling in the Parish of *Clerkenwel*, who was accused, and complained of to the Parson of the Parish by his own Wife, for that he went not to Church, nor would partake of their Idolatrous Services: Whereupon the Parson caused the Constables to apprehend him. But it pleased God that his unnatural Wife, immediately upon it, fell mad; and the Constables were so far moved with pity, that they let him go home to look to his Wife, and Children, who otherwise were like to perish: And this good Man (forgetting the unkind and wicked Act of his Wife) was very careful of her, and so cherished and provided for her, that through Gods mercy, she was well amended, and recovered her wits again, within the space of about Three weeks. Yet such was the power of Satan in this wicked and malicious Womans Heart, that so soon as she was recovered, not regarding her Husbands kindness, she again accused him; whereby he was apprehended, and cast into *Lollards Tower*; where he was put into the tormenting Stocks, with a Dish of water, and a stone in it set by him, to shew what favor he should receive at their Hands. There he lay for many days, sometimes hanging by one Leg and one Arm, sometimes by the other, and at other times by both.

A wicked

Punished by God.

A good husband.

Popish cruelty.

At last one of his Children, of about Eight or Nine years old, came to the Bishops House, to see if he could get leave to speak with his Father; and one of the Bishops, Chaplains meeting with the Boy, asked him what he looked for? The Child answered, *that he came to see his Father, that was in Lollards Tower*; why, said the Priest, *thy Father is an Heretick*; the Boy, being of a bold and quick Spirit, and well educated by his Father, answered, *My Father is no Heretick, but you are an Heretick, For you have Balaams mark on you*. With that the Priest took him by the Hand, and led him into the Bishops House, where amongst them, they stripped the Child naked, and cruelly whipt him, till he was all over gore Blood. Then *Cluny*, the Bishops Sumner, putting on his shirt, and carrying his Coat on his Arm, led him to the Prison, with the Blood dropping at his Heels to his Father. At his coming in, the Boy fell on his Knees, and craved his Fathers blessing: The Father being full of grief to see his Child so cruelly dealt with, said, *Alas William who hath done this to thee?* The Boy answered, *As I was coming to see you, a Priest with Balaams mark, took me into the Bishops House, where I have been thus used*. Hereupon *Cluny* violently plucked him from his Father, and carried him back into the Bishops House, where they kept him Three days: And then *Bonner* minding to appease the poor Man for the usage of his Child, sent for him out of *Lollards Tower* to his Chamber. Whilst this *Jo. Fetty* was standing there with the Bishop, he spied a great pair of black Beads hanging by his Bed, and thereupon said to him, *My Lord, I think the Hangman is not far off, for the*

A child cruelly whipt.

So. Fettes boldness.

Halter (pointing to the Beads) is here already. This much enraged the Bishop, yet Fetty spying also a Crucifix standing in the Window, said, *My Lord, what is that?* The Bishop answered, *it was Christ. Was he handled,* said Fetty, *so cruelly, as is here pictured?* Yea, said Bonner, *that he was: And even so cruelly,* said Fetty, *do you handle such as come before you; For you are to Gods people, even as Caiaphas was to Christ.* The Bishop was so enraged at this, that he swore he would burn him, or spend all that he had to his Gown: Yet afterward bethinking himself of the danger that the Child was in by reason of their cruel usage of him; he discharged him, bidding him go home, and carry his Child with him, which accordingly he did, with an heavy heart for his poor Boy, who within Fourteen days after died.

The Child  
died.

Also when Doctor Crome was to make his Recantation; there came in one of the Guard to a Tradersmans shop in Bow-lane, where they asked him what news at Court! The old Heretick, said he, *Doctor Crome hath recanted before the Council, and next Sunday will do the same at Pauls Cross:* Hereupon Richard Wilmot, Apprentice in the same shop, of about the Age of Eighteen, said, *I am sorry to hear that news; For if Crome shall say otherwise than he hath done formerly, it's contrary to the truth of Gods word, and contrary to his own conscience, which will accuse him before God for it.* He also added further, *That what Doctor Crome had taught was agreeable to the holy Scriptures, wherein God hath revealed his will. Well,* said the other, *it was never merry world since the Bible was translated into English, and he was a Traitor and Heretick that caused it to be done (meaning the Lord Cromwel) and therefore was rewarded according to his works.* After other such like talk, came in the Master of the shop, and with him another young Man called Thomas Fairfax, The Master asked what was the matter? The Queens servant (whose name was Lewis,) answered, that he had a Knaveish Boy to his man, whom, if he were his, he would rather hang him than keep him. In brief, the business being again rehearsed, Thomas Fairfax spake to Lewis, confirming what the other had said: Whereupon Lewis went away in a rage to the Court. The next day these Two young Men were sent for to the Lord Mayor, and by him, with Chomley the Recorder, they were examined a part, and then sent apart to the Two Counters: Their Masters hearing of it, made great Friends to the Lord Mayor and Recorder for their release, but it could not be obtained without address to the Council, who judged them Hereticks and Traitors, and therefore worthy to die: Yet at last by much importunity their lives were spared, and they were ordered to be whipped Three Market days at a Carts tail through the City of London. Yet at last, great Friends being made to the privy Council, they remitted that, and ordered them to be whipped in the Companies Hall, before the Master and Wardens, which was accordingly done, their Bodies being stripped naked from the waist upward, and their Feet fastned to an Iron ring in the midst of the Hall; and then Two Men disguised in Vifors, coming with Two great Rods, whipt them so cruelly, that Wilmot could not lie in his Bed of Six nights after, and could never recover his health again.

Richard Wil-  
mots zeal.

Cruelly whipt.

Tho. Green.

Popish cruel-  
ty.

There was also one Thomas Green, servant to a Printer; who gave to certain honest Men a Book called Antichrist; which his Master hearing of, examined him where he had it; He answered, of a Frenchman: Then said his Master, there is Heresie and treason in it, and so sending for Cluny, he bad him put him into Lollards Tower, which accordingly he did: But when he had lain there a while, he removed him to the Bishops Coalhouse; and there putting upon his right Leg and left Arm bolts and fetters, he set him cross-fettered in the Stocks. On the morrow he came to him, saying, *Come, let me shift your Hand and Leg that you be not lamed,* and so he remained Six days. Then was he sent for by Doctor Story, who examined him about the Book: He answered, that going to Newgate to visit some Christian Friends that lay there for the testimony of the truth, he met with a Frenchman, who came thither for the like purpose, and after some further acquaintance with him, he bought this Book of him. Then Story would have



have had him to bring forth this *Frenchman*, but he answered, that he could not do it. Upon this he was returned to the *Coalhouse*, where he lay in the Stocks Ten days and nights more.

Then was he again sent for to Doctor *Story*, and whilst he was examining; Two other prisoners were brought to him; whereupon his Wife [*Mrs. Story*] was in a great rage, and swore a great Oath, saying, *Its pity but an Hundred or Two of these Hereticks were put into a House together, and I my self would set fire to them.* Then was *Green* again returned to the *Coalhouse*. After long imprisonment and frequent examinations, Doctor *Story* sent for him to *Christs Hospital*, and commanded him to be stripped, and then calling for Two Beadles, he caused them to give him almost an Hundred stripes; Adding moreover, that if he might have his will, he would cut out his Tongue; and then he dismissed him.

Cruelly whipt

There was also one *Steven Cotten*, who was twice whipped by Bishop *Bonner*.

Steven Cotten twice whipt.  
James Harris.

Also one *James Harris* of *Billerica* in *Essex*, being apprehended, and sent up to *Bonner*, was examined by him, when he had been at Church? To whom he answered, that he had not been at Church of above a Twelvemonth before, but once; And then, through fear, he received the Popish Sacrament, for which he was heartily sorry, detesting it with all his Soul. Then the Bishop would have had him shaven himself to a Priest, which because he refused to do, the Bishop took him into his Garden, and there whipped him most cruelly.

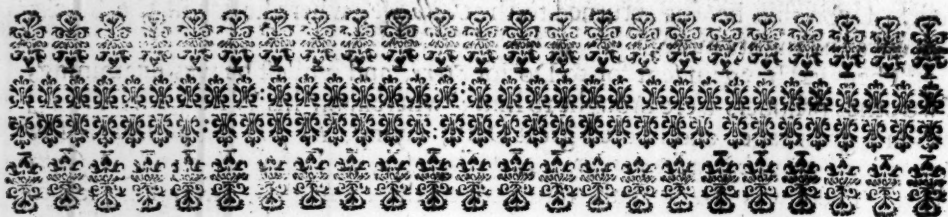
Cruelly whipt

Also one *Robert Williams*, a Smith, being apprehended and sent to *Bonner*, the Bishop after examination took him into his Garden, and there in an Arbor scourged him cruelly with Rods.

Robert Williams whipt.

There was in *Collingborow*, a poor starved Man, who because he would not receive the Sacrament at *Easter*, was apprehended, and sent to *Salisbury*, to Doctor *Geffery* the Chancellor, who cast this poor creature into a Dungeon, and afterwards caused him to be cruelly whipt by Two Beadles.

A poor Man whipt.



## C H A P. X.

*The Story of divers worthy Servants of Christ, who escaped burning by the death of Queen Mary and otherwi'e.*

*Richard White,  
and John  
Hunt.*



*Richard White* and *John Hunt* being apprehended, and examined by the Major of *Marlborow*, were sent to *Salisbury*, and kept a long time in *Lollards Tower*; and at last were brought before *Bishop Capon*, and other Commissioners, and there examined of their Faith, and they made a stout and zealous profession of the same, from which they could not be removed, neither by frowns nor flatteries; so that at length, at the Sessions they were condemned, and with other Malefa-

ctors were delivered over to *Sir Anthony Hungerford*, the high Sheriff, to be executed: But the evening after, *Mr. Clifford*, Son in Law to *Sir Anthony*, came to him, exhorting and intreating him earnestly in no case to have a Hand in the death of those Two innocent persons. *Sir Anthony* hearing him, went strait to *Justice Brown* to ask his advice, what he should do in the matter. *Justice Brown* told him, that if he had not a Writ from above for their execution, he could not answer it, but if he had he must then do his office. The Sheriff hearing this, took his Horse the next day, and went out of Town, leaving these Men in Prison. The Chancellor, *Doctor Geffery*, hearing of his departure, rode after him, and overtaking him, told him that he had delivered over into his Hands Two condemned Men, and wondred that he went away before he had executed them according to his Office; The Sheriff answered, that he was no Babe which was to be taught of him what belonged to his Office. *If you have*, said he, *a Writ to discharge me for the burning of them; I know what I have to do: why*, said the Chancellor, *did not I give you a Writ under my Hand for it?* *Well*, said the Sheriff, *that is not a sufficient discharge for me: If I have not a writ from the Superior powers, I will not burn them for any of you all.* *Doctor Geffery* hearing this, returned home, and presently fell sick upon it.

*Gods judg-  
ment on a per-  
secutor.*

Not long after came down a Writ from above to the Under-Sheriff, for their execution; But he being a godly Man, cast the Writ into the fire, saying, *I will not be guilty of these mens Blood.*

*A remarkable  
Providence.*

Within Four days after the Chancellor died: About which time *Richard White* and *John Hunt* being in a low and dark Dungeon, were going to Prayer, but on a sudden, knowing no reason for it, they burst both out into a great weeping, so that they could not speak a word; and the next morning they understood that just at the same time the Chancellor died. Presently after the Bishop died also: so that these Two holy Men continued in Prison till *Queen Maries* death, and by that means it pleased God to deliver them.

*Mr. Living.*

In the time of *Queen Maries* sickness, one *Coxe* a Promoter, taking the Constable, and some others with him, went to the House of Master *William Living*, a Minister in *Shoe-lane*, and there searching amongst his Books, found a Book of Astronomy made by *Johannes de sacro Bosco*, wherein were many Figures: *Coxe* taking this Book, and Master *Living*, and his Wife, carried them away



away to *Darbishires* House, the Bishop of *Londons* Chancellor, and by the way, carrying the Book open, he said, *I have found him at length; It's no marvel though the Queen be sick, when there are such Conjurers in corners; but now I trust he shall confute no more.*

*Darbishire* examined him, and told him that he was a Schismatick, and a Traitor; To whom Mr. *Living* answered, *I would be sorry that were true, but I know I am no Traitor; for I have always taught obedience according to the tenor of Gods word; and when tumults have been raised, I have suppressed them by Gods word.* But, said the Chancellor, *you deny the Church of Rome, and therefore Cluny take him away, and put him into the Colehouse.*

Then did *Cluny* violently hale and draw him, and carrying him to his House, there robbed him of all his money, his Psalter and New Testament, &c. After which he carried him to the Colehouse, and there put both his Arms and Legs into the Stocks, saying, That except he gave him Forty shillings he would put a collar of Iron about his Neck allö. *I am never able to pay so much;* said Mr. *Living*, and so he was left in the Stocks; Popish cruel 17.

At evening a Kindwoman of his brought him his Supper; who seeing how miserably he was used, told *Cluny* that she would give him Ten groats to let him at liberty: *Cluny* took her money, and so let him out to eat his Supper, but presently after set him in the Stocks again. Within a few days he was removed into *Lollards* Tower, and there put into the Stocks.

His Wife also was sent to *Lollards* Tower; But the Queens sickness being mortal, upon the request of Friends, and giving sureties to be forth coming, they were released; by which means it pleased God, that they escaped death.

It was known that some of Mr. *Living's* Books were at the House of one *John Lithals*, in *Southwark*; whereupon a Constable, and some of the Queens Servants went to that House, breaking open his Doors and Chests, and seizing upon the Books; And afterwards, watching for *Lithals* coming home, they apprehended him, and carried him to *Darbishires* House, by whom he was examined, and after sent to *Lollards* Tower. By the way *Cluny*, and another dragged him into *Pauls* Church, and there would have had him hear Mass, which he refused: Then would they have had him worl ip the Rood, which he also refused: Whereupon they carried him forthwith to *Lollards* Tower, and hang- Popish cruel: 17.  
ed him by the Hands and Feet in the Stocks, where he lay Three days, and Three nights, till he was so lame that he could neither stir nor move. Then *Cluny* coming to him; he profered him some gold, and mony which he had about him to release him out of the Stocks, which *Cluny* accepted of, and so let him out. After he had lien there about Three weeks, *Bonner* being sick at *Fulham*, many of his Neighbors came to the Chancellor; and made great sute for the release of Mr. *Lithall*, and the Queens disease still increasing upon her; they obtained their request, and he was released.

*Edward Grew*, Minister at a Town called *Broke*, was by the malice of his Adversaries enforced to fly from his habitation; and though very aged, yet to travel up and down for the keeping of a good Conscience. At last, notwithstanding his circumspection, he was apprehended; and carried to *Colchester* Castle, where he remained a Prisoner till the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth* of happy memory, by which means he was released. Edward Grew.

*William Brown*, Minister of little *Stanham*, in *Suffolk*, for preaching a bold Sermon against the Mass, was persecuted by one *Robert Blomesfield*, Constable, who fetching the under Sheriff for his assistance, in the night time they brake into the Ministers House, and apprehended him, and the next day he should have been carried to the Council; But it pleased God suddenly to strike the said *Blomesfield* with sickness; so that he could not go with him. Then did the under Sheriff send him Prisoner to *Ipswich*, and from thence he was removed to *Bury* Jail, and so at last he was sent to the Council, by whom he was committed to the Mr. Brown. A special Priviledge.

the *Fleet*, where he lay divers moneths; But it pleased God to put such answers into his Mouth when he was examined by the Council, that at last they dismissed him, and he returned to his former charge: But when he still refused to say or to be present at Mass, he was put out of his place, himself and Wife being constrained to fly and hide themselves from the fury of their Adversaries; till at last, not long before Queen *Maries* death, it pleased God to deliver this good Man, by taking him to himself.

Gods judgment on a Persecutor.

*Eliz. Young.*

But a terrible Hand of God followed *Blomefield*, his Persecutor, both by sickness, and a consumption of his estate; so that being rich before, he became poor; Also his eldest Son, and his Wife, died of a pining disease. Then he sought to repair his estate by marrying a rich Widow, yet all would not do: His Body was full of botches and sores, and shortly after he died, being wasted both in Body and estate; so that he died much worse then nothing.

An excellent Speech.

Popish prophane.

There was one *Elizabeth Young*, who to preserve her Conscience from pollution, left the Land, and fled to *Embsden*; yet after a while, came back again, and brought with her divers good Books, which she dispersed abroad amongst Gods People; For which at last she was apprehended, and often examined before the Inquisitors of Heretical pravity: They asked her why she would not go to Mass? She answered, Because her Conscience would not suffer her, and she had rather that all the world should accuse her then her own Conscience. Then they called her Traitorly Whore, and Heretick, and such like vile names, threatening to Rack her, and burn her, and so returned her to Prison, charging her Keeper, that she should one day have Bread, and the other day Water; which when she heard, she said, *If you take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger.*

Afterwards they examined her about the Sacrament; To which she answered, That when she received the Sacrament in Spirit and Faith, she received Christ: To which a Doctor answered *Ah whore, in Spirit and Faith, whore; Hark thou ill-favored whore how I believe*; And so he told her how he believed about Transubstantiation: To which she answered, And I Sir have told you how I believe: Whereupon he replied, *Ah ill-favored whore; nothing but Spirit and Faith, whore?* After divers other examinations, Two Women suing for her release, she was at last discharged and set free.

*Eliz. Lawson.*

There was dwelling in *Bedfield*, in the County of *Suffolk*, an aged Woman of Sixty years old, called *Elizabeth Lawson*, who being apprehended for an Heretick, because she would not go to Church to hear Mass, was cast into a Dungeon; where having lien a while, she was removed first to *Norwich*, and then to *Bury Jail*, and remaining constant in the truth, was at last condemned to be burnt. Then did the High Sheriff take her home with him to his House, and assayed by all means both fair and foul to pervert her; But when nothing would prevail, he returned her to Prison, and there she continued almost Three years: during which time her Son, and many others were burnt: Whereupon she would often say, *Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with others of thy Children? Well, Good Lord, thy blessed will be done, and not mine.*

A special providence.

*William Watts.*

At last Queen *Mary* dying, she was delivered out of Prison, and not long after resigned her Soul to God.

This is very observable, that before her imprisonment she was much troubled with the falling sickness; But after she was cast into Prison, she never had fit more, but was in good health, and enjoyed much joy and comfort in her Soul.

There was dwelling in the Town of *Seale* in *Kent*, one *William Watts*, who being apprehended by his Popish enemies, was carried before the Bishops and Justices at *Tunbridge*, who labored very much to withdraw him from the truth; But when by no means they could prevail, they committed him Prisoner to the Constable, who carried him to an Alehouse, where the Constable drank so liberally



berally, that at last he fell fast asleep. *Watts* his Wife seeing this, perswaded her Husband to go his ways, for as much as God hath made way for his escape: But *William Watts* would by no means be perswaded thereunto. Whilst they were reasoning the case together, a stranger over hearing them, said to him, *Father, go thy ways in Gods Name, and tarry no longer; the Lord hath opened the way for thee.* Upon this *Watts* went his way, and his Wife returned to her House at *Seale*: But whilst she was telling some Friends of her Husbonds great deliverance, he came in amongst them; which when his Wife saw, she was much troubled, and perswaded him by all means to hast away before search should be made after him: He answered, that he would first eat some meat, and pray with his Family, which accordingly he did, and then went and hid himself in an *Holly-Bush* hard by. But no sooner was he gon out of doors, but in came the Constable, and many more with him, searching all the House, breaking open Chests, and piercing the Featherbeds, so that he made much spoil in the House: But it pleased the Lord to hide his servant; and to deliver him from the danger. His Wife was carried to the Stocks, where she lay Two days before she was freed.

A special providence.

In *London* there was one *Dabney* a Painter, a godly Man, who being apprehended by an Apparitor was carried to *Bonner*: But when they came thither, they were bid to stand by a while, because the Bishop was busie in examining of others; and before he had finished with them, a messenger came in halt, desiring the Bishop to prepare himself speedily, for that the general Procession tarried for him: Then were all other businesses laid aside: The Bishop and his Family hastening away to accompany the Procession; by reason whereof, *Dabney* was left alone; He seeing this, went down into the Court, and there walked up and down in a melancholly posture; The Porter seeing him thus to walk alone, and thinking him to be some Citizen that came about business, asked him if he would go forth; *Yes*, said he, *with a good will, if you will let me out;* with that the Porter opened the Wicket, and let him depart. After this, much search was made for him, but the Lord preserved him from the danger.

*Dabney*.

*Mr. Alexander Whinshurst*, a godly Minister, being informed against to *Bonner*, he sent forth one of his Flies to apprehend him; who, after search, meeting with him, took him, and carried him towards the Bishops House; And as they went through *Pauls Church*, *Mr. Whinshurst* espied *Dr. Chadsey* walking there, who having been of his antient acquaintance in *Oxford*, he intreated him, that for old acquaintance sake, he would prevail so far, that he might be examined before *Doctor Martin*, rather than any other; The Doctor in scorn answered him with the words of *Christ*, *when thou wast young thou girdest thy self, and wentest whither thou wouldest; but being aged other Men should guide thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldest not.*

*Mr. Alexander Whinshurst*.

Popish proceedings.

Then was he carried to *Story* and *Cooke*, who labored by all means both fair and foul to pervert him from the truth; But he carried himself very resolutely before them, not shrinking at all from his former profession.

Hereupon they sent him to *Clunies House* in *Pater Noster Row*, by whom he was to be committed to *Lollards Tower*; But the Lord pleased so to order it, that when he came thither, *Cluny* and his Family were very busie, so that he was left alone in his Hall; only there was another Woman whose Husband was in trouble, about whom she staid to speak with *Cluny*: She seeing *Mr. Whinshurst* stand there, said to him, *Alas good Sir, if you please you may escape the Hands of your cruel Enemies, for as much as they be all absent that should look to you, whereby God hath opened the way for your deliverance, and therefore lose not the opportunity if you be wise.* At these words he looked about him, and went out of Doors, walking but a leisurely pace, so that he might have been easily taken again, if any had looked after him; But it was Gods will that he should thus escape the fury of his Adversaries.

There was one *Bosoms Wife*, who living at *Richmond* with her Mother, was much called upon to go to Church, and at length, through importunity,

she assented thereto : But when she came to Church, she behaved her self in every thing contrary to that which others did ; when they kneeled, she stood ; when they turned forwards, she turned backward, &c. This her carriage was so publick, that the Church-Warden and Constable came and attached her in the Queens Name, commanding her and her Mother to meet them the next day at *Kingston* ; and accordingly the next morning they went thitherward, and meeting the Officers at the Ferry by the way, they saluted them by their Names : The Officers had no power to speak unto them, but went their ways ; But afterwards they stamp'd and stared, and were much vexed that they had thus let them go.

A special providence.

The Woman seeing that they regarded them not, went back again ; and the good Woman retired her self into *London*, by which means the Lord mercifully delivered her from their cruelty.

There was dwelling at *Windonham* in *Norfolk*, the Lady *Anne Knevet*, being near an Hundred years old, who all the time of Queen *Mary* kept her self from their Popish Church, neither suffered any of their Papistical trash to be administred in her House ; But had the *English* Service, daily performed, which was used in King *Edwards* days. For this she and her Family were many times threatned by Messengers that the Bishop would visit her ere long : To whom she still answered, That if his Lordship sent word before hand, his entertainment should be accordingly. But God by his merciful providence so overawed their Hearts, that she lived in safety all that troublesome time : Yea, though there were sometimes present at her Service great Enemies to the truth, and such as had much authority ; yet coming in, they would kneel down amongst the rest at Prayer, and had no power to trouble her for the same.

Charity.

This good Lady was much given to Hospitality, and entertained into her House many of the persecuted members of *Jesus Christ* ; and though they were never so poor, they were lookt upon by her as Friends to the Gospel, and not suffered to depart without meat, and money.

The Lady Vane.

Also the Lady *Elizabeth Vane* was a great harbinger and supporter of the afflicted Martyrs and Confessors of *Christ*, for which she was oftentimes in great danger, and yet God mercifully delivered her.

Mrs. Roberts.

There was in *Suffex* one Mistress *Roberts*, a godly and vertuous Gentlewoman, who all the time of Queen *Maries* Reign was earnestly addicted to the truth, and never went to their Popish Service, nor would pollute her Conscience with hearing their Idolatrous Mass : And not far from her, there dwelled Sir *John Gilford*, a Justice of Peace, who was as fervent on the contrary to promote Popery : He hearing of her, first sent his Wife to tempt her by fair words, and gentle perswasions to go to Church, and to obey the Queens Laws, as others did : But she constantly adhering to the truth, would by no means be perswaded to defile her Conscience with their Idolatrous Service.

Then did Sir *John Gilford* send his Officers and Servants to carry her by force to Church : But by the way as they carried her, she through anguish and grief of Spirit fell into a swoon, so that they were forced to carry her home again.

A special providence.

Afterwards Sir *John* went himself to her House, resolving whatever came of it to have her to Church : But behold the good providence of God ! Just as Sir *John Gilford* was going up the Stairs to her Chamber, he was taken with such violent and terrible pains of the Gout, that he could go no further, and so was fain himself to be carried home, protesting and swearing that he would never trouble this Gentlewoman any more ; and so through Gods mercy she escaped the danger.

There was also in *Nottinghamshire*, one Mistress *Lacy*, a very holy Woman, against whom, through the malice of her Adversaries, a Process was sent forth, and she was driven to such straits, that she was forced to hide her



her Bible, and some other good Books in a Dunghill. She had one of her own Brothers, a Justice of Peace; But he being a Papist, shewed her little favor: Yet though kindred failed, God did not fail her; For before she was apprehended, it pleased God that Queen *Mary* died, and so she escaped the danger.

An unnatural Brother.

There was in *Norfolk* one *Crosmans* Wife, a good Woman, who being taken notice of for her not coming to Church, the Constable of the Hundred came to apprehend her: She had a young sucking Child that just at that time was crying very hard; But it pleased God that as the Constable came in with his Company, the Child gave over crying, and the Mother having notice of the danger, slipped with the Child in her Arms into a corner behind the Chimney, the Child continued quiet all the time that they were searching the House, and when they could not find her they departed; And so the poor Woman, through Gods merciful providence, escaped the danger.

A special providence.

There was at the Town of *Stoke* in *Suffolk* a great number of godly People, with whom, by reason of their number and unanimity, the Bishops were afraid to meddle; They kept constantly to their private meetings, and came not at all to the Popish Service: Yet at last an Order was sent to them that within Sixteen days after *Easter*, they should all receive the Popish Sacrament, or else stand to the peril that would follow. Hereupon these godly People meeting together, considered what to do, and resolved that none of them would receive it: Only there was one *John Foxe* that was very urgent with his Wife to obey the Order, and prevailed with the Priest to come and give it her upon the Seventeenth day after *Easter*: But the day before she went to the meeting, and with tears declared how violently her Husband had dealt with her; They bad her be of good chear, for that they would make their earnest Prayers unto the Lord, both for her, and her Husband, and accordingly they did so, and through Gods mercy, they found good success; For the very next day *Jo. Foxe* came of his own accord unto them, and confessed, and bewailed his rashness and inconsiderateness, promising, through Gods help, to be more strong in the Faith, to the great comfort both of them, and his Wife.

Power of Prayer.

About half a year after, the Bishop of *Norwich* sent his Apparitors amongst these good People, straitly charging them to go to Church the Sunday following, or else presently to appear before the Commissary to render an account of their absence: But they, having notice before hand of the Apparitors coming, kept themselves out of the way to avoid the Summons: And so not being at Church at the time appointed nor appearing before the Commissary, he first suspended them, and Three weeks after Excommunicated them: And when an Officer was appointed to apprehend some of them, they absented themselves out of the Town, and so escaped the danger all Queen *Maries* time.

No less wonderful was Gods mercy to the private Congregation of the faithful in *London*, whom he preserved all Queen *Maries* Reign, notwithstanding all the malice, and searchings of their Adversaries, and the strictness of the Laws against them. First when they were to have met in *Blackfriars* at Sir *Thomas Cardens* House, privy Watch was set for the apprehension of them; But through the Lords vigilant eye over them the mischief was prevented, and they escaped the danger.

Gods providence in preserving the Church in London.

Also when they were met about *Aldgate*, some Spies were set to discover them: But it pleased God that *Thomas Sympson* the Deacon, espying them, bad them presently disperse themselves, which if they had not done, they had there been all taken, the Constable coming presently after to search for them.

Another time about the great Conduit in *Cheapside*, as they passed through a little Alley into a Clothworkers Chamber, where they were to meet together, they were espied by some of their Adversaries, and the Sheriffs were presently sent for to apprehend them: But they being privily warned of the danger, pre-

sently

lently departed, one of the Bishops Sumners looking on, but having no power, or else fearing to meddle with them.

At another time they publickly assembled together in a Ship at *Billingsgate*, that belonged to a godly Man of *Ley*; where, though the People took notice of them; yet, through Gods mercy, they were freed from danger. Yea twice or thrice they assembled together in another Ship between *Ratcliff* and *Redriff*, where they had Prayers, preaching, and the Sacrament administred, and though many took notice of it, yet none medled with them.

A special providence.

At another time being met together in an honest Coopers House in *Pudding lane*: Whilst they were there, the Bishops Officer came into the House, and having talked a while with the good Man of the House went away again, having no power to meddle with them.

Another eminent danger they escaped in *Thamesstreet* near the Water, where being met together in the night, they were discovered, and the House beset that none should escape: But there being an honest Marriner amongst them, he seeing no other way to avoid the danger, flipt out at a back Door, and swam to a Boat, and bringing it thither, took all these good People, and making Oars of his Shoes conveyed them away from the danger.

A special providence.

Sometimes some were sent to spy out their doings, and to take their Names; But when they came thither, God hath wrought so upon them, that themselves have been caught, and have asked them forgiveness for their wicked purposes against them.

We have heard before of the extream danger that they were in at the taking of Mr. *Rough*, their Minister, and Mr. *Sympson* their Deacon, if God by a dream had not warned Mr. *Rough* to charge Mr. *Sympson* to lay aside that Book wherein all their Names were contained.

This Congregation began presently after Queen *Mary* entred into her Reign, and were sometimes more, sometimes less: Sometimes Two Hundred in number, and towards the latter end of Queen *Mary*, they much increased: They had also divers Ministers, first Mr. *Scamler*, Then Mr. *Foule*, Then Mr. *Rough*, Then Mr. *Bernher*, and lastly Mr. *Bentham*, who in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, was made Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*. This Mr. *Bentham* escaped wonderfully when the last Seven Martyrs (mentioned before) were burned in *Smithfield*: The occasion and manner was this; When these Prisoners were brought forth of *Newgate*, a Proclamation was made in the King and Queens Name, straitly commanding that none should pray for them, nor speak to them, nor once say, *God help them*; notwithstanding which, this godly Company resolved to go to, and comfort the Prisoners, and accordingly as they were guarded with Bills and Glaves, they pressed towards them, and forcing their guard from them, they embraced and kissed them, carrying them in their Arms (whereas they might as easily have conveyed them away) to the place where they were to suffer. Then giving way to the Officers, these Martyrs were tied to the Stake, and the forementioned Proclamation was again published, notwithstanding which; Mr. *Bentham* inflamed with zeal, and Christian charity, when fire was set to them, turning to the People with a loud voice, said, *we know that these are the People of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but wish well to them, and pray to God to strengthen them*, and so turning to them he prayed to Almighty God to strengthen them; whereupon all the People with one consent said, *Amen*, which did so astonish the Officers, that they knew not whom to accuse, or whom to apprehend.

A special providence.

Not long before Queen *Maries* death, the City of *Calice* in *France*, which had been Two Hundred and eleven years in the possession of the *English*, was taken by the Bloody Duke of *Guise*, who put multitudes of persons of all ages, and sexes to the Sword. At which time there were many godly persons in that Town, and the Lord, whose wakeful eyes of providence do continually watch over his, so ordered, that few or none at all of those many that favored *Christ* and



and his Gospel, in that terrible Massacre miscarried; And amongst others that escaped after a wonderful manner, there was one *John Thorpe* and his Wife, a godly couple, who lying sick at the same time, were cast out into the Fields, in a hopeles and helples condition; Also a young Infant that sucked upon the Mother, was taken in the Fields, and born away by the Soldiers; yet, behold the admirable providence of God! they were by strangers fetched to a place almost a mile off: and being recovered, the next day as they travelled towards *England*, they chanced into the same Inn where they found their young Child, and so came all over in safety.

In the second year of *Queen Mary* there was one *Edward Bennet*, dwelling at *Queenhithe*, who was desired to carry a New Testament to a godly Man that was Prisoner in *Newgate*: But as he went in, the Keeper discovered it, and thereupon carried him before *Chomley* the Recorder, who after examination committed him to the *Compter* in *Woodstreet*, where he continued Twenty five weeks. Then *Dr. Story* coming to examine other Prisoners; *Bennet* looking out at a Grate, desired him to be good to him, and to help him out of Prison; *Tea*, said *Story*, *thou hast been with me before, and dost not believe in the Sacrament, and therefore I will help thee out*; and so he took him, and delivered him to *Cluny* to be put into the Bishops Colehouse, and there he lay in the Stocks for a week.

Then *Bonner* sent for him, and examined him, and finding him constant in the truth, sent him back again, saying, that shortly he should go to *Fulham* and be whipt. Afterwards they sent *Dr. Cranmers* Recantation to him, hoping thereby to draw him to recant; But he answered, That his Faith was not founded upon any Mans Books, but upon his that had redeemed him. Two or Three days after he with Five more were sent for to come to the Bishops Chappel to Mass; At the end whereof those Five were returned to Prison, and afterwards burned: But *Bennet* being behind, and walking towards the Gate, the Porter opened it for company to go out, and so *Bennet*, going out amongst them, escaped.

Afterwards he being amongst those that were apprehended at *Islington*, *Bennet* with some Seven more was left behind; yet he went after the rest to the Bishops House, and knocked at the Gate to come in: The Porter said that he was none of the company; *Yes*, saith he, *but I am*, and knocked again; But the Porter not opening the door, one of the Congregation that stood by, said, *Edward, thou hast done well; do not tempt God; go thy way*; and so he taking this warning as sent of God, departed, and thereby escaped the danger.

There was in the Town of *Shakerley* in *Lanchashire*, one *Jeffry Hurst*, who by his Father was bound Apprentice to a Nailor; And when he came out of his time, having a great mind to get knowledg, he learned to read and write, and afterwards got him a Bible, and other good Books, whereby he attained to a good measure of knowledg in the Scriptures. Then he married the Sister of *Mr. George Marsh*, of whose Martyrdom we have heard before; by whose society he much bettered his knowledg, and was careful to walk answerable thereunto. But in the first year of *Queen Mary*, he abstaining from their Idolatrous Services, was taken notice of, and often reproached for a Lollard and Heretick; And at last they lay in wait to apprehend him, which he having notice of, was compelled to leave Wife, Child and all, and to fly into *Yorkshire*: Yet divers times he returned by night to visit and comfort his Wife, and usually brought with him some good Minister or other; At which time about Twenty honest Persons used to repair to his House, and so they spent the night in Prayer, Preaching, and sometimes Administring the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and so away before the day brake, lest they should be discovered.

Not far from his House there dwelled one *Justice Leland*, who having notice on a time of *J. Hurst* coming home, took a Priest and some others with him

Popish ignorance.

him, to search his House for him; But it pleased God that *J. Hurst* had notice of their coming, and so hid all his Books in a great Tub, and then crept himself under it, and they covered him with Straw; only in his Chamber window he willingly left a part of the Bible, and *Tindals* New Testament in *English*, and another Book or two. When the Justice and his Company came into the House, they made a diligent search for Him, and his Books, breaking open Chests and Boxes, &c. At last they found these Books in his Chamber window; Then the Justice asked the Priest what Books they were? He told him that one was *Tindals* Testament, which was plain Heresie, and none worse than it; and for the other Books they were not fit to be looked on, for they might do much harm. Then the Justice asked his Mother (an aged Woman of about Sixty) and one of his Brothers, where *Jeffry* was? They answered, they could not tell. Then he swore by Gods Body he would have him, and if his Mother would not tell where he was, he would lay her in *Lancaster* Dungeon. But to be brief, he bound the Mother, and Brother in an Hundred pound Bond to bring in *Jeffry* within Fourteen days, and so departed. When the time came, *Jeffry* and his Sister went to the Justice, who caused a Mass to be sung, and bad *Jeffry* first to go and see his Maker, and then he would talk further with him: *Jeffry* answered, *Sir, my Maker is in Heaven, and sure I am that by going to your Mass I shall get no edification; and therefore pray you have me excused.* The Justice replied, *By God, I see that I shall find you an Heretick, but I will not lose the Mass for all your prating;* and so he went into the Chappel: When Mass was ended he sent for them, and caused his Priest to read a long scroll unto them about the Seven Sacraments. After which the Justice threatened them, yet at length he suffered them to depart, putting in sureties to appear again at Three weeks end, and then to go to *Lancaster* Jail. But it pleased God that Four days before the time appointed, news came down of the Queens death, whereby they escaped.

Gods Judgment on a Persecutor.

Not long after this Justice *Leland* sitting in his Chair, and talking with his Friends, fell down suddenly, and died, never so much as once stirring after.

There was living in *Kent* on *Tho. Wood*, a Baker, who being convented before *Dr. Kenall*, Chancellor, *Dr. Chadsey*, and some others: At his appearing they asked him why he came not to Church, and whether he had received the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? He answered, That he had not, neither durst receive it as they administered it.

*Kenall.* Thou Heretick, what's the reason thou darest not receive it?

*Wood.* There are Three causes why I dare not do it. 1. Because ye eat and drink up all alone; whereas Christ saith, Eat ye, drink ye all of this, &c. 2. Because ye hold it up to be worshipped contrary to Gods command, Thou shalt not bow down nor worship. 3. Because ye administer it in a strange Tongue, contrary to *St. Pauls* rule.

*Kenall.* Thou Heretick, are not these words plain enough, This is my Body? wilt thou deny the Scripture?

*Wood.* I will not deny the Scripture, God forbid: Christ saith, I am the Vine: I am a Door: The Rock is Christ; all which are figurative Speeches, wherein one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood.

*Kenall.* These Hereticks will not learn: Art thou wiser than the Queen and her Council, and then all Learned Men of the Realm?

*Wood.* *St. Paul* saith, The wisdom of the wise of this world is foolishness before God: And, If a man will be wise, he must become a Fool that he may be wise.

*Kenall.* Dost thou not believe that after the Priest hath spoken these words, This is my Body, that there remains no more Bread and wine, but the very Flesh and Blood of Christ, as he was born of the Virgin, and did hang upon the Cross?

*Wood.*



Wood. *I pray you, Master Chancellor, give me leave to ask you another Question: when God commanded Ezekiel to shave off his Hair, and to burn a third part in the fire, And this, saith he, is Jerusalem: I pray you, was it Hair that was burnt, or Jerusalem?*

Kenall. *It did signifie Jerusalem.*

Wood. *Even so those words of Christ, This is my Body, are to be understood, &c.*

Chadley. *I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of Bread and Wine, but not in quantity, and quality.*

Kenall. *Yes, he is here present in quantity, and quality.*

Chadley. *He is here present under a form, but not in quantity, and quality.* Yes, said the one; No, said the other. Whereupon the contention grew so hot between the Doctors, that they foamed again; and Dr. Kenall in a great rage rose up, and departed the Church.

Then said Wood, *Behold good People, they would have us to believe that which they do not believe themselves, nor can agree upon.* This caused all the People to give a great shout; And thus as God delivered Paul by dividing his Judges, the Pharisees and Sadduces between themselves: So he delivered this his Servant by dividing these Doctors between themselves.

Mr. Thomas Horton, a godly Minister in the Reign of Queen Mary, flying amongst many others beyond-sea, made it a great part of his work to travel between Germany and England, to procure means for the relief of the poor Exiles which lived in banishment for the truths sake: And on a time as he passed between Mastrick and Cullen, he fell into the hands of some Rovers, who led him away with them, but being in great danger, the Lord was pleased wondrously to deliver him out of the hands of these Bloody Villains, whose Name be praised for the same.

There was one Thomas Sprat, sometimes a Servant to Mr. Brent, a Justice in Kent, who because his Master was a cruel Persecutor of the truth, left his service, and went to Calice, from whence he often used to come into England, together with one William Porrege, about their necessary affairs; And about the Fourth year of the Reign of Queen Mary, it fell out that they landing at Dover, were travelling on foot towards Sandwich; and as they were upon the way, they met with Mr. Brent, and the Two Blachendens, with their Servants, being Ten or Twelve Horsmen, and Tho. Sprat espying Mr. Brent, was much dismayed, saying to his Friend, *Yonder is Mr. Brent, the Lord deliver us out of his Hands, but seeing there is no remedy, let us go forwards;* and so shadowing his Face with his Cloak, they went on: Mr. Brent heeded them not, but one of his Servants looking better upon them, said to his Master, *Yonder goes Tho. Sprat,* at which words they all stopped their Horses, and called to Tho. Sprat to come to them. *They call you,* said W. Porrege, *and therefore there is no remedy but we must be taken;* and thereupon perswaded him to go to them, for that there was no means of escaping, themselves being on foot upon those plain downs, and the other on Horseback; yet Sprat would not go: Whereupon they called him again, and Mr. Brent said, *Ah srrah, why come you not when you are called?* his companion likewise still moved him to go, seeing there was no way for him to fly away: No, said Sprat, *I will not go to them,* and withal ran away. They seeing that, set Spurs to their Horses, and rode after him; But before they overtook him, he gat to an Hedg, and made shift to scramble through it, yet they were so near him, that they struck at him with their Swords: Then they rode to the end of the Hedg, and so pursued him; But before they came to him, he was gotten to a steep Hill, which they could not ride down; and so getting to a Wood, he escaped notwithstanding all their diligence. Then did Two of them question with Will. Porrege, asking him whence he came, and how he came into Sprats company? He answered that they came from Calice, and happened into the same Passage-Boat, and that they were

A Spectal great  
villains.

were going to *Sandwich*; and so without any more ado they let him depart; wherein Gods goodness did also-marvellously appear, for that one of the *Blanchendens* knew this *Perrege*, but as God would have it, he was following the chase of *Sprat*, till the other had dismissed him: And thus the Lord wonderfully delivered these his servants from this danger.

An unnatural  
Mother.

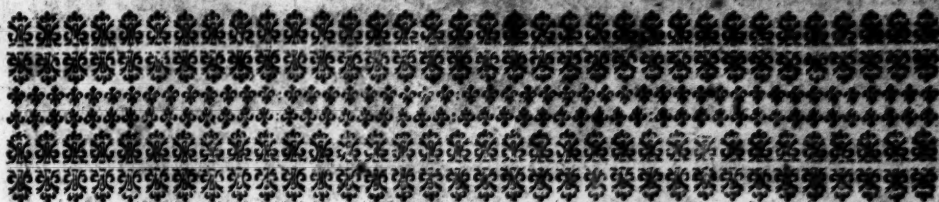
John Cornet  
whipt.

There was also one *John Cornet*, Apprentice to a Minstrel at *Colchester*, who being sent to a Wedding in a Town called *Roughedg*, at the request of some, sang a Song against the Maie, and misproceedings of the Queen, for which he was accused by a Priest, and first imprisoned by the Constable, and afterwards sent to the Earl of *Oford*, who caused him to be put into Irons and Chains, and to be so manacled that the Blood sprang out at his fingers end. In this case his Master forsook him; and his Mother, instead of relieving, felt a curling of him: Yet it pleased God so to order it, that the Earl, instead of sending him to Bishop *Bonner*, as his manner was, who would certainly have burned him, commanded him to be sent back to *Roughedg*, and there to be whipped till Blood followed, and so to be banished the Town for ever, which was done accordingly, and thereby he escaped further danger.

A special pro-  
vidence.

There was also one *Thomas Brice*, who being in the House of *John Seale* in the Town of *Horting*, the Bailiff with some others came into the House to search for him, and though they knew his stature, and what apparel he wore, yet the Lord so blinded them, that when he stood before them, and they asked for him, yet they knew him not, and he before their Faces quietly took up his Bag of Books and departed, and they had no power to lay Hands on him: And at another time, he, with one *Springfield*, being in an House in *Gravesend*, a Promoter dogged them thither, and had so beset the House, and all the way to the Water side, that it had been impossible for them to escape, but that the Lord stirred up an Ostler in the same House to convey them by a back and private way to the Water side, a mile off the Town by which means, through Gods gracious protection, they were delivered.





## C H A P. XI.

*The great Troubles, and wonderful Deliverance of the Lady Katherine, Dutches Dowager of Suffolk; who was the only Daughter, and Heir to the Lord William, Baron of Willoughby and Eresby, and the last Wife of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk.*



**I**N the first year of Queen *Maries* Reign, *Steven Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, knowing this good Dutches to be no good Friend of his, intended first to work his revenge upon her Husband, *Richard Bertie*, Esquire, for whom he sent an Attachment by the Sheriff of *Lincolnsbire*, whom he straitly charged immediately to Attach the said *Richard*, and without taking bail, to bring him up to *London*. Mr. *Bertie* having a clear conscience, and not knowing wherein he had offended the Queen, could not conjecture what should be the cause of this strange Process, except it were some quarrel for Religion. Yet the Sheriff, out of respect to him, notwithstanding the strait charge, adventured to take Bond of him for his appearing before the Bishop on *Good Friday* following. And accordingly Mr. *Bertie*, at the time appointed made his appearance at *Winchester* House in *Southmark*, which the Bishop being informed of, came forth in a great rage to him, asking him how he durst so arrogantly set light by Two former Processes of the Queens? Mr. *Bertie* answered, That he now perceived, that whereas he thought it before great extremity to be attached at the first, having shewed no contumacy, yet now he gathered by his Lordships words, that he had formerly sent some ordinary Processes for him, which yet never came to his Hands.

*Winchester.* Yea marry, I have sent Two Sub pœna's, and that by no worse a Man than by Master Soliciter, which I know came to your Hands, and therefore I will make you an example to all others for your obstinacy.

*Bertie.* I never received any, and therefore I humbly desire your Lordship to suspend your displeasure, and the punishment, till you know the truth, and then if I have deserved it, I refuse not double punishment.

*Winchester.* well, I have set this day apart for devotion, according to the holiness of it, and therefore I enjoin you in a Thousand pound Bond, not to depart without leave, and to appear again to morrow by Seven a Clock.

Accordingly Mr. *Bertie* appeared at the time appointed; whereupon the Bishop said to him, It's the Queens pleasure that you shall presently pay Four thousand pound due to her Father, from D. Charles, late Husband to your Dutches, whose Executrix she was.

*Bertie.* If it please your Lordship, that debt is stalled, and according thereto truly answered.

*Winchester.* Tush, the Queen will not be put off with stallments in the time of Ketts Government (so in scorn he called the Government of King Edward.)

Berty. The estallment was appointed by King Henry the Eighth, and by special Commissioners confirmed by King Edward, which the Lord Treasurer, being another Executor, undertook to discharge.

Winchester. If that be true, I will shew you favor; But Mr. Berty, I must admonish you of another thing, because I mean you well; I hear ill of your Religion; and pray you, is your Lady now as forward to set up Mass, as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused a Dog in a Rochet to be carried with her, which she called by my Name? Or doth she now think her Lambs as safe as she did when she saw me vail my Bonnet to her out of my Window in the Tower; At which time she said, That it was merry with the Lambs, when the Wolf was shut up. And at another time when my Lord her Husband invited me amongst other Lords to Dinner, desiring every Lady to chuse him whom she liked best, and so place themselves together; your Lady taking me by the Hand, said, That seeing she might not sit by her Husband whom she liked best, she had chosen ~~me~~ whom she loved worst.

Berty. My Lord, of the device of the Dog, she was neither the Author, nor allower; For her words she can answer her self; and for the Mass, she hath from learned Men been taught to abhor it; and therefore if she should outwardly allow it, she should be a false Christian to Christ, and a masking subject to her Prince. You knew my Lord, One judgment reformed, is better than a Thousand transformed Temporizers.

Winchester. Yea marry, deliberation is good, if she were to come from an old Religion to a new; But she is to return from a new one to an old one; when I was her ghostly Father, she was as earnest a Papist as any.

Berty. To this, my Lord, she told a Friend lately, that Religion went not by age, but by truth, and therefore she was to be turned by argument, not by compulsion.

Winchester. Pray you, do you think it possible to perswade her?

Berty. I trust you shall find no fruits of infidelity in her.

Then did the Bishop perswade Mr. Berty to take pains in her conversion, promising him large favors thereupon, and so dismissed him.

When Mr. Berty was returned home, he and his Dutches had frequent informations from their Friends, that the Bishop intended to call her to an account for her Faith, and therefore they devised how by the Queens Licence, they might go beyond Sea, for which they had good occasion, there being great Sums of money due to D. Charles from the Emperor, and divers others. And therefore in pursuance thereof, Mr. Berty made such Friends to the Queen, that he obtained her Licence to pass and repass at his pleasure. And accordingly in the first year of Queen Maries Reign, he went beyond Sea, leaving his Dutches behind him, who yet by agreement betwixt them, followed ere long, the manner whereof followeth.

She dwelt at this time in her House called the Barbican, and when she was to go, she acquainted none of her Servants with it, but one old Gentleman, neidid she take any but the meanest of her Servants with her, fearing lest the best would not run so dangerous an adventure. She took also her young Daughter, being but a year old.

For the first.

As she departed from her House between Four and Five a clock in the morning, an Herauld that lay in her House, hearing some noise, rose up, and with a Torch in his Hand came down, so that she fearing to be discovered, was forced to leave most of her Childs necessities behind her, and commanded her Servants to hast away to the Lion Key, taking with her self only Two Women, and her Child. She was no sooner out of her Doors, but the Herauld followed; whereupon she stepped into the Charterhouse gate, that he could not see her; yet the Herauld finding the bundle of her Childs clothes, fell to ransacking of them, and she in the mean time hastened away, knowing the place only by Name where she should take Boat. Her Servants also having divided themselves, none but one



one of them knew the way thither. Thus she, attired in a mean habit, and they that were with her, took their way into *Finsbury* Fields; where, by the especial providence of God, near *Moorgate*, she and all her company met together; and so they went directly to *Lion Key*. There a Barge was ready for her, but the morning was so extreame misty, that the Steersman feared to adventure out, but that they urged him thereunto.

Not long after, the Council was informed of her departure, whereupon some of them came presently to her House to search out the manner of her escape, and to Inventory her goods; And withal they appointed Searchers to apprehend and stay her: So that the fame of her departure was at *Leigh*, a Town at the Lands end, before she gat thither.

When she arrived there, the old Gentleman before spoken of, had her privately to a Merchants House, near *Leigh*, naming her Mistris *White*, where she stayed till she had made some new provision for her Child in the room of that left behind her at the *Barbican*.

When the time came that she was to take Ship, she was again almost discovered; But through Gods merciful providence, escaped that danger also; And being twice carried into the Seas, almost within the sight of *Zealand*, by contrary Winds, was both times driven back to the place whence she came; And at her last return, the Searchers suspecting that she might be in that Ship, examined her Servant that came to provide some fresh victuals, who framed his tale in such a simple manner of a mean Merchants Wife that was a Shipboard, that they ceased to search any further; And so at last, through Gods merciful providence, she arrived safely in *Brabant*, where she met with her Husband, who apparelled her and her Women, like the *Netherlandish* Froes, and so they travelled together towards *Cleveland*; and coming to *Santon*, they took a House therein to shroud themselves, till they had resolved whither to retire for their further safety.

About Five miles from this place, was *wesell*, an Hanf-Town in the Duke of *Cleves* Dominion, to which place many *walloons* were fled for Religion, and had for their Minister, one *Francis de Rivers*, who having formerly been in *England*, had received some courtesies from this good Dutches: Him therefore did Mr. *Berty* make use of to obtain leave of the Magistrates for their private living there: But ere this could be effected, there was a muttering in *Santon*, that they were greater Personages then they gave themselves out to be; so that the Bishop and Magistrates resolved together, suddenly to apprehend and examine them, both of their condition and Religion; But Gods wakeful eye of providence stirred-up a Gentleman of *Santon* to give Mr. *Berty* secret notice of this their purpose; whereupon taking only his Wife, Child, and Two Women, he walked out about Three a clock in the afternoon in the moneth of *February*, as it were but to take the air, purposing that night to get to *wesell*; and the better to conceal his intention, they went on foot, and left the rest of their Family at *Santon*.

They had not gone above an *English* mile, before there fell a mighty rain, which dissolved the Frost and Ice, and so made the ways deep and slippery, which proved extreame tedious to these new lacquies, never before accustomed to such walks; And so their march being but slow, they were overtaken by the night, which caused them to send their Women to some villages which they passed by, to hire them a Cart to ride in for the ease of their wearied limbs, but none could be gotten, so that in the mean time Mr. *Berty* was forced to carry the Child, and the Dutches his Cloak and Rapier.

At last near Seven a clock in the dark night they came to *wesell*, seeking, after such a tedious journey, to repose and refresh their wearied limbs in an Inn. But going from Inn to Inn, through the whole Town, they all refused to intertain them, though they profered large money for the same: The Inholders sus-

pecting Mr. *Berty* to be a *Lanceknight*, and the Dutches to be his Trull. In the mean time the poor Babe cried bitterly : The Dutches wept as fast ; The weather was extreame cold, and the Heavens rained as fast as the Clouds could pour.

Mr. *Berty* destitute of all worldly succor and relief for him and his, in this their deplorable condition, resolved to have his Dutches, with her Infant, into the Porch of the great Church, and so to buy some Coles, Food and Straw for their repose that night, or at least till he could procure some better lodging.

Mr. *Berty* at this time could speak little *Dutch*, and could meet with none that could speak either *English*, *French*, *Italian* or *Latin*, till at length, passing towards the Church Porch, he heard Two Boys talking in *Latin* together ; whereupon, stepping to them, he promised them Two Stivers to bring him to a *walloons* House ; and so, through Gods goodness, he at last happened upon the House where Monsieur *de Rivers* supped that night, who had procured the protection of the Magistrates for them.

At the first knocking, the good Man of the House came to the Door, asking Mr. *Berty* what he was : He told him that he was an *English* Gentleman, that desired to be brought to Monsieur *de Rivers* his House : The Man wished him to stay a while, and so going back to his guests, told Monsieur *de Rivers* that he thought that the *English* Gentleman, whom a little before he was speaking of, had sent his Man to speak with him : Monsieur *de Rivers* going to the Door, and seeing Mr. *Berty*, his Dutches and Infant in that lamentable case with Rain, Mire and Dirt, and in Apparel so unlike to that which he had formerly seen them in *England*, was so overwhelmed with sorrow and tears, that for a good while he could neither speak to them, nor they to him ; yet at last they saluted each other, and he brought them into the House, into which they entred, God knows, full joyfully. Mr. *Berty* changing his Apparel which the good Man of the House, the Dutches with his Wife, and their Infant with the Child of the House.

A few days after Monsieur *de Rivers* helped them to hire a fair House in the Town, where discovering themselves more freely, they lived in such a good fashion as their present condition would afford. The discourtesie which the Inn-Keepers had shewed them at their first coming to Town was presently spoken of all abroad, insomuch as a godly Minister, the Sabbath following openly reproved their incivility towards strangers, shewing, that not only Princes sometimes are entertained in the habit of private Persons, but Angels also in the shape of Men, &c. Whilst they thus passed the time in some content after their tedious travels, hoping that they had found a resting place, they had private notice given them from Sr. *John Mason*, Queen *Maries* Embassador in the *Netherlands*, that a design was laid for their apprehension, and carrying back into *England*, by the Lord *Paget* ; And the Plot was this, The Duke of *Brunswick* being to pass by that City with Ten Companies of Soldiers to assist the House of *Austria* against the King of *France*, was suddenly to apprehend and carry them away from *wezell*. Mr. *Berty* being informed of this, was fain presently to take his Dutches and Child, and to fly into the *Palatinate*, where he found protection in *Wincheim*, till the means which he brought with him out of *England* was almost spent, and they began to faint under their heavy burthens, being almost out of heart and hope in this their distressed condition. At which time it pleased God wonderfully to provide for them by a way and means that they never dreamed of.

In the first part of my Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, you may in the Life of *John a Lasco*, read, that he being driven out of *England* in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, after many troubles and adventures, returned into *Poland*, his native Country, where he found great favor with the King ; And understanding



standing the condition of Mr. Bertie and his Dutches, whom he had known in England, he made report thereof to the King of Poland, and the Palatine of Vilna, who presently wrote to them to come into Poland, offering them great kindness if they would accept of their invitation. Yet considering that hereby they should remove further from their native soil, and from all their acquaintance, into a far Country; and at their arrival there, it might be, they should not find their intertainment answerable to their toil and hazard in their journey, they knew not well what to do: Whereupon they advised with Mr. Barlow, sometimes Bishop of Chichester, who was then in the Palatinate, desiring him to go before them to Poland, and by him they sent Letters to the King, and Palatine of Vilna, returning them many thanks for their kind proffers; By him they also presented them with some Jewels, which were all the remainder of those which they had brought out of England; desiring the King, under his Broad Seal, to assure them of that which by his Letters he had so honorably proffered to them.

Mr. Barlow arriving safely with his Letters, by the assistance of the Palatine of Vilna, easily procured what they desired. Whereupon the Dutches, with her Husband and Family began their journey towards Poland, in April Anno Christi 1557.

By the way they met with many dangers: One was occasioned by a Captain of the Lantgraves, who for a Spaniel of Mr. Berties, quarrelled with them, and with his Horsemen set upon them by the way, thrusting their Bore-spears through the Wagon, wherein the Women and Children were, yet through Gods mercy, none of them were hurt. Mr. Bertie had only Four Horsemen with him, and in the brabble the Captains Horse was slain under him. Presently a rumor was spread all over the Country, That the Lantgraves Captain was slain, which exceedingly incensed the common People against them, it being reported that they were Walloons which had done it. The Dutches understanding the danger that they were in, perswaded her Husband to leave them, and by the swiftness of his Horse to recover some Town for his safety, till they came to him. Mr. Bertie attempting this, was eagerly pursued by the Countrymen; and the Captains Brother, who thought, that according to the report, the Captain had been slain indeed; And in the pursuit they came so near unto him, that he had certainly been murdered, but that, as God would have it, spying a Ladder that leaned against a Window, he left his Horse, and ran up the Ladder, whereby he got into a Cock-loft on the top of the House, where, with his Rapier and Dagger, he defended himself for a space: And it pleased God that the Burgomaster, and another Magistrate that could speak Latin came to the House, and perswaded him to submit himself to the order of the Law. Mr. Bertie knowing himself to be clear, and the Captain to be alive, was content to yield himself to them upon condition that the Magistrate would promise him safety, and to protect him from the rude multitude: This the Magistrate promised, whereupon he delivered up his Weapons and himself into his Hands, and was committed to safe custody till the truth of his cause should be tried.

Then did Mr. Bertie presently write to the Lantgrave, and to the Earl of Erbagh, declaring his case unto them. The next morning the Earl of Erbagh came to the Town, whither the Dutches also with her Waggon was now come. The Earl having heard of the Dutches before, went to her, and carried himself with much civility and respect towards her: Whereupon the Towns-men seeing how submissively the Earl behaved himself, and by this time understanding the Captain to be alive, both they and the other authors of that stir began to shrink away, making all the Friends they could to Mr. Bertie and the Dutches, that they would not report their doings after the worst sort. And thus, through Gods merciful providence, escaping this great danger, they proceeded on

on in their journey, and through the same good hand of providence arrived at last in safety in *Poland*, where, by the King they were entertained with all curtesie and humanity; And the King also placed them safely and honorably in the Earldom of *Crozan*, in which place they had absolute power of Government, the same which the King himself formerly had, so that it proved to them as a quiet Haven after a tempestuous Sea, and there they lived with much honor and comfort till the death of Queen *Mary*.

L A U S D E O.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. XII.

*The Troubles of many of those which fled for Religion in Queen Maries days beyond the Seas, especially at Frankford.*



Any godly Persons, Ministers, and others, seeing the charge of Religion by Queen *Mary*, and the storm of persecution arising, that they might reserve themselves for better times, fled beyond Sea, and June 27. 1554. *Edmund Sutton, William Williams, William Whittingham, and Thomas Wood*, with their companies, arrived at *Frankford*, which were the first *Englishmen* that desired to make their abode there.

The same night of their arrival came to them *Mr. Valeran Pullen*, one of the Ministers of the *French Church*, and told them that he had obtained of the Magistrates a Church for all such as should come out of *England* for the Gospels sake, especially from *Glastenbury*, who were *Frenchmen*. To which they answered, That they had great cause to praise God who had stirred up the Hearts of the Magistrates to shew such favor to the *French*; But seeing few of them who were already, or should hereafter come from *England*, understood the *French Tongue*, it would not be convenient for them to join themselves to that Church.

A Church granted in *Frankford*.

Hereupon the next day they conferred with *Mr. Morellio*, another Minister of the *French Church*, and with *Mr. Castalio*, an Elder of the same, both of them godly and learned Men, by whose advice they concluded that a Supplication should be drawn up and presented to the Magistrates to know whether they would suffer, both such as were already come, and such others as might repair thither from *England*, to remain safely within their City. This Supplication was subscribed by *Mr. Sutton, Mr. Whittingham*, and the rest of the *English*; as also by *Mr. Morellio, Castalio*, and one *Adrian* a Citizen, with whom they lodged.

The English Petition.

The Magistrates granted this request: Whereupon July 8. by the advice of *Morellio* and *Castalio*, who shewed themselves Fathers to all *English Men* so long as they lived, address was made to *Mr. John Glanberge*, one of the chief Senators, for a place or Church, where they and all other their Countrymen, might have Gods Word truly preached, and the Sacraments sincerely administered in the *English Tongue*. He promised them kindly his furtherance, and accordingly moved it to the whole Senate, and July 14. it was granted that they should have liberty to preach and administer the Sacraments in the Church, which the *Frenchmen* had, each other day in the week, and upon Sabbath days at different hours: But withal it was required that the *English* should agree with the *French* in Doctrine and Ceremonies, that so they might give no offence to them. They were also required to approve and subscribe the same Confession of Faith, which the *French Men* had then presented, and were about to publish in Print, which was accordingly done by all the aforementioned, and by some others which by this time were come to them.

The Magistrates answer.

They were to agree with the French.

Thus

Satan's malice.

Thus far Gods mercy did greatly appear to them. But Satan envying their peace and welfare, when they had withdrawn themselves from the reach of their common Enemies the Papists, shortly after he set them at discord amongst themselves, raising up a persecution where they least expected it, as in the process of the Story you shall find.

These holy Men having obtained so much favor of the Magistrates, began to consult what form of Service they should use: for (it was told them) that they were not bound to strictly to the *French Ceremonies*, but if one allowed of the other, it was sufficient

A form of service agreed on.

Hereupon the *English Service Book* was perused, and by generall consent it was concluded, That answering the Minister aloud, the *Litany*, *Surplice*, and many other things should be omitted, because they might prove scandalous to those Reformed Churches.

It was further agreed, That the Minister, instead of the *English Confession*, should use another form more suitable to that state and time, after which a *Psalm* was to be sung; And then the Minister, after Prayer to proceed to his Sermon, at the end whereof a form of Prayer was prescribed for all Estates, and in particular for *England*, which was to be concluded with the Lords Prayer; And then the Minister was to rehearse the Articles of the Faith, and so to dismiss the People with a Blessing.

It was also concluded that sundry things should be omitted in the administration of the Sacraments. All which being agreed on, they proceeded to choose the Minister and Deacons, and so entered their Church, *July 29.*

Letters sent to other English.

Then they thought good forthwith to advertise their Brethren, and Countrymen dispersed, of this singular mercy of God to them, the like whereof could not as yet be obtained in any other place, and to desire them, That laying aside worldly respects, they would repair thither, that they might altogether with one Heart and Mouth, lament and bewail their former sins; And also to give thanks to their Heavenly Father, who had given them such a Church in a strange Land: These Letters were sent to *Strasborough*, *Zurick*, *Desburg* and *Embsen*, *Aug. 2.*

Government agreed on.

Also because they conceived that the Church could not long continue in good order, without Discipline, there was a form of Government drawn up, and agreed on, unto which all that were present subscribed.

The answer from Strasborough.

Shortly after the *English* at *Strasborough* returned this answer, That they had considered the contents of their Letter, and perceived that the principal effect was, That they might have One or Two sent them to take the chief charge of their Church; For which end they might get *Dr. Poinet*, *Dr. Cox*, *Dr. Bale*, or *Mr. Scory*, or any Two of them; And if they disliked this, they would appoint one from *Strasborough*, and another from *Zurick*, to come to them. *Mr. Grindall* also at the same time wrote to *Mr. Scory* at *Embsen*, perswading him to be the Superintendent of that Church at *Frankford*, who in Two several Letters to his private Friends, profered his service to that Congregation. But before the receipt of his Letters, the Church had written to *Mr. Knox* at *Geneva*, to *Mr. Haddon* at *Strasborough*, and to *Mr. Lever* at *Zurick*, whom they elected for their Ministers, and advertised *Mr. Scory* by a general Letter of the same.

The Letter to Zurick.

*Sept. 16.* These of *Frankford* wrote again to the *English* at *Zurick*, in this form: Grace, mercy and peace; After long expectation of your answer to our Letter, we thought fit once more to put you in remembrance; and as formerly, so now again we earnestly require on Gods behalf, that you would seriously weigh and consider this call of God, and the necessity of this Congregation: we have thoroughly learned your estate, and also made you acquainted with ours; and we heartily wish that we might together bewail our sins, pray for our Brethren who are under the Tyranny of Antichrist; and to instruct and edifie one another. Finally to spend the time of our persecution together, and to redeem these days which are so evil. If you stay there for the improvement of your learning, surely you might so benefit yourselves here, that you should have no cause



cause to repent: You cannot here lack the Society of Learned Men, and for their works which are in Print, you may here be abundantly furnished with them. But we need not, Brethren, be large in reasoning, for we know that Gods Spirit that worketh in your Hearts, will prevail more with you than any arguments of ours; not doubting but the same holy Spirit knocks at the door of your consciences, not only to move you to hearken to our request, but also to avoid the offence and scandal which will be given to our poor Brethren in England, whose expectations cannot otherwise be satisfied. Remember, brethren, that we write as those who altogether seek our Fathers honor, the discharge of our duty, and the comfort of our afflicted Countrymen. The same sweet Father grant for his mercies sake, that we may assemble together to promote the building of his Temple, and to hinder false Workmen and Underminers; and diligently in our several places to endeavor to promote this work, till it come to perfection. Farewel in Christ: From Frankford Sept. 16. 1554.

To this Letter, they that studied at Zurick returned this Answer:

Being placed here in quietness, with many and great advantages to our studies, we have by this our Letter returned answer to your earnest request, which was, that to discharge our duty and conscience, and to increase and instruct your Congregation with our pains and presence, we would remove from hence to you; Urging it upon our consciences, in regard of that great need which you have of us; and for the further encouragement of us, you have signified and assured us, that with you we may, and shall use the same order of Service in Gods worship, as was last set forth by King Edward the Sixth. Wherefore for the better enabling us to understand your request, and for the charitable performance of duty upon both parts, we have sent unto you Master Richard Chambers, our best Friend, a charitable Man, and one that is tenderly affected to the Church of Christ; intreating him to travel to you, and with you for us, that this business moved by writing may be fully debated betwixt you; and we all agree to, and shall perform whatsoever he shall say and promise in our Names to you. We beseech you therefore in the Name of God conscientiously to consider both your state and ours: And if you shall conclude with the said Master Chambers for our coming to you, then let not him lack your charitable help in necessary provision for our continuance with you. Thus beseeching God that your doings may tend to his glory, and the speedy comfort of his afflicted Church, We wish you all health, and increase of true knowledge in Christ our Lord and Saviour. From Zurick, Octob. 7. 1554.

The answer  
from Zurick.

Octob. The Thirteenth following, they wrote also another Letter to the same purpose, concluding thus:

Dear Brethren, Considering that we are not only all of one Nation, but also members of the same mystical Body of Jesus Christ our Head; we ought therefore especially in this time of our Exile, and worthily deserved affliction, by all means possible to aid and comfort one another, beseeching God for his mercies sake to assuage his wrath, to give us repenting Hearts, to grant patience to our Brethren in England, and mercifully to look down upon his Vineyard that is miserably spoiled and trodden under foot, and after these fatherly chastisements, to return us to our native homes, and to enable us to work fruitfully in the same. If upon the receipt of these our Letters you shall without cloke or forged pretence, only seeking Christs honor, advertise us by your Letters, that our Beeing there is so needful as you have already signified, and that we may as freely and uprightly serve God (whereof private Letters received from Frankford make us much to doubt) as the order last taken in the Church of England permitteth and prescribeth: For we are fully resolved to admit and use no other: Then about Easter next (for before we cannot) God prospering us, and no just cause intervening, whereby our purposes may be disappointed, with one consent we agree to joyn our selves to you, and most willingly to perform such service there, as our poor condition and calling will permit. In the mean space we shall most intirely beseech God so to assist you with his holy Spirit, that your doings may help to confound Papistry, set forth Gods glory, and shew such light in the face of the world, that both the wicked

Another Letter  
from Zurick.

may be ashamed, having no just cause to reproach; and also our weak Brethren confirmed, and won to the truth.

From Zurick, Octo. 13. 1554. Subscribed by

Robert Horn, Richard Chambers, Thomas Lever, Nicholas Karville, John Mullings, Thomas Spencer, Thomas Bentham, William Cole, John Parkhurst, Roger Keble, Robert Beamont, Laurence Humphrey, Henry Cockraffe, John Pretio.

Mr. Whitehead  
Preacheth at  
Frankford.

Octo. 14. Following Master *Whitehead* came to *Frankford*, and by the request of the Congregation, took the place upon him for a time, and preached upon the Epistle to the *Romans*.

Mr. Knox chosen  
Pastor.

Not long before, Master *Chambers* had conference with the Church at *Frankford*, in the behalf of the *English* Students at *Zurick*, and saw that they could not assure him the full use of the *English* Service Book, without hazarding their Church: Whereupon he returned to *Zurick* whence he came: And about the same time Master *Knox* coming from *Geneva*, was chosen their Minister; and so the business rested for a while. Yet shortly after they wrote again to them at *Zurick* in this manner:

Their second  
Letter to *Zurick*.

*we have received Two Letters from you, one dated Octo. 13. sent us from Strasborough; The other of the Twenty seventh of the same, sent us by our dear Friend Master Chambers, and have conferred with him at large touching the contents thereof; and whereas, after divers Assemblies, and long debates, Master Chambers perceived that we could not in all points warrant the full use of the Service Book, which seemeth to be your full scope and aim, and also conscientiously weighing the great benefit offered to our whole Nation in this City; he not only rejoiced greatly at the same, but also promised to travel with you, in perswading you to the furtherance thereof.*

*As touching the substance of the Book, we desire the observation of it as much as you, so far as Gods Word commands: But for the unprofitable Ceremonies, as well by his consent, as by ours, they are not to be used. And though they were tolerable, as some of them are not, yet being in a strange Commonwealth, we could not be suffered to use them: And surely it were better that they should never be practised, than that they should prove the subversion of our Church, which would be much hazarded by the use of them. If a larger door be opened there for the same, than to us, upon your perswasions, you shall find that we will not draw back: For this is very necessary, if we wish the comfort and gathering together of our dispersed Brethren. If any think that the not using the Book in all points will increase our godly Fathers and Brethrens bands in England, or will tend to the dishonor of the Laws of our late Sovereign of famous memory, King Edward the Sixth, he seemeth little to weigh the matter, or else hindered by ignorance, knoweth not that even they themselves, upon consideration of circumstances have altered many things; and if God had not in these wicked days prevented, would have altered more: And we doubt not but in our case they would have done the like. These few lines touching our communication we have written to you, referring the rest to the prudence of our good Friend Master Chambers, who can testify that we have shewed our selves conformable in all things which are in our power, and most desirous of your companies, as we formerly wrote to you. Gods Spirit move your Hearts to do that which shall be most for his glory, and the comfort of your Brethren; Frankford, Nov. 15. 1554. Subscribed,*

Your Loving Brethren,

John Bale, Edward Sutton, John Makebray, William Whittingham, Thomas Cole, William Williams, George Chidley, William Hammon, Thomas Steward, Thomas Wood, John Stanton, William Walton, Jasper Swift, John Gefferay, John Gray, Michael Gill, John Stamford, John Wood, Thomas Sorby, Anthony Carrier, Hugh Alford.

Novemb.



Novemb. 23. The English at Strasborough wrote also these Letters to the English at Frankford.

Letters from  
Strasbourg.

When we consider what inward comfort it would be for the faithful people of England, now dispersed for the Gospels sake, and wandering in strange Countries, as sheep without shepherds, to be gathered together into one Congregation, that with one Heart, one Mind and Mouth, they might glorifie God. We have always, and still do think it our duties, not only to desire, but also to labor the effecting of it: And now understanding the good wills of the Magistrates of Frankford towards you, and others of our dispersed Countrymen, who also have granted a Church, wherein we with others may serve God; And not doubting of their further friendship in permitting us freely to use our Religion, according to that godly order set forth and received in England: we do not only bless God for this great mercy, but also think it not fit to refuse so friendly an offer, or to let slip so good an occasion. Therefore not doubting their good furtherance, nor distrusting your good conformity and readiness in reducing the English Church with you to the former perfection which it last had in England, so far as possibly it can be attained, lest by much altering the same, we should seem to condemn the chief Authors thereof; who, as they now suffer, so are they ready to confirm that Fact with the price of their Blood; and should also give occasion to our Adversaries to accuse our Doctrin of imperfection, and us of mutability; and should cause many godly to doubt of that truth, wherein they have formerly been persuaded; and to hinder their coming hither, which before they had purposed. For the avoiding of these, and obtaining the other, moved hereunto in conscience, and provoked by your gentle Letters, we have thought fit to send over unto you our beloved Brethren, the bringers hereof, to travel with the Magistrates and you concerning the premises, whose wisdom, Learning and godly zeal, as they are known to you, so their doings in this business shall be fully approved of by us. And if they obtain that which we trust will not be denied at any Hand, we intend God willing to be with you Feb. the First next, there to help to set in order, and establish that Church accordingly, and so long to remain with you, as shall be necessary, on till just occasion shall call some of us away: And we doubt not but our Brethren of Zurich, Embden, Duesborough, &c. will do the same, as we have requested them by our Letters; hoping that you by yours will make the like request, Farewel: Strasborough, Nov. 23, 1554.

Your Loving Friends,

James Haddon, Edwin Sands, Edmund Grindall, John Huntington, Guido Eaton, John Gefferey, John Pedder, Thomas Eaton, Mighell Reymiger, Augustine Bradbridg, Arthur Saul, Thomas Steward, Christopher Goodman, Humphrey Alcockson, Thomas Lakin, Thomas Grafton.

This Letter being read to the Congregation, Master Grindall declared the occasion of their coming, which was chiefly for establishing the English Service Book; nor that they meant (as he said) to have it so strictly observed, but that such Ceremonies and things which the Country could not bear, might well be omitted, so that the substance and effect thereof might be retained.

The English  
Service book  
prefixed.

Then Mr. Knox and Mr. Whittingham asked, what they meant by the substance of the Book?

They answered that they had no commission to dispute of those things, only they requested the Congregation to answer these Three Queries.

1. What parts of the Book they would admit?

2. Whether they would allow them a several Church?

3. What assurance they might have for their quiet Habitation?

To the First, answer was made, That what they could prove to be consistent with the word of God, and the Country could permit, that should be granted them.

For the Second they answered, That they understood by the Magistrates, that the time was unreasonable to move for such a thing, till the Council brake up at Augsburg.

## The Troubles of those which fled

To the Third they answered, That a general grant was made at their first coming thither, to the whole *English* Nation, and the freedom of the City was offered to all such as were desirous of it, in as ample a manner as they could require, which to them was sufficient.

They also by these messengers wrote back this Letter to them at *Strasborough*.

The second  
Letter to  
*Strasborough*.

As it was ever most true, so at this time we find it fulfilled, that wheresoever God hath laid a foundation to build his glory upon, there he continues till he hath perfected his own work. All thanks and praise therefore be to him who hath so moved your Hearts as not to neglect the furtherance of the same. And as the work is of great excellency, so the Adversaries neglect not craftily to undermine it, or at least by false reports, and disgracing the work begun, to discourage the laborers, which should travel in the finishing of it. But truth ever cleareth it self; And as the Sun dispels the Clouds, so misreports by trial are confounded. Our Brethren sent from you can testify our answers to the particulars of your Letters, to whom we have agreed in all things which seemed expedient for the state of this Congregation. As for such Ceremonies, as the order of this Country will not bear, we necessarily forbear; yet with as little alteration as may be possible (according as you desire in your Letters) so that no Adversary can be so impudent, as either to blame our Doctrine of imperfection, or us of inconstancy, except he be wilfully ignorant, rather seeking how to find fault, than to amend things amiss. Neither do we dissent from them who are spending their Bloods for the Doctrine whereof they have made a most worthy Confession: And yet we think not, that any Learned or Godly Man will stand in defence of those Ceremonies to death, which even the Book confesseth may upon occasions be altered and changed. And if the not full using of the Book cause any godly person to doubt of the truth which they formerly imbraced, or retard their coming hither, surely either they were not well instructed, who for the breach of a Ceremony will neglect such a singular benefit, or else things have been misreported to them by false Brethren, who spare not everywhere to sow some poor reasons to hinder so worthy an enterprise. And whereas ye write that the First of February next ye will come to help to set in order and stablish this Church, as we willingly desire it for your companies sake, and that you might see our godly order here observed; so we cannot but signify, that if ye take such a journey for the stablishing of Ceremonies, it will tend more to your charges, than to any general profit, except ye resolve to stay longer with us than Two moneths, as you write to our Countrymen at Densborough and Embden, &c.

The rest we refer to our Brethren, Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Grindall, who by their diligent enquiry have learned so much of our estate as we wrote unto you in our former Letters; That is, that we have a Church freely granted to Preach Gods Word purely, and to administer the Sacrament sincerely, to execute discipline truly: And as for the Book, we will practise it so far as Gods Word warranteth; and the state of this Country will permit, Farewel,

Franc. Dec. 3.      Your Loving Friends,

George Whitnall, Thomas Whitnall, John Knox, Joseph Bale, William Whittingham, Edward Sutton, Thomas Wood, William Williams, John Stanton, Joseph Samford, John Fox, William Kethe, Joseph Makebray, William Walton, Michael Gill, Laurence Kent, John Holdingham.

Presently after the receipt of this Letter, the Divines of *Strasborough* returned this answer:

The answer  
from *Strasbo-*  
*rough*.

Grace, mercy and peace, We have received your Letter, and therewithal an answer to certain Articles, by which we perceive, as also by the report of Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Grindall, your estate; But seeing the time serves not for the present to move the Magistrates for those requests, the obtaining whereof was the principal cause of our sending to you, we cannot agree to any general meeting at any certain time,



time, either to remain with you, or otherwise. But when you shall find the time convenient to move the Magistrates for the quiet habitation for all comers, especially for the Students, and for a separate Church, wherein the Book may be used in such a manner as no reasonable Man shall justly blame, and that we may have assurance thereof under the Magistrates Hands: Upon this information we shall consult what is further to be done on our party, hoping that God will direct us so as may be most for his glory in the end, whatsoever may be judged of it for the present.

Strasb. Decem. 13. 1554.

Your Loving Friends,

James Haddon, Edwin Sands, Edmund Grindall, &c.

Hereupon Mr. Knox, Mr. Whittingham, and others translated the English Service Book into Latin, and sent it to Mr. Calvin to Geneva, requesting his judgment thereupon, and declaring to him that some of their Countrymen went about to force them to the use of it, and would admit no other, saying, That it was most absolute, and that if ever they came into their own Country, they would endeavour to establish it there again.

Mr. Calvin having perused it, returned this answer. *I find in the English Liturgy, many tolerable follies, by which word I mean, that there is not that purity which is to be desired: These things, though they could not at first be amended, yet seeing there was no manifest impiety in them, they were for a season to be tolerated.* These Letters bore date from Geneva, Jan. 20. 1555.

These Letters being read in the Congregation at Frankford, many which before were for all the parts of that Book, were wholly alienated from it. Whereupon it was concluded that Mr. Knox, Mr. Whittingham, Mr. Fox and Mr. Cole should draw forth some order fit for their state and time, which being finished, was tendered to the Congregation, being the same with that used at Geneva: This was well liked by most, only such as were for the English Service Book could not abide it. Hereupon, Feb. 6. A Liturgie was framed, part taken out of the English Book, and other things added as the state of the Church required, which by the consent of the Congregation was to be continued till the last of April following. And if any contention should arise in the mean time, the matter was to be determined by these Five notably Learned Men, viz. Calvin, Musculus, P. Martyr, Bullinger and Viret; which agreement being put in writing, all gave their consents to it, and hereupon the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper was comfortably administered.

This happy Concord continued till March 13. following; At which time Dr. Cox and some others coming out of England to Frankford, began to break the order agreed upon: First, in answering aloud after the Minister, contrary to the Churches determination, saying, That they would do as they had done in England, and that they would have the face of an English Church there: Yes the Sabbath following, one of that company, without the consent of the Congregation, went up suddenly into the Pulpit, and read the *Letany*, Dr. Cox and the rest answering aloud, thereby breaking the order of that Church. Hereupon Mr. Knox being to Preach in the Afternoon, he having gone over so much in *Genesis*, was come to the story of *Noah*, and in the process of his Sermon he said, As some things ought to be kept secret, so such things as tend to the dishonor of God and the disturbance of his Church, ought to be disclosed and openly rebuked, and so shewed that after long trouble and contention a godly agreement was made amongst them, which that very day had been very ungodly broken: Which thing, said he, became not the proudest of you all to have attempted; adding further, That as by the Word of God we must seek our warrant for the establishing of Religion, without which warrant nothing ought to be obtruded upon Christians; So seeing in the English Book there are some things superstitious, impure, and imperfect, which I undertake to prove before all Men, I will not therefore consent that they shall be received of this Church: And in case any will go about to burthen our free Congregation therewith, so

Calvin's judgment of the English Service Book.

A Liturgie framed.

Dr. Cox disturbs the peace of the Church.

Mr. Knox's zeal.

often

often as I come into this place, my text offering just occasion, I will not fail to speak against it. He also affirmed that amongst many other things which provoked Gods anger against *England*, slackness in reforming Religion when they had opportunity, was one, and therefore now they ought to be the more circumspect how they laid their foundation: And whereas some were not ashamed to say, that Reformation was perfected in *England*, he proved the contrary by the want of a good Discipline, as appeared by the troubles which good Master *Hooper* had sustained in King *Edwards* time about the *Rochet*, &c. As also for that some Men were permitted to hold Three, Four or Five Benefices, to the scandal of the Gospel, and to the starving of many poor Souls.

This speech of his was much stomacked by some, especially such as had been Pluralists in *England*, who sharply reprov'd him so soon as he came out of the Pulpit: And the *Tuesday* following was appointed to speak more fully about these businesses: At which time Doctor *Cox* and his company made earnest request to be admitted to have voices in the Congregation: To this some answered, that this could not be granted, till the matters in controversie betwixt them were first determined, and till they should subscribe to their Discipline, as others had done before them, &c.

Dr. Cox and his company admitted members.

Raise up troubles.

But Mr. *Knox* intreated that they might be satisfied in their request, unto whom some others adhered, by which means they became the greater part, and so were admitted members of the Church; which was no sooner done, but Doctor *Cox* forthwith forbad Mr. *Knox* to meddle any more in that Congregation.

Hereupon the next day Mr. *Whittingham* went to Mr. *Jo. Glanburge* (who had procured the Church for them) and complained to him, that certain newly come out of *England*, had forbidden their Minister, who was appointed to Preach that day, and intended to set up an Order, which, he doubted, would not be well taken; which he thought fit to acquaint him with, least any inconvenience should fall out.

Arbitrators chosen.

Nothing concluded.

Hereupon he presently sent and commanded that there should be no Sermon that day; and sending for Monsieur *Valeran*, the *French* Minister, commanded him that Two Learned Men should be appointed of either part; and that he and they should consult and agree upon some good Order, and make report to him thereof accordingly. Upon this Doctor *Cox* and Master *Lever* of the one side, and Master *Knox* and Master *Whittingham* on the other side, were appointed to decide the controversie, and Master *Valeran* was appointed to set down in writing what they agreed upon: But when they came to speak of the morning Service, and Doctor *Cox* said, *I will have it thus*, they could not agree, and so brake off.

Then did the Congregation draw up a supplication, presenting it to Master *Glanburge*, and intreating him that it might be considered of by the Senators: The tenor whereof was this;

The Presbyterians Petition.

Let it not molest you (most grave and worthy Senators) that your affairs are interrupted with a few words. But least we should trouble you with prolixity, the matter briefly is this: When your great humanity had through the providence of God, granted us a Church, we undertook forthwith (as became us) to consult about Orders, and to draw up a Liturgy; And because we found in the prolix and ceremonious Book of *England*, many things, to speak the least of them, not so perfect; we thought fit to reduce it to the perfect rule of the Scriptures, and to accommodate our selves to the example of the Church wherein we live, and to which we have subscribed. But when this proved offensive to some of our Countrymen (although the greatest part agreed thereto) as declining from the decrees of our Elders, we were for a few Moneths put to no small trouble: But at length when it could not be otherwise, for peace sake, we gave place to them, and suffered them to pick out of their

Book



Book the best things, upon this condition, that the same should continue without alteration, at least till the last of April, at which time, if any new contention should arise, that then the whole matter should be referred to these Five worthy Men, Calvin, Musculus, Bullinger, Martyr, and Viret. What need many words? The condition was willingly accepted, and confirmed by both parties, which also was drawn up in writing; And thanks were given to God, with great joy, every one thinking that day to be the end of all discord; They also received the holy Communion as the token and seal of their mutual agreement, which had been omitted for the space of Three Moneths. Master Valeran joyned with us herein, and was a furtherer of Concord, and a witness of this our agreement. But now lately some of our Countrymen came to us, who have endeavored by all means to obtrude that large volume of ceremonies upon us, to break the Covenant, and to overthrow the liberty of our Church; granted by your benevolence; which also they enterprise under the name of your defence, abusing the authority of your name to the satisfying of their lusts. We here omit many things that would make for our cause; and remit them to our Brethren, to whom (most Honorable Senators) you may understand the cause of our contention, and so may know easily what to judge of the whole matter.

What manner of Book this is for which they so earnestly contend, you may consider by the Epistle which Calvin lately wrote to us, in which he hath signified his mind plainly, both of the Book, and of the uprightness of our cause.

We could have pointed out to you the foolish and fond things of the Book, but passing over others, we shall instance only in this one; within these Three years arose a great conflict between the English Bishops, and the Bishop of Gloucester [Master Hooper] a Man worthy of perpetual memory, whom we now hear to be burned. This Man being made Bishop by King Edward the Sixth, according to this Book, there was obtruded upon him by other Bishops, a Rochet, and a Bishops Robe; This Man being Learned, and having been long brought up in Germany, because he refused those proud things that are admired by Fools, was cast into Prison; and at length, being overcome by their importunity, he was compelled to his shame, to give place to their impudency, to the common grief and sorrow of all godly minds.

But happily you will say, wherefore speak we of these things which appertain not to us? Yea verily, we think it concerns you much, for if these Men, armed with your Authority, shall do what they list, this evil in time shall be established by you, neither shall there be any end of this controversie in England. But if it shall please your Honors to moderate between us, that this whole matter may be referred to those Five Men above mentioned, not we alone that are here present, but all our posterity; yea our whole English Nation, and all good Men, to the perpetual memory of your Names, shall be bound unto you for this great benefit. We might have enlarged this Narration, for we want not other reasons, but we fear that you would want time, by reason of your more serious businesses; Therefore we leave the rest to the consideration of your Wisdoms.

March 22. Mr. Glauburg came to the English Church, and shewed the Congregation, that it was commanded by the Magistrates (when by his means the Church was granted) that they should agree with the French Church both in Doctrine and Ceremonies: And that they understood that their falling from that order had caused much contention amongst them; Therefore he straitly charged and commanded, That from thenceforth they should not dissent from that Order; For if they did, as he had opened the Church doors for them, so he would shut them again, and that such as would not assent thereto, should not stay in that City, willing them presently to consult hereof, and give him an answer before he departed.

Hereupon Doctor Cox spake to the Congregation, saying, I have read the French Order, and do think it good and godly in all points, and therefore desire you to obey the Magistrates commandment about it; upon which speech the whole

Dr. Cox's dissimulation.  
Peace concluded.

whole Congregation assented, and a report was made thereof to Mr. *Glauburg* by Dr. *Cox*, Mr. *Lever*, and Mr. *Whittingham* before he departed. Dr. *Cox* also requested him, that notwithstanding their ill behavior, he would be pleased to shew them his accustomed favor and goodness, which he most gently and lovingly promised.

The treachery  
of the Prelati-  
cal party.

At the next meeting of the Congregation that Order was put in practice to the comfort and rejoycing of the most part. Yet such as would fain have had the *English* Service Book, left not the matter thus. For seeing Master *Knox* to be in great credit with the Congregation, they endeavored by a most cruel, Barbarous and bloody practice to dispatch him out of the way, that thereby they might attain their end of bringing in their Service Book.

They had amongst them a Book of his, called, *An Admonition to Christians*, written in *English*; wherein by occasion he spake of the Emperor, of Philip his Son, and Mary Queen of England. This they presented to the Magistrates; who, upon the receipt of it, sent for Mr. *Whittingham*, and asked him what manner of Man their Minister Mr. *Knox* was? He answered, that to his knowledge he was a Learned, Wise and Godly man. Then said one of the Magistrates, Some of your Countrymen have accused him to us of high Treason, against the Emperors Majesty, his Son, and the Queen of England: Here is the Book, and the places which they have turned down, the true and perfect sense whereof, we command you (*sub pana pacis*) to bring to us in *Latine* at one a clock in the afternoon. This he did accordingly, at which time, having conferred amongst themselves, they commanded that Mr. *Knox* should Preach no more, till their pleasure were further known. The words concerning the Emperor were these, spoken by him in the Pulpit in a Town in *Buckinghamshire*, in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign: O England, England, *If thou wilt obstinately return into Egypt; That is, If thou Contract Marriage, Confederacy or League with such Princes as do maintain and advance Idolatry, such as the Emperor, who is no less an enemy to Christ then was Nero; If for the pleasure and friendship, I say, of such Princes, thou return to thine old abominations used in the times of Popery, then assuredly (O England) thou shalt be plagued, and brought to desolation by the means of those whose favor thou seekest, and by whom thou art drawn to fall from Christ, and to serve Antichrist.*

The Magi-  
strates dislike  
of them.

Mr. *Knox* dri-  
ven away.

But the Magistrates abhorring this bloody design, when certain of Master *Knox*'s enemies followed them, to know what should be done with him, they shewed evident signs of disliking their unnatural suit; and withal sent for Master *Williams*, and Master *Whittingham*, willing them that Master *Knox* should depart the City, least they should be forced to deliver him, if the Emperors Council (which then lay at *Auspurg*) should upon the like information send for him.

His farewell  
Sermon.

March 25. The night before Master *Knox*'s departure, he made a most comfortable Sermon at his Lodging, to about Fifty persons then present, about the death and resurrection of *Christ*, and of the unspeakable joys prepared for the Elect, which in this life suffer trouble, and persecution for the testimony of his blessed Name. The next day he was brought Three or Four miles on his way, by some of those persons, who with great heaviness of Heart, and plenty of Tears committed him to the Lord.

The Prelatical  
party prevails.

And the same day one *Adolphus Glauburg*, a Doctor of Law, and Nephew to Master *John Glauburg* the Senator, whom Doctor *Cox* and his party had won to them, sent for Master *Whittingham*, and told him that Three Doctors, Thirteen Batchelors of Divinity, and some others had obtained of the Magistrates, the full use of the *English* Book; and therefore he commanded him not to meddle any further to the contrary; For (saith he) it is fully concluded of that so it shall be. And supposing that Mr. *Whittingham* would oppose it what he might, the  
next



next day he sent for him again, and before Dr. Cox and others he renewed the same charge. Mr. *Whittingham* answered, That if it were so concluded, he would willingly obey; not doubting but that it might be lawful for him and some others, to join themselves to another Church. But Dr. Cox besought the Lawyer that that might not be permitted: Mr. *Whittingham* answered, That it would be too great cruelty to force Men contrary to their consciences to obey their disordered doings; Adding, that if it would please the Magistrates to give him and others the hearing, they would dispute the matter against all the contrary part, and doubted not to prove, that the Order which they sought to establish, ought not to be admitted in any Reformed Church: The Lawyer answered, That there should be no such Disputation, commanding him again to deal no further in that matter.

The Congregation hearing of the Tyrannical dealing of this Doctor, they sent Mr. *Gilby* with some others to Mr. *John Glanburg*, by whose command they had received the *French Order*, to mind him of the same, and to shew him that certain lately come in amongst them, had sought to overthrow their Church, by bringing in the *English Service Book*; To which he answered, That he was informed that both parties had consented thereto, and thereupon he had referred the whole business to his Cousin the Lawyer. Then he enquired for Mr. *Whittingham*, whereunto they answered, That he was straitly charged by his Cousin to meddle no more in that matter. Upon this answer he gently intreated Mr. *Gilby* and the rest to be contented, and he would see that nothing should be used, but what should be tolerable, with which answer they departed.

But March 28. Dr. Cox assembled the *English Ministers*, and told them, That the Magistrates had allowed them the use of the *English Book*, and therefore he thought it requisite that a Bishop, Superintendent, or Pastor together with Elders and Deacons, should be chosen. To which Mr. *Christopher Goodman* answered, That he thought fit that they should first agree upon some godly Order for the Church, and to have the consent of the Congregation thereto, that so it might appear that they despised not their Brethren. To this it was answered, That for the Order it was already agreed upon, for other Order then was contained in the *English Book* they would not have; and so nothing was further done.

Then did the oppressed Congregation desire Mr. *Whittingham* to go to *Basill* and *Geneva*, where it pleased the Lord to stir up the Magistrates Hearts to grant them Churches, and so at his return it was thought good by such as determined to go away, to endeavor a reconciliation before their departure, as Mr. *Calvin* had counselled them; And the rather, for that some of Dr. Cox's company had stiled publicly their departure to be a schism: Whereupon they wrote this ensuing Letter to the Pastor and whole Congregation.

For as much as, through Gods mercy, we have obtained a Church in another place, we thought good to advertise you of the same; And to the intent that slanderous reports may cease, as also that if any offence be taken or given, the same may come to trial, we desire that you for your part would appoint Two Arbiters, and we shall appoint other Two, who hearing the matters, may determine where the fault resteth, at which time we undertake to defend our departure against the slanderous reports of some that unlearnedly tearm it a schism. This, Brethren, we thought good to signify to you, judging it to be the only means for peace; whereof, how desirous we are, our tedious journey may be a sufficient proof, being perswaded that hereby strife may be ended, charity revived, friendship continued, Gods glory advanced, and our Brethren edified. Farewel. Aug. 17. William Williams, Will. Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Christopher Goodman, Tho. Cole, John Fox, Tho. Wood, Will. Kethe, Jo. Kelke, Jo. Hilton, Christopher Soothous, Nic. Purfore, Jo. Escot, Tho. Crafton, Will. Walton, Laurence Kent, Jo. Hellingham, Ant. Carrier.

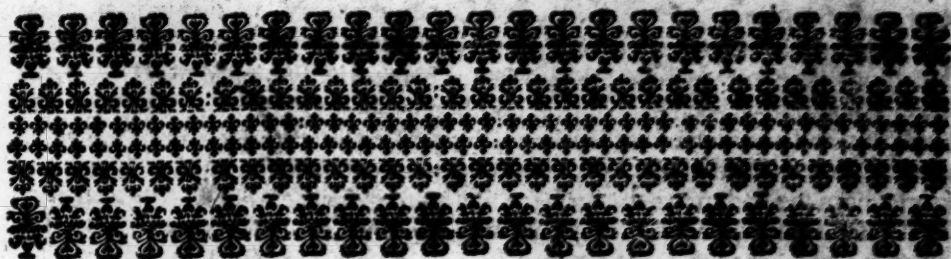
The Presbyterian  
Letter to  
the other party  
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The Presbyterians driven away.

This Letter was read publickly in the Congregation by the Pastor, but answer they could get none, save this, That since they were minded to depart, they might depart at their pleasure; But for the reference, or satisfaction, they would assent to neither: Whereupon not many days after, the oppressed Church departed from *Frankford* to *Basill*, where Mr. *Fox*, with some other of them staid, the rest went to *Geneva*, where they were received with great favor and courtesie, both by Magistrates, Ministers and People; And shortly after entering their Church, they chose Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Goodman* for their Pastors, and requested Mr. *Gilby* to supply the room till Mr. *Knox* should come out of *France*. And thus, through Gods mercy, at last they found some rest; whereas that Church that remained at *Frankford*, after that by their violent proceedings they had driven these godly Brethren away, they presently after fell out amongst themselves, and had such continual bickerings and contentions, as could by no means be pacified, till at the end of Queen *Maries* Reign the Church was dissolved, and they returned into their own native Country again. The large and full discourse whereof, it being not pertinent to my scope, who so pleases to read, may find it in a Book called, *A Discourse of the Troubles at Frankford*. Printed *Anno Christi* 1575. and reprinted 1642.

CHAP.





C H A P. XIII.

*Gods Judgments upon the Persecutors of his Church and Children.*



From the first general Plantation of the Gospel in this Kingdom under King *Lucius*, there was never any King or Queen of *England*, in whose Reign so much Christian Blood was shed, as in Four years space, during the Reign of Queen *Mary*: Under whom there suffered, One Archbishop, Four Bishops, Twenty one Divines, Eight Gentlemen, Eighty four Artificers, One hundred Husbandmen, Servants, and Laborers, Twenty six Wives, Twenty Widows, Nine Virgins, Two Boys, and Two Infants; in all Two hundred seventy seven. Sixty four more were persecuted for their Faith, and Profession; whereof Seven were whipped, and Sixteen perished in Prison, and were buried in Dung-hills; many lay in captivity, and condemned, but were delivered and saved by the happy entrance of our glorious Queen *Elizabeth*: Besides those many who were forced to fly the Land, and live in exile.

But as Queen *Mary* was Prodigious of the lives of her best Subjects, and a persecutor of the Gospel, so God followed her with his plagues, both in her life and death; For whilst she lived, nothing prospered which she took in hand. I shall only instance in some few particulars.

Gods judgments on Queen Mary.

First, The fairest and greatest Ship which she had, called the *Great Harry*, was burnt by lightning from Heaven; The Christian world at that time not affording such another.

Then would she needs marry *Philip* King of *Spain*, thereby subjecting *England* unto strangers; yet do what she could, she could never set the *English* Crown upon his Head.

Then did she attempt the restitution of Abbey Lands, and had all the assistance that the Pope could afford her therein, yet she was finally crossed of her desires about them.

Then did God plague her, and her Land with a grievous Famine, so that many of her poor Subjects were fain to live upon Acorns.

Then did she lose *Calice* which had been in the possession of the *English*, during the Reign of Eleven Kings, viz. from King *Edward* the Thirds time, with which loss she was so affected and afflicted, that she told some of her Courtiers, that if they opened her Body when she was dead, they should find *Calice* written in her Heart.

Again, never had Woman worse success in her Child-birth than she. For if she was with Child, and did travel, Why was it never seen? If she was not

not with Child, Why was the Kingdom so abused? some in the Pulpit returning thanks for her safe delivery, and taking upon them to tell that it was a Son, and a goodly Prince.

Then God having thus crossed her in her hopes of Children, which above all things she most desired, He also bereft her of that which above all earthly things should have been her comfort and honor, by withdrawing from her the company and affection of her Husband, by whose marriage she had promised to her self such a world of felicity and content; so that now she could neither enjoy him whom she had married, nor have liberty to marry another. And when all these Hands of God would work nothing upon her to cause her to repeal her Bloody Laws, or to abstain from her Bloody Persecution of the Saints of God; the Lord stroke her with a lingring and pining sickness, whereof she died; having only Reigned Five years, and Five moneths; a shorter Reign than any of the Kings of *England* enjoyed since the conquest, *Richard* the Third only excepted.

The Two last years of her Reign, as there was in them most violence and bloodshed for Religions sake, so were they most grievous for temporal Calamities; For besides the loss of *Calice*, and the fruitless attempt upon *Brest* in *Brittany*, which proved both chargeable and dishonorable; The Land was also grievously afflicted with horrible tempests, mortal diseases, plagues and famines. In the former of which years, hot burning Agues, and other strange diseases took away much People; so that between *October* the Twentieth, and the last of *December*, there died Seven Aldermen in *London*, whereof Five had been the Lord Maiors of the City. The same year Wheat was sold for Four Marks the Quarter. Mault for Two pound Four shillings the Quarter. Peas at Two pound Six shillings Eight pence. Whereas after the next Harvest, Wheat was sold for Five shillings a Quarter: Mault at Four shillings Eight pence; and in some places a Bushel of Rie was exchanged for a pound of Candles which came to Four pence.

In her Fifth year near *Nottingham* was a marvelous tempest of Thunder, which beat down all the Houses, and Churches in Two Towns, cast the Bells out of the Church-Yard, and some sheets of Lead were carried Four hundred foot off into the Fields, writhen as if they had been of Leather. Trees were torn up by the roots, and carried twelvescore off. Divers Men were slain, &c.

Also the same year in the Harvest time was a great mortality; so that much Corn was lost in the Fields for want of Workmen to gather it, whereby a great scarcity ensued. Sir *Richard Baker*.

Upon *Steven Gardiner*.

In the next place let us consider the Lords dealing with the chiefest of those who were her instruments of cruelty: And first to begin with *Steven Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*: We have before heard of his wretched and woful death, about the midst of *Queen Maries* Reign, and therefore we will not again speak of it; only I will add this, That being upon his death-bed put in mind of *Peters* denying his Master, he answered, *I have denied Christ with Peter, but I never repented with Peter*.

Upon *Bishop Morgan*.

Also *Morgan* Bishop of *St. Davids*, who sat upon the condemnation of the blessed Martyr Bishop *Ferrar*, whose place he unjustly usurped; presently after, he was stricken with such a strange Hand of God, that the meat which he did eat would not go down, sometimes vomiting it up at his Mouth, sometimes through his Nostrils after an horrible manner, and so he continued to his death.

Upon *Mr. Leyson*.

*Mr. Leyson* also being High Sheriff at his burning, having set away *Mr. Ferrars* Cattel into his own grounds, many of them would never eat any meat, but lay bellowing, and roaring till they died.



## Gods Judgments upon Persecutors.

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Justice *Morgan* who sat upon the condemnation of the Lady *Jane Grey*, not long after fell mad, continually crying out, *The Lady Jane, The Lady Jane; Take away the Lady Jane;* and so continued till he died.

Upon Justice Morgan.

Dr. *Dunnings*, the Bloody Chancellor of *Norwich*, that had condemned many of the faithful Servants of *Christ*, was in the midst of his rage suddenly stricken by the revenging hand of God as he sat in his Chair, and so died.

Upon Dr. Dunnings.

*Berry*, Commissary of *Norfolk*, another Bloody Persecutor, Four days after Queen *Maries* death, having made a great Feast, at which he had one of his Curtesans, and then going to Church in the afternoon, where he administered the Sacrament of Baptism, as he returned homewards, with an heavy groan he fell down to the ground, and never stirred afterwards.

Upon Com. Berry.

Bishop *Thornton*, Suffragan of *Dover*, a cruel Persecutor of the holy and harmless Saints of God: As he was on a Sabbath day looking upon his Men that played at Bowls, was suddenly stricken with the dead Palsey, and being carried to his Bed, was wished to remember the Lord, *Yea, said he, so I do, and my Lord Cardinal also,* and so died after a desperate manner.

Upon Bishop Thornton.

Another Suffragan that succeeded him in that place, having been before *Bonnors* Instrument in persecuting the Saints, going to Cardinal *Poole* in his Chamber at *Grenwich*, to receive his blessing, as he went from him, fell down the Stairs, and brake his Neck.

Upon a Suffragan.

*John Cooper* of *Watsam* in the County of *Suffolk*, a very honest Man, and one that harbored such as were persecuted for the truth, had a couple of Bullocks, which one *William Fenning*, his Popish Neighbor desired to buy; *Cooper* told him that he kept them for his own use, and therefore would not sell them. Hereupon this *Fenning* went and accused him of Treason, for praying, That if God would not take away Queen *Mary*, that then the Devil would. This wicked accusation, though it was altogether false, yet *Fenning* suborned Two Knights of the Post to swear to it, whereupon *John Cooper* was hanged, drawn, and quartered, all his Goods seized on, and his Wife, and Nine Children were turned out of doors, being destitute of all means of subsistence.

But shortly after Gods revenging hand pursued one of those false Witnesses called *Grimwood*: For as he was at harvest work, stacking of his Corn, his Bowels suddenly fell out, and he immediately died miserably.

Upon Grimwood.

The Parson of *Crondall* in *Kent*, being preaching upon *Whitsunday*, told his People that he had received the Popes pardon from Cardinal *Poole*, whereby he stood now as clear in Conscience as when he was first born, and therefore he cared not now if he should die the same hour: The words were scarce out of his Mouth, when suddenly he fell down dead in the Pulpit, and never spake word more.

Upon the Parson of Crondall.

A little before Queen *Maries* death, died Dr. *Capon*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, a great Persecutor of the Saints; And about the same time, Dr. *Jeffery*, his Chancellor (of whose persecutions we have heard before) as he was in the midst of his buildings, suddenly being struck by the Hand of God, yielded up his Ghost. Wherein this is further observable, That just at that time he had appointed to call before him almost an hundred godly Persons, and to examine them by Inquisition, which mischief was by this means prevented.

Upon Dr. Capon.

Mr. *Woodroffe*, Sheriff of *London* used much to rejoyce at the torments of the poor Saints of *Christ*; And so cruel was he, that when Mr. *Rogers* was carried in a Cart from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, by the way his Children were brought to see him, and the People made way for their coming to the Cart; But Mr. *Woodroffe*, commanded his Men to break the Car-Mans Head for staying the Cart: But shortly after, vengeance overtook him, he being stricken with a deadness all

Upon Mr. Woodroffe.

one side of his Body, so that he was not able to turn himself in his Bed, in which manner he languished till he died.

Upon Ralph  
Lardin.

*Ralph Lardin*, the Betrayer of *George Eagles*, was afterwards arraigned and hanged. As he stood at the Bar he said publickly, *This is justly fallen upon me; for that I betrayed the innocent Blood of that good and just Man George Eagles, who was condemned through my means, and I sold his Blood for a little money.*

Upon Richard  
Potto, and  
Justice Browne.  
Mr. Swingfield  
with Three  
others.

The like vengeance of God fell upon *Richard Potto* and *Justice Browne*, both cruel Persecutors of the said *George Eagles*.

*Mr. Swingfield* a Deputy in *Thamesstreet*, hearing that *Mrs. Angell* a Midwife, and a good Woman, was at a Womans labor in *Crookedlane*, he took Three other with him, and beset the House, and apprehended her, and carried her to *Bonnors* Officers, by whom she was cast into *Lollards Tower*. This *Mrs. Angell* was great with Child, and by reason of the fright, and a fall which she caught in her apprehension, she fell the next day in labor, and was delivered in that Prison, having no Woman with her to help her in her extremity. But within Ten weeks after, Deputy *Swingfield* and the other Three that came with him to apprehend her, all Four died.

Upon Burton.

There was one *Burton*, Bailiff of *Crowland* in *Lincolnshire*, who in the days of *King Edward* was a seeming zealous Protestant; But as soon as *Queen Mary* came to the Crown, he turned Papist, and endeavored to perswade his Neighbors to set up the Mass; But they being not forward therein, this *Burton* on the Sabbath went to Church, and when the Curate was beginning to read the *English Service*, he went to him, and said *Sirra, will you not say Mass? Buckle your self to it, you Knave, or by Gods Blood I'll sheath my Dagger in your Shoulder.* The poor Curate being affrighted herewith, betook himself to the Mass. But shortly after as this *Burton*, with one of his Neighbors, rode together upon the Fen-bank, a Crow took her flight over his Head with her usual note, and voiding her Excrements, they fell on his Nose, and ran down his Beard, withal, yielding such an horrible stink, that caused him to fall a vomiting in a most violent manner; Whereupon hastening home, he gat him to Bed, but could eat nothing, the stink and vomiting still continuing, which made him with Oaths and fearful execrations to curse the Crow that had poisoned him, and so he continued in extream pain till his death.

Upon a Sher-  
riffs Man.

We have heard before of *James Abbes* Martyr, that was burnt at *Bury*; As he went towards the Stake some poor People met him, craving his Alms, and because he had no money to give them, he plucked off his Apparel to his Shirt, and distributed it amongst them, withal exhorting them to be strong in the Lord; and as faithful Followers of *Christ*, to stand stedfast in the truth of the Gospel, which said he, with Gods assistance I will now in your sight Seal with my Blood. But whilst he was thus exhorting them, there came one of the Sheriffs Men, who hearing him, cried out aloud to the People, most Blasphemously saying; *Good People believe him not, he is an Heretick and a mad Man, and out of his Wits; Believe him not for it is Heresie which he speaketh:* And as *Abbes* continued his godly exhortation, so this wicked Wretch belched forth his Blasphemous exclamation till they came to the Stake, at which the constant Martyr was burned. But as soon as the fire was kindled, the fearful stroke of Gods justice fell upon this Wretch, who immediatly before the People fell distracted, wherewith a little before he had charged the blessed Servant of *Christ*, and pulling off his clothes in a furious manner, he said, *Thus did James Abbes the true Servant of God, who is saved, but I am damned;* And so he ran about the Town, still crying out That *James Abbes* was a good Man, and was saved, but he was damned. Hereupon his Master caused him to be bound, cloathed, and kept in a dark Room; but as soon as the company was departed, he tore off his clothes, still raging and crying out, *James Abbes was the true Servant of God, and is saved, but I am damned;* and thus he continued to his death.



## Gods Judgments upon Persecutors.

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One *Clerk* an open Enemy to the Gospel, and to all the true Preachers of it Upon Clerk  
hanged himself in the Tower of *London*.

One *Troling Smith*, a great Papist, fell down in the street suddenly and Trol. Smith  
died.

*Dale* a Promoter, and Persecutor, was eaten of Lice and died. Dale,

*Cox*, an earnest Protestant, in King *Edwards* days, and in Queen *Maries* Cox.  
a Papist, and Promoter, going well to his Bed, was found dead in the morning.

*Alexander*, the Keeper of *Newgate*, a cruel Enemy to those that lay there Alexander  
for Religion, and one that used to go to *Bonner*, *Story Chomley*, &c. crying Keeper of  
out *Rid my Prison, Rid my Prison, I am too much pestered with these Hereticks*, he Newgate, and  
died a miserable death, his Body being so swollen that he was more like to a Mon- his Son,  
ster then a Man, his Intrals also were so rotten, that none could abide the stink  
of him.

His Son *James*, to whom he left a great estate, soon wasted it all; jeeringly  
saying, *ill gotten, ill spent*; And as he went along *Newgate* Market, he suddenly  
fell down and died.

*John Peter*, Son in law to this *Alexander*, an horrible Blasphemer, who  
used upon every occasion to say, *If it be not so, I pray God I may rot ere I die*: He  
was also very cruel to the poor Saints in Prison; But God met with him for all,  
for his Body rotted away by piecemeale whereby he died.

*Justice Leland* the Persecutor of *Jeffery Hurst*, died suddenly. Upon Justice

*Robert Baulding* as he was apprehending *Will. Seaman* Martyr, was stricken Leland.  
with Lightning, whereupon he pined away, and died. Rob. Baulding

*Robert Blomefield* the Persecutor of *William Browne*, shortly after consumed Rob. Blome-  
away, and died. field.

*Dr. Foxford*, Chancellor to Bishop *Stokesly*, a cruel Persecutor died sud- Dr. Foxford  
denly.

*Paul*, Town-Clerk of *London*, a bitter Enemy to the Professors of the And the Town  
Gospel, hanged himself. Clerk of Lon-

The very next day after the death of Queen *Mary*, died Cardinal *Pool*, Car. Pool;  
and it was thought that he took an *Italian* Pill which caused it.

At *Brightwell* in *Barkshire*, one *Lever* said that he saw that ill-favored Knave Lever  
*Latimer*, when he was burned at *Oxford*, and that he had Teeth like an Horse.  
But the Lord suffered not this scorn and contempt of his Servant to go unpuni-  
shed; For that very day, and about the same hour that *Lever* spake these words,  
his Son wickedly hanged himself.

*William Swallow*, the cruel Tormentor of *George Eagles*, was shortly after so Wm. Swallow  
plagued by God with sickness, that the Hair of his Head, and the Nails of his and his Wife,  
Fingers, and Toes came off; and his Eyes were so closed up, that he could scarce-  
ly see: His Wife also was taken with the falling sickness, which she was never  
before troubled withal.

Bloody *Bonner*, though he died in his Bed, yet lay under the spiritual Upon Bonner  
Judgement of impenitency, and as he had been a Persecutor of the light,  
and a Child of darkness, so in darkness at midnight, his carcass was tumb-  
led into the earth; And as himself had been a Murderer, so he was laid  
amongst Theeves and Murderers, a place by Gods judgment fitly appointed  
him

I shall add but one Story more, and I have done, and that is of Doctor *Wil-* Upon Doctor  
*liams*, Chancellor of *Glocester*, a great Persecutor of the Saints, who in the liams,  
beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when Commissioners were sent down for  
the restoring of Religion in that City, was invited to Dinner by Mr. *Jennins*  
Dean of *Glocester*, and was requested by him after Dinner to ride forth with  
him to meet the Commissioners which were near at hand, No, said *Williams*,  
*I will never see them*. The Dean therefore going without him, *Williams* retur-  
ned

ned home, and presently one posted after the Dean, and told him that the Chancellor was at the point of death. The Dean presently meeting with the Commissioners, told them this Story, who hasted to *Glocester* to visit and comfort the Chancellor, but before they could get to him, he had breathed forth his last, and thereby verified his own word, That he would never see them.

Job 31. 3. *Is not destruction to the wicked, and strange punishments to the workers of iniquity?*

2 Theff. 1. 6, 7. *It's a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled, rest with us, &c.*

Roma diu titubans variis erroribus acta  
Corruet, & mundi definet esse Caput.

Rome tottering long, laden with errors store,  
At last shall fall, and Head the world no more.

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F I N I S.

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*Who shall separate us from the Love of Christ? shall Tribulation, or Distress, or  
Persecution, or Famine, or Nakedness, or Peril, or Sword? Rom. 8. 35.  
Nay, in all these things we are more than Conquerours, through Him that loved  
us, Rom. 8. 37.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *William Birch*, at the *Peacock* at the Lower-end of *Cheap-side*, 1677.

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## The Life of Doctor Collet Dean of Pauls, who dyed Anno Christi 1519.



*John Collet* was born of Worshipful Parents in *London*; his father [*Henry Collet*] having been twice Lord Mayor of *London*, by whom he was carefully trained up in Learning. In his younger dayes he travelled into *France* and *Italy*, whereby he much improved his learning. At his return into *England* he went to *Oxford*, commenced Doctor of Divinity, and began to read publicly upon *Pauls* Epistles instead of *Scotus* and *Thomas Aquinas*, which before were only in request in that University.

His Birth  
and Education.

His Travels.  
His going to Oxford.

He is famous for Preaching.  
His Character.

When he came to *London* he Preached often, and had a very great Auditory both of Courtiers and Citizens. His Diet was very frugall, his life upright and unblamable; In discipline he was very severe, in so much as being made Dean of *Pauls*, his Canons complained that they were held in too much by him. He alwayes preferred the honest and honourable estate of Marriage before the unchast single life of Priests. At dinner time he used to have some portion of Scripture read to him, either out of *Pauls* Epistles or *Solemn* Proverbs. He used no supper at all.

He was no friend to the irreligious religious orders of *Monks*, and *Friars*. He was an enemy to the Divinity of the School Doctors, as of *Scotus*, and *Thomas Aquinas*, inso much as when *Erasmus* highly commended *Aquinas* for his Learning and acutenesse, Doctor *Collet* answered; What tell you me of the Learning of that man, who unless he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, durst never have taken upon him to dispute and define all things so boldly and rashly as he did? And except he had rather been worldly minded then Heavenly, he would never so have polluted Christs wholesome Doctrine with mans prophane Doctrine, as he hath done.

His Judgment of Erasmus.

The Bishop of *London* at this time was *Fitz James*, who of a long time bore a great grudge to Dr. *Collet*, and therefore joyning with two other Bishops, they entred an action of complaint against him before Dr. *Warkham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The Articles exhibited against him were three. First, For preaching against the worshipping of Images. Secondly, About hospitality, for that he Preaching upon those words in the Gospel, *Feed, feed, feed*; having expounded the two first for feeding by Doctrine and Example, the third he expounded for feeding by Hospitality, yet not so much for feeding the body as the soul by good counsel and conference. The third was for speaking against such as preached besom Sermons, declaring nothing to the people but what they bring in their Papers with them: The the Bishop of

The Bishops hate him and Article against him.

The Arch-bishop frees him. London used to do, and therefore took it as spoken against himself, which much irritated him against Doctor Collet. But the Arch-bishop more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with the worth of Collet, so took his part against his Accusers, that at that time he freed him out of trouble.

The Bishops implacable malice. Another design of Fitz James was to make him an Heretick for translating the *Pater-noster* into English, but the Arch-bishop help him out of that also.

They accuse him to the King. Yet the Bishops malice was restless, For when he could not prevail against Doctor Collet before the Arch-bishop, he laid a train to accuse him to the King, and the occasion thereof was this: About this time King Henry the eighth was preparing War against France, and the Bishop with his complaisances took advantages against Doctor Collet, for that in one of his Sermons he had seemed to preferre Peace before any kind of Warre, though never so just. For this they envied against him in their Sermons, and traduced him also before the King; Yet on good Fryday after, Doctor Collet preached before the King, at which time he treated upon the Victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to fight under Christs standard against the Devil; adding moreover, what an hard thing it was so to do. He shewed also that all they who upon private hatred or ambition took weapons against their adversaries, one Christian to destroy another, they did not fight under Christs Banner but under Satans. He exhorted therefore all Christians in their Wars, rather to make Christ their Prince and Captain in fighting against their enemies, than to imitate Julius Caesar, Alexander, &c.

The King favours him. The King hearing this, and fearing lest the hearts of his Souldiers should by these words be withdrawn from the Wars, took him aside into his Garden after Sermon, and had much private conference with him. Bishop Fitz-James and his associates seeing this, were now confident that they should see Collet presently sent Prisoner to the Tower, and therefore they waited for his return out of the Garden; But contrary to their expectation, the King used him very courteously, bad him put on his Cap, much commended him for his learning and integrity of life, and agreed with him in all points that he had taught; onely he desired him, lest the rude Souldiers should misinterpret that which he had said, that in his next Sermon he would explain himself more fully to them, which afterwards he did accordingly: And so after long communication, and great promises of favour, the King gently dismissed him with these words, *Let every man have his Doctor as himself best liketh, this shall be my Doctor.* His adversaries seeing and hearing this, durst never after that time molest him any further.

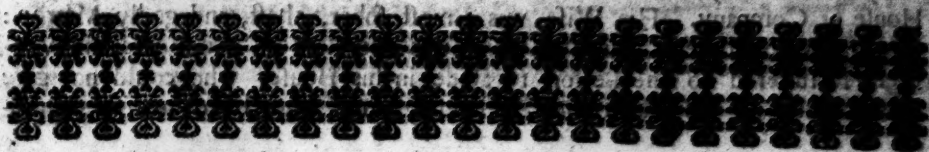
His Charity. He did many excellent works of Piety and Charity, and amongst the rest he erected that famous foundation of Pauls School, London, where one hundred fifty three poor mens sons should be taught freely, and for this end he built a very convenient dwelling house for the School-master. He assigned also a large annual stipend both for the Head-Master and Usher, whom he willed rather to be chosen out of the number of married men, then of single Priests with their suspected chastity. He left sundry rents and houses for the payment of those stipends, which he committed to the oversight of the Worshipfull company of Merchants in London. He caused to be ingraven upon the School in Latine, *Schola Cathedralis puerorum in Christi Opt. Max. fide, & bonis literis, Anno Christi M. D. X.* The first Moderator of this School was Mr. William Lilly, a man no lesse eminent for his Learning, than Doctor Collet was for this Foundation; He made the *Latine Grammar* which ever since by authority hath been used in all Schools.

Doctor Collet was very expert in the Scriptures, especially in Pauls Epistles, which he hath illustrated by his Commentaries. He held Justification freely by the merits of Christ, and not by our own works. He was an enemy to the idle



idle and unchaste Life of the Popish Clergy: He abhorred death that persecuted the Professors of the Truth. He died Anno Christi 1539, and was buried in Pauls Church, upon whose Tomb Mrs. Lilly engraved this Motto,

*Disce mori mundo; vivere deo.*



**The Life of Miles Coverdale sometimes Bishop of Exeter, who dyed Anno Christi 1568.**



Miles Coverdale was born in the North of England, and from his Child-hood was much given to Learning, and by his Diligence and Industry profited exceedingly therein; So that in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, he was one of the first that professed the Gospel in England. He was very well skilled in the Hebrew, and translated the Bible into English, and wrote sundry Books upon the Scriptures; which Doctrine being new and strange in those daies, he was much hated and persecuted for it, especially by the Bishops; whereupon he was forced to fly into the Low-Countries. There he printed the Bibles of his Translation, and by sending them over, and selling them in England he maintained himself. But John Sticksy Bishop of London, hearing thereof, and minding to prevent their dispersing in England, enquired diligently where they were to be sold, and bought them all up, supposing that by this means no Bibles would be had; but contrary to his expectation it fell out otherwise; For the same Money which the Bishop gave for these Books, the Merchant sent over to Miles Coverdale, by which means he was enabled to Print as many more, which he also sent into England. This caused the Bishops to pursue him with such eagerness, that he was forced to remove himself out of Flanders into Germany, and to settle himself under the patronage of the Rhene, where he found much Favour. At first he taught Children for his Subsistence; but having learned the Dutch Language, the Prince Elector Palatine gave him a Benefice at a place called *Burgsteden*, where he did much good by his Ministry and holy Life; maintaining himself partly by his Living, and partly by the Liberality of Thomas Lord Cromwell, who was his good Lord, and relieved him very much.

At length, when by the happy coming in of King Edward the sixth Religion was altered in England, and the Gospel had a free passage, he returned into his Native Country, where he did very much good by Preaching.

At the time of the commotion in *Devonshire* for Religion, he was appointed to go down as Chaplain with the Lord Russell, who was sent to suppress the same; and after the work was over, for his excellent Learning and godly Life he was made Bishop of Exeter, being consecrated thereunto at *Lambeth*, by Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury Anno Christi 1559.

## The Life of Miles Corbet.

His diligence in his Place.

His character.

His care of his Family.

His Liberty.

He is hated by the Papists.

A special Providence.

His Imprisonment.

His Deliverance.

He goes into Denmark.

To the Palatine.

He most worthily performed that Office that was committed to him. He Preached constantly every Sabbath and Holy-Day, and most commonly twice in the week he read a Divinity Lecture in one Church or other within the City of Exeter. Considering his Means, he was a great lover of Hospitality, and kept a very good House. He was sober and temperate in his Diet, holy and blameless in his Life, friendly to the Godly, liberal to the Poor, courteous to all Men, void of Pride, full of Humility, abhorring Covetousness, and an Enemy to all wickedness and wicked Men, whose society he shunned, and whom he would in no wise entertain or keep in his House or Company. His Wife was a most sober, chaste, and godly Matron: His household another Church in which was exercised all Godliness and Vertue. He suffered no one Person to abide in his House, who could not give an Account of his Faith and Religion, and who lived not accordingly.

And as he was very carefull to promote Religion in his Diocess, so was he as ready to give direction for good Government in all Ecclesiasticall affairs: And because himself was not skillfull therein, he neither would be hindered from his godly studies, nor encumbered with worldly matters, and yet judging it meet that the Government should be carried on with all uprightness, Justice and Equity, he sent to Oxford for a learned man to be his Chancellour, and by the assistance of his Friends, he obtained Mr Robert Weston Doctor of the Civil Law (and afterwards Lord Chancellour in Ireland) unto whose fidelity he committed his Consistory, and the whole charge of his Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, allowing him, not only all the Fees belonging thereto, but also lodged, and found him, his Wife, and Family, horse and man within his own House, and gave him a pension of 40. l. per annum besides, which was a very great matter in those daies; so liberal was this good Bishop in the allowance which he made to this good Chancellor. And surely the Bishop was no more godly and carefull in performing his Office of preaching, than his Chancellor was diligent, strict and just in doing his Office without the reproach of partiality or bribery. Yet notwithstanding that this godly Bishop lived most holily, painfully, and virtuously, the common people (whose old bottles were not capable of new wine) could not brook nor digest him; and when they could find no other cause, this was judged a crime sufficient, that he was a Preacher of the Gospel, an enemy to Popistry, and an honest married Man. Hereupon many devices were set on foot for his disgrace, and removing him out of his place; sometimes by flie and false informations against him, sometimes by open railing and false Libels; sometimes by secret backbitings; yea at last, their malice proceeded so far, that they practised his death by Poysoning; but by Gods good Providence the Snakes were broken, and he was delivered.

Having thus continued Bishop about three years, it pleased God to take away that famous English Josiah, King Edward: and his sister Mary succeeding him, the Face of Religion was soon altered, and this good Bishop amongst others was deprived, and clapt up in Prison: And though the Malice of the then Prelates and Arch-Papists against him was very great, who also had sworn his Death, yet it pleased God most miraculously to preserve and deliver Him out of their Hands, which was effected by this means.

The good King Christian of Denmark, having formerly known him at his being in Germany, wrote divers times, and sued so earnestly and effectually to Queen Mary for him, that at last he was dismissed out of Prison, and suffered to go over into Denmark. There he stayed a while, and afterwards, with the leave of the King, went into Germany to his former worthy Friend the Noble Elector of the Rhine, who most willingly received Him, and restored him to his former Benefice of Bursfelde. The reason why he staid no longer with his deliverer the King of Denmark, but chose rather to go into the Palatine



## The Life of Miles Coverdale.

*Falastinate*, was, because he could Preach in the *Dutch* language, but not in the *Danish* Tongue.

At *Burgh* he remained a faithfull and painfull Preacher all *Queen Maries* daies, till hearing of her death, and of the change of Religion under *Queen Elizabeth*, he once again returned into his native Country.

His Bishoprick was reserved for him till his return, and then sundry times proffered him, but he would by no meanes accept thereof, but chose rather to live a more private life, yet not out of action, for he continued in *London*, teaching and preaching the Gospel so long as the strength of his body would permit, and at length being very old and stricken in years, he died comfortably and peaceably in the Lord, being about eighty years old, *January 20. Anno Christi 1563.* and was honourably buried under a fair Stone in the Chancel of *Bartholomews* Exchange in *London*, upon which Stone is engraven this *Epitaph*.

*In obitum Reverendissimi Patris, Milonis Coverdale  
OGDOASTICHON.*

*Hic tandem requiemque ferens, finemque laborum;  
Ossa Coverdali munda Tumbus habet:  
Exonia qui Præsul erat dignissimus olim,  
Insignis vita vir probitate sua,  
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit, & annus  
Indignum passus sapinus exilium.  
Sic demum variis jactatum casibus ista  
Excepit gremio terra benigna suo.*

This I transcribed from the Stone it self before the general Conflagration?

Anno Christi 1588.

The Life of Doctor Sands Arch-bishop of York. Anno Christi 1588.

The Duke of Northumberland was first with the Queen, as we have heard before, Edward the sixth dying, and the Lady Jane being proclaimed Queen, at which time that blessed King commenced Doctor, he was made Vice-Chancellor of that University, at which time that blessed King Master of Kingsbury Hall in Cambridge, and having the Country and University, that he was chosen up in Learning, he so profited therein, both in Family about the Year 1526, and being then born of an Ancient and Worthy

may to apprehend the Lady Mary. And when he came to Cambridge, sent for Dr. Sands the then Vice-Chancellor, and some other Doctors, and at supper requested Dr. Sands to preach on the Morrow with him; and at supper requested Dr. Sands to preach on the Morrow, The warning was short for such an occasion and suddenly, yet he refused not, but went home and to bed; The next Morning he arose at three o'clock, and having prayed a good while, took his Bible in his hand, and chose his Text, earnestly prayed to God that it might fall open at a fit Text for the present Occasion, and accordingly it opened, and this Text that he call his Eye upon was John 1. 17. and why an



D. SANDES

*The Life of Doctor Sands Arch-bishop of York, who dyed  
Anno Christi 1588.*



*Edwin Sands* was born of an Ancient and Worthy Family about the Year 1528. and being trained up in Learning, he so profited therein, both in the Countrey and University, that he was chosen Master of *Katharine Hall* in *Cambridge*, and having Commenced Doctor, he was made Vice-Chancellor of that University; at which time that blessed King *Edward* the sixth dying, and the Lady *Jane Grey* being proclaimed Queen, as we have heard before, the Duke of *Northumberland* was sent with an Army to apprehend the Lady *Mary*. And when he came to *Cambridge* he sent for Dr. *Sands* the then Vice-Chancellor, and some other Doctors, to sup with him; and at supper required Dr. *Sands* to Preach on the Morrow. The warning was short for such an occasion and Auditory, yet he refused it not, but went home and so to bed: The next Morning he arose at three a Clock, and having prayed a good while, rose up, took his Bible in his Hand, and closing his Eyes, earnestly prayed to God that it might fall open at a fit Text for the present Occasion, and accordingly it opened, and the first Text that he cast his Eye upon was *Joshua* 1. 16, 17, 18. And they answered



swered Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go; according as we hearkened to Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee; only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be that daubeth Rebel against thy Commandment, and will not hearken to thy Words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to Death, only be strong and of a good courage.

This Text he Prosecuted with such Prudence and Affection, as drew many Tears from the Eyes of his Auditors. After Sermon the Duke and other Nobles desired him to Print his Sermon, and he only required a day and an half time for the writing of it, at the end whereof he delivered it to M. Leaver, who was presently to carry it to London to the Press. But just at that instant came one of the Beadles to him Weeping, and had him shute for himself, for, said he, the Duke is retired, and Queen Mary is Proclaimed. Dr. Sands was nothing troubled herewith, but delivered his Sermon to Mr. Leaver, and so went to Dinner to Mr. Meeres, one of the Beadles, his great Friend. At dinner, being of an undaunted Courage, and cheerful Disposition, he was very merry, Mistress Moore drinking to him said, Mr. Vice-chancellor, I drink to you, this being the last time, that ever I shall see you: which accordingly proved true.

A Prediction.

That Night the Duke sent for him to joyn with him in Proclaiming Queen Mary, and then told him that the Queen was Merciful, and that he hoped for a general Pardon, to which Dr. Sands answered, my Life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that troubleth my Conscience. For what I spake of the State, I have instructions signed by sixteen Counsellors to warrant me therein, neither can speeches be Treason, nor yet have I spoken any thing but what the Word of God and the Lawes of the Land will bear me out in, therefore the will of the Lord be done. But he yon assured, my Lord, you shall never escape Death, for if the Queen should spare you, they that now shall Rule, will kill you.

That Night the Duke was apprehended, and some were as busie about Dr. Sands, but Sir John Gates that lay in the Doctors house, drave them away. The next day Doctor Sands was walked into the Fields, when the University in an irregular manner meeting together, ordered Doctor Mause and Doctor Hatchet to go to Doctor Sands his House, to fetch away the University Statutes, the Keyes, and such other things as were in his custody, which accordingly they did, and Doctor Mause, who the day before was an earnest Protestant, was turned now a zealous Papist, and a great Enemy to Dr. Sands, from whom he had received great Curtesies.

Dr. Mause's inconstancy and ingratitude.

That afternoon a Congregation was appointed by them, and the Bell rang to it, when Doctor Sands, coming out of the Fields, sent for the Beadles, asking what the matter meant, requiring them to wait upon him to the Schools according to their Duty, which they did, and Dr. Sands took the Chair.

Mr. Mitch and a rabble of unlearned Papists seeing this, withdrew, and conspired amongst themselves to pull him out of the Chair. In the mean time Doctor Sands began his Oration, expostulating with the University about their dealings, and charging them with great ingratitude towards him, affirming that he had said nothing in his Sermon, but what he was ready to justify, and that if he were faulty, they were as deeply guilty in concealing, and consenting to that which he had spoken. In the midst of his Speech in came Mitch with his associates, some laid hands on him to pull him out of the Chair, telling him it was not his place, others called him Traitor, &c. Doctor Sands seeing that they used Violence, being of a great Courage, felt for his Dagger to have dispatched some of them, as Gods Enemies, but Doctor Bell and Doctor Ellis prayed him for Gods sake to hold his hands, and Patiently to bear the great wrong, to which he assented, and so the tumult ending,

Dr. Sands his Oration, to his Government.

ending, he went on, and finished his Oration, and having some Money of the Universities in his hand, he delivered it up, together with all other things belonging to the University, and then resigned his Office, praying to God to substitute a better in his room, and to give them better and more thankfull hearts, and so he repaired to his own Colledge.

His Cou-  
rage.

On the morrow came to him Mr. *Germingham* and Mr. *Thomas Mildmay*; Mr. *Germingham* told him that it was the Queen's pleasure that by two of the Guard he should be conveyed to the Tower, together with the Duke; Mr. *Mildmay* told him that he wondered that so learned a man as he, should speak so unadvisedly against so good a Prince. Dr. *Sands* answered, I shall not be ashamed of Bonds, but if I could do as Mr. *Mildmay* can, I need not to fear them: For, you came down in armes against the Queen, and now you are in arms for her; I cannot thus blow hot and cold with one mouth.

Meekness.

Presently Dr. *Sands* his Stable was robbed of four excellent Geldings, and an Inventory was taken of all his goods, and he was set upon a lame Jade that halted to the ground; whereupon a friend of his desired that he might lend him a Nagg to ride upon. As he went out at the end of the Town some *Papists* assembled to jeer, and some of his Friends to mourn for him. He was carried through *London* in scorn, and as he entred in at *Bishopsgate* a base Woman threw a stone at him, and hit him so full on the Breast that he was near falling from his Horse. To whom he mildly said; *Woman, I pray God forgive thee.* As he went through *Tower-street*, a woman in her door said to him, *Eye on thee thou Knave, thou Knave, thou Traitor, thou Heretic.* At this he smiled, whereupon she said; Look, the desperate *Heretic* laughs at it. Another woman on the other side of the street, said, Fie neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing thus upon this Gentleman whom thou knowest not, nor yet the cause why he is thus used: and turning to the Doctor, she said, *Good Gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in Gods Cause even to the death:* and thus he was carried Prisoner to the Tower, where the Yeoman of the Guard took from him his borrowed Nagg, and whatsoever else he had: and whereas his man brought some linen after him, that also was taken from him.

He is im-  
prisoned in  
the Tower.

The first three weeks he was in a very bad prison, at the end whereof he was removed to another, where was put to him Master *John Bradford*.

Flight re-  
fused.

On the day of the Queens Coronation his prison door was left open, and there came to him one Mr. *Mitchell*, a special friend of his, and said, Doctor *Sands*, there is such a stir in the Tower that neither gates, doors, nor Prisoners are looked after this day; therefore take my Cloak, Hat and Rapier, and get you gon, save your self and let me do as I may. The Doctor refused his offer, saying, I know no just cause of my imprisonment, and if I should do this I should make my self guilty, I will expect Gods good will; yet am I much bound to you for your love. Mr. *Mitchell* not prevailing departed.

A Jailor  
Converted.

Dr. *Sands* and Mr. *Bradford* continued in Prison twenty nine weeks, one *Bowler*, a perverse *Papist* being their Keeper: yet by their affable and loving carriage and converse, he began to mislike *Papery*, and to favour the Gospel; yea he was so far at last wrought upon, that on a *Sabbath* when others went to Masse, he carried up to them a Service-Book, a mancher and some wine; at which time Dr. *Sands* administered the Sacrament to Mr. *Bradford* and him, and so *Bowler* became their son begotten in their bonds.

When *Wyat* was up in Arms, that room might be made for him and his in the Tower, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Bradford* were put into one prison; and Dr. *Sands* with nine other godly Ministers were removed to the *Marshalsey*.

As they went, the people every where prayed God to comfort them, and to



to strengthen them in his truth, whereupon the Keeper of the *Marshalse* said to Doctor *Sands*, I perceive that the vain people would set you forward to the fire, but I hope you will not prefer your own knowledge before the judgement of so many worthy and learned Prelates; if so, you shall find me as strait a Keeper as one that utterly mislikes your Religion. Doctor *Sands* answered, I know my self young, and my Learning small, its enough to know *Christ* crucified; and he hath learned nothing that sees not the great blasphemy that is in *Popery*. I have read in Scripture of some godly and courteous Keepers, God may make you one; if not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard dealing with me. The Keeper replied, Do you then intende to stand to your Religion? Yea, said the Doctor, by Gods Grace I do. Truly, said the Keeper, I love you the better for it, I did but try you before, and what favour I can shew you, you shall be sure of it, and I shall think my self happy if I may die at the stake with you, and ever after he shewed the Doctor much favour, suffering him to walk into the fields alone, where sometimes he met with Mr. *Bradford*, who being removed to the Kings Bench, found the like favour with his Keeper. He also lodged him in the best Chamber, and would not suffer irons to be put on him, as other Prisoners had, and suffered his Wife, a beautifull Gentlewoman, both in body and soul, to resort to him. He lodged also Mr. *Sanders* with him.

His Name was Thomas Wyat.

To these two holy men there was much resort, and much Money was proffered to them, but they would receive none. Three or four times they celebrated the Sacrament, and had many Communicants, at which times Doctor *Sands* gave such exhortations as drew many teares from his Auditors, and wrought in them an utter abhorrency of the *Mass* and all *Popery*.

When Sir *Thomas Wyat* with his Army came into *Southwarke*, he sent to Doctor *Sands* in prison, desiring his company and advice, telling him that the prison doors should be set open for him and the other Prisoners: Dr. *Sands* had the Messengers tell him, that if his rising were of God he should stand, otherwise he should fall: and that for his own part he was committed by order, and that he would never depart thence except he were discharged by the like order. The like answer made Mr. *Sanders*, and the other godly Ministers that were prisoners there.

Sr. Tho. Wyat as professed him his liberty.

His prudent Answer.

Doctor *Sands* having thus lain there nine weeks, at last by the mediation of Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, then Knight Marshall, he was set at liberty. The manner of it was thus: Sir *Thomas Holcroft* made great suit to the Bishop of *Winchester* in the behalf of Dr. *Sands*, yet could get no grant from him, except he would turn to their Religion, which if he would do, he should have great preferment; yet at last by importunity he extorted from him, that if the Queen would grant him his liberty he would not oppose it. Then did Sir *Thomas*, by two Ladies of Honour, prevail with the Queen; that he should have his liberty if *Winchester* liked of it: Sir *Thomas* having this grant, watched the Bishops next going to the Queen, and then again moving the business, he at last prevailed with them, and gat a Warrant signed by them for his deliverance; yet *Winchester* afterwards commanded him not to release him, till two Gentlemen should give a thousand pound bond for him not to depart the Kingdom without License. Sir *Thomas* seeing this, procured two Gentlemen to be willing thus to be bound with him; and then sending for Dr. *Sands* he imparted all the business to him; to whom Dr. *Sands* said, Give God thanks who hath moved your heart to be so carefull of me; I think my self much bound to you for your love, which God will requite, and I will never prove ingratefull. But I came a free man into Prison, so I will not go out a bond-man; for all cannot benefit my friends, so neither will I hurt them; and if I be set at liberty I will not stay six dayes in the Realm, if I can get out. Therefore if I may not go free, send me back to prison, where you shall be sure of me. Sir *Thomas Holcroft* was much troubled at this answer, yet seeing that Doctor *Sands* impos-

His release from prison.

ble in his Resolution, he said to him, Since I cannot change you, I will change my own Mind, and am resolved to set you at Liberty, come of it what-ever will come, therefore get you gone quickly over-sea, and never write any thing back hither, for so you may undo me, and so friendly kissing him, he bad him farewell, and commanded his Keeper to take no Fees of him.

He is again sought for.

Doctor Sands returning to the *Marshalsey* carried all night, and on the morrow gave his Prison-fellows a dinner; bad his bed-fellow, and sworn stake-fellow, if it had so pleased God [Master Sanders] farewell, they kissing each other with many Teares. Then went he to the Kings-Bench to Master Bradford, and Mr. Ferrar, comforting them, and they praising God for his happy Deliverance; and so he went into London to a private Friend, and the next Night changed his Lodging, hearing that search was made after him. For Doctor Wasson and Christopherson went to the Bishop of Winchester, and told him that he had set at liberty the greatest Heretick in England, and one who had most corrupted the University; whereupon the Bishop sent for all the Constables in London, commanding them to make diligent search for him, and promising five pound to him that could apprehend Him.

A special providence.

Doctor Sands suspecting the matter, shifted from place to place, and appointed his man to provide him two Geldings, purposing the next day to go into Essex to his Father-in-Law Master Sands, with whom his Wife was. But that night having a pair of Hofs to long for him, which were made without measure whilst he was Prisoner in the Tower, he then lodging in Cornbil, requested the good Wife of the House to send them to the next Taylor to be cut shorter; and it so fell out, by Gods Providence, that the next Taylor was a Protestant, and the man that made them; He knowing the Hofs, went at midnight to the Doctors Lodging, and being admitted into his Chamber, wished him not to be troubled at their unseasonable coming in: To which he answered, Nothing can be amiss, what God will, that shall come to pass: Then the Taylor told him of the Bishops sending for the Constables, whereof he was one, and of their hopes to find him; for, saith he, it's known, that you have provided Geldings, and that to morrow you are to go through *Algate*, where you will certainly be taken: Therefore let your man walk booted and spurr'd to morrow neer where your Horses stand; and in the mean time they shall be conveyed privately to *Bednal-Green*, and at a fit season I will come and convey you thither also: as you go along the Streets look wildly, and if you meet your Brother in the Mouth, know him not, &c.

Accordingly Doctor Sands attired like a Gentleman, and looking wildly, went with the Taylor the next day, who conveyed him through back-lanes to *Moor-Gate*, and from thence to *Bednal-Green*; where having his Horses ready, he kissed the honest Taylor, and would have given him the greatest part of that little which he had, which yet he would not receive, and so with Teares they parted. Yet afterwards Doctor Sands required him thankfully. That Night he rode to his Father-in-Law, and within two hours after his coming, his Father was informed that that Night two of the Guard would seek to apprehend him there; whereupon he was presently conveyed to an honest Farmers House neer the Sea-side, where he was locked up two days and two nights in a Chamber all alone, and then removed to one *Mower*, a Master of a Ships House at *Milton* shore, attending a Wind for his departure: And while he was there, *Mower* brought forty or fifty Mariners to him, to whom he gave such an Exhortation, that they being taken with it, resolved all of them to die rather than he should be apprehended. The sixth the wind served, and he took his leave of his Host and Hostess, who had been married eight years, and had no Child; and when he took



## The Life of Doctor Sands.

took his leave of the Woman, he thanked her kindly for his entertainment, and gave her his Handkerchief with an old Royal of Gold in it, saying, *Ere A Prophecy a year be past, be of good comfort, God will give you a Son,* and accordingly it came to pass; for when there lacked but one day of a twelvemonth, she was brought to bed of a fair Son.

Doctor Sands, and Doctor Coxe were both in the same Ship, and ere it was out of ken, two of the Guard were upon the Shore to have apprehended Doctor Sands: But God gave them a good passage; so that they arrived safely at *Antwerp*, and were invited to dinner to Master *Licks* house: And as they were at dinner Master *George Gilpin*, Secretary to the *English* house, came to them, and whispering to Doctor Sands, said, King *Philip* hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you: Hereupon he immediately rose from dinner, and though it Rained very fast, yet he went out at the Gate that leads towards *Cleveland*, where meeting with a Wagon, he hasted away, and came safely to *Ausburg* in *Cleveland*, where he tarried fourteen daies, and then travelled to *Strasbourg*. And when he had continued there one year, his Wife came to him. There he fell sick of a great Flux, which held him nine Moneths, and brought him to death's door: He had a Child also that fell sick of the Plague, and died. His godly, and virtuous Wife also fell sick of a Consumption; and died in his Armes.

Whil'st he remained there, he was chiefly Maintained by one Master *Isaac*, an *English* Gentleman of *Kent*, and one that suffered Exile for the same cause of Christ: He so entirely loved him, that he was always more ready to give, than Doctor Sands was ready to receive, so that he gave him above a hundred Marks, which Doctor Sands afterwards thankfully repayed again.

After the death of his Wife, he travelled to *Zurich* in *Switzerland*, and there So-journed in the House of *Peter Martyr* for five weeks space, at the end whereof as they sate at Dinner, News was brought them of *Queen Maries* Death, and Doctor Sands, by his Friends, was sent for back to *Strasbourg*. This News occasioned joy to all but Doctor Sands, who was stricken to the heart to think that he was called back to new Sorrows.

Master *Bullinger*, and the other Ministers Feasted him before his departure from *Zurich*, and so he returned back to *Strasbourg*, where he preached, and in the company of Master *Grindal*, he came for *England*, arriving at *London* upon the Coronation-Day of *Queen Elizabeth*.

By her, for his singular Piety and Learning, he was advanced to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, Anno Christi 1559. and afterwards, he was removed to the Bishoprick of *London*, Anno Christi 1570. And lastly, he succeeded Doctor *Grindal* in the Arch-bishoprick of *Tork*, Anno Christi 1576. In all which places he governed the Church with singular Prudence, and modesty; and having finished his Course on Earth, he went to receive his Crown in Heaven, August the eighth, Anno Christi 1588. being about the Age of sixty, and lies Buried in the Collegiate Church of *Southwell* in *Nottinghamshire*.

He was a man of whom it is hard to say, whether he were more famous for his admirable vertues, or great learning, as his Sermons yet extant in Print do manifest. He left many children of which three were Knights, excellently qualified both in mind, and body, especially *Sir Edwin Sands*, who deserved so well of his Country.

He flies beyond sea.

A special providence

His sick-ness.

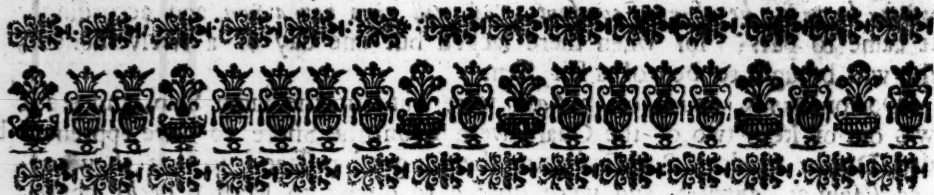
His Wife died.

Charity.

His return to England.

He is a Bishop.

His Death.



*The Life of Master Richard Greenham, who dyed  
about the year, 1591.*

He was Fellow in *Pembroke-Hall*.



His remove to *Dry-Drayton*.

His extraordinary Pains.

His hard Studies.

His Charity.

Can yet learn nothing Concerning the Countrey, Parentage, or first Education Mr. *Richard Greenham*. The first place, where I find him, was in *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, where he followed his Studies so hard, and was so eminent for his proficiency in learning, that he was chosen Fellow in that Society, and after a while he was called to a Pastoral charge at *Dry-Drayton*, not far from *Cambridge*, and like a faithfull Minister of *Jesus Christ*, he spared no paines amongst his people, whereby he might advance the good of their souls.

His constant course was to preach twice on the *Lords day*, and before the evening Sermon to Catechize the young people of the Parish. His manner also was to preach on *Mondays*, *Tuesdays*, and *Wednesdays*, and on *Thursdays* to catechize the youth, and again on *Frydays* to preach to his people; and that on these week dayes, the people might have the better opportunity to attend upon his Ministry, his course was to be in the Pulpit in the morning so soon as he could well see. He was so earnest, and took such extraordinary pains in his preaching, that his shirt would usually be as wet with sweating, as if it had been drenched in water, so that he was forced, so soon as he came out of the Pulpit, to shift himself, and this wonderfull and excessive paines he took all his time. Twice a day he prayed in his Family, and after Sermon he used to call his servants together, and examined them of what they heard, and what they remembred. And besides all these his publike labours, he studied very hard, rising every day both Winter and Summer, at four of the clock in the morning.

He was very eminent for his charity to the Poor; whereof we have this notable Example: In a time of scarcity, when Barley was at ten groats the Bushell, (which in those daies was an extraordinary price) he by his Prudence brought it to pass, that the poor had it sold to them for four groats the Bushell of every Husband-man in the Town; and thus he effected it.

There were about twenty Plough-holders in the Town, all which he by his holy perswasions drew to an agreement amongst themselves, to hire a common Granary, and therein to lay up Corn for the poor, some more, some lesse, every man accordingly to his ability; so that some laid up one Coom, some a quarter, some three Cooms, and Master *Greenham* himself laid in five Cooms, all which was delivered out to the poor at a groat a peck. There was one day in the week appointed for all the poor to come and be served, at which time every one received according to their charge; where there were but two in a Family, they received one peck a week, and so more according to that proportion; only no one Family had above three pecks a week.

He



He kept but two Beasts himself, that the poor might have his straw, and when other men sold their straw for two Shillings the dayes thresh, he sold his for ten pence: So that in that dear time all the poor in the Parish had been well neer famished, had it not been for his prudence, and liberality which he also continued, till the price of Corn abated, which was suddainly, and extraordinarily; For that Corn which was sold for a noble the Bushell, was within one moneth after sold for fourteene pence the Bushell.

But during the fore-mentioned dearth, by publike Order, the Bushells were cut and made lesse; This Master Greenham Preached much against, and Publickly reprov'd wheresoever he came, and withall gave his man a charge, that if the Clerk of the Market sent for his Bushell to cut it, he should not carry it in, which was done accordingly, for which he came into some trouble, but the Lord delivered him out of the same. Also at this time though his Bushell was bigger then other mens, yet he would often charge his man not to strike off all the Corn. He used not to trouble himself with reckonings and accounts, but would sometimes ask his man when he came from the Market, how he sold Corn? and if it was dear, he would say, *of pray God bring down the price of it*; and if it was Cheap, he would heartily blasse God for it. Yea, his Charity was not onely extended to the poor of his own Parish, but to others also, for if at any time he had seen a poor body at a distance from him as he rode abroad, he would send his man with money to him; and when at any time he rode by the Castle at Cambridge, the Prisoners would never ask him for any thing, nor any one that was with him, for if he had any money in his Purse, they were sure to have part of it. By reason of his great Liberality, though his living was worth a hundred pound *per Annum*, yet he usually wanted Money to get in his Harvest, so that his Wife (formerly Doctor Bounes Widow) was forced to borrow money to supply that want: Yet was he so well content with his present Condition, that though he had proffers of livings worth three of that which he had, yet would he by no meanes be perswaded to accept of them.

He was a great Friend to, and promoter of Peace and Concord amongst his Neighbours and Acquaintance, insomuch that if any had come to him who were at Variance, he would either have made them friends themselves, or if he could not prevail, he would have made use of other Friends to reconcile them together, thereby to prevent their going to Law.

A great Peace-maker.

When Martin Mar Prelate came first out, Master Greenham being to preach at St. Maries in Cambridge, spake freely against that Book, manifesting himself like of the same. For (said he) the tendency of this Book is to make ridiculous, whereas it ought to be made odious.

He disliked Martin Mar-Pre-late.

On a time the Bishop of Ely sent for him, to appear about his Nonconformity: At which time the Bishop told him that there was a great Schisme in the Church, asking him where the blame was to be laid, whether upon the Conformists, or Non-conformists. To which he readily answered, that it might lie on either side, or on neither side. For (said he) if they loved one another as they ought, and would do all good Offices each for other, thereby maintaining Love and Concord, it lay on neither side. The Bishop was so pleased with this answer, that he dismissed him in Peace.

He is contented before the Bishop. His prudence.

He was much troubled with a bad Concoction, whereby he had frequent sick Nights, which kept him much waking, but then his manner was (as much as possibly he could) to spend the time in Meditation and Prayer.

He is distressed.

We have before heard of his great Charity to mens Bodies. His Charity to Souls was not less exemplary. For having great Experience, and an excellent Faculty to relieve and comfort distressed Consciences, he was sought to, far and near, by such as groined under spiritual Afflictions and Temptations.

His Piety.

His skill  
in curing  
spiritual dif-  
eases.

Temptations: all whom he entertained friendly and familiarly, without respecting the person of the rich more than of the poor.

Yea the fame of this spiritual *Physician* so spread abroad, that he was sent for to very many, and the Lord was pleased so farre to blesse his labours, that by his knowledge and experience many were restored to joy and comfort, out of unspeakable and insupportable terrours and torments of conscience. If the Lord had not so soon translated him out of this sinfull and miserable world, there was none more fit, nor willing to have prescribed Rules, and a Method to be observed in this so little a known Art. Of his good will herein, let his own words testifie the forward desires of his heart: For upon a special occasion he thus speaketh of himself; I have had (saith he) for a long time a settled resolution, (which I hope is from God) to study the cases of Conscience, that thereby I may be the better able to succour the tempted and perplexed in spirit.

He was filled with bowels of compassion towards the afflicted, sympathizing, as if he had been afflicted with them.

Many godly and learned friends of his, perceiving his abilities and inclinations thereto, did labour much to excite and encourage him in those studies, upon these and the like grounds. First, that he might hereby the better train up some young men in the like studies, communicating his knowledge and experiences to them therein. Secondly, that he might leave to posterity a Commentary of such particular Maladies as God had made him instrumental in the cure of, together with the meanes by him used for effecting of the same. And because Precepts are wanting, Rules of direction might be framed, partly by his own observation, partly by conference with other learned and experienced persons, whereby in that, and the age following, that Art might be brought into some form and method, to the publick good and benefit of many, not only for the fruitfull curing, but also for the healthfull preventing of manifold mischief.

To such as complained to him that they were troubled with blasphemous thoughts, his counsell was, that they should not fear them, but abhorre them. And when some Poor Christians were miserably afflicted with feares, that they had committed that unpardonable sinne against the holy Ghost, he used to tell them, that if they would not have committed it, it was certain that they had not fallen into it.

The graces of Gods Spirit did all abundantly shine forth in this man of God: all tempered, as with unfeigned love to *Christ*, so with bowels of love and compassion towards men, and he again was greatly beloved of all men.

In the whole course of his Ministry, he was very carefull ever to avoid (as much as was Possible) all occasions of offence, desiring in all things to approve himself as a Minister of *Christ*, and Work-man that needed not to be ashamed.

He much reioyced in, and Praised God for the happy government of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for the blessed calm and peace which the Church and People of God enjoyed under the same, speaking often of it, both publicly and privately, as he had occasion, endeavouring to stirre up the hearts of all men (as much as in him lay) to Praise God with him for it, and to pray also for the continuance thereof. Yea this matter so affected him, that the day before his departure out of this world, his thoughts were much troubled, for that most men were so unthankfull for those wonderfull and happy deliverances, which the Lord of his mercy vouchsafed to that glorious Queen, from the conspiracies and dangerous practices of her *Papish* Adversaries.

He was a special Instrument and meanes under God to encourage, and train up many godly and learned young men in the holy service of *Christ*, in the work of the Ministry, and to restrain, and reduce not a few from errors and *schisme*; striving by all meanes to retain them in obedience to the

Lawes



Lawes of the land, and to Provoke them highly to Prize, and preciously to esteem the peace of the Church, and People of God.

Having continued at *Dry-Drayton* about the space of twenty, or one and twenty years, he left it, and went from thence to *London*, about the year 1588, or 89. Yet was very carefull before his remove, to get an honest and able man to succeed him in that place.

His remove to London.

The Causes of his Removal, were, partly the untractableness and untractableness of that people amongst whom he had taken such exceeding great paines. For besides his publick Preaching and Catechizing, his manner was to walk out into the Fields, and to confer with his Neighbours as they were at Plough: And partly he did it upon supposal that he might do far more good in a more publick place by comforting afflicted Consciences, wherein the Lord had given him such an admirable dexterity.

He wholly spent himself in the Service of God and his Church, and therefore often made use of that saying of the Prophet *David: The Zeal of thy House hath eaten me up.*

He was a little Man of Stature, and usually indifferent well in Health, but when at any time he was sick, he would suffer no body to sit up and Watch with him, that so he might more freely converse with God.

He continued not in *London* above the space of two years, but being quite worn out, he comfortably and quietly resigned up his Spirit unto God, *An. Christi 1591.* and about the sixtieth year of his Age.

His Death.

He hath a Volume of Sermons, and Treatises of Divinity in Print.

The Life of Master Thomas Cartwright

The

Thomas Cartwright was born in Northampton about the year 1535. And being by his Parents kept at school till he was fit for the University, he went to Cambridge and was admitted into Saint Peter's Colledge, June 1550. He there followed his studies exceeding hard, and being a man of excellent natural parts, he excelled in Learning more than ordinary. He never used to sleep above five hours in a night, which custom he continued to his dying day.

His Birth.



His Study.

Three years after at the death of King Edward the sixth, he left the University, and betook himself to the service of a Counsellor, yet followed his studies very hard, as taking more pleasure therein than in the study of the Law. This he continued till the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, at which time his Master meeting with Doctor Pilkington, Master of Saint John's Colledge in Cambridge, he told him of his man's Learning and famous disposition. The Doctor desired to speak with him, and thereby perceiving his great abilities and hopefulness, with his Masters consent he took him again to Saint John's Colledge, where his piety and proficiency and Progress both in the Arts and Theology, was so eminent, that June 1560. He was chosen Fellow in that Colledge, and about three years after he was removed to a Fellowship in Trinity Colledge.

He is a Lawyer's Clerk.

His return to Colledge.



M. THO: CARTWRIGHT.

*The Life of Master Thomas Cartwright, who dyed  
Anno Christi 1603.*

**His Birth.** *Thomas Cartwright* was born in *Herfordshire*, about the year 1535.



And being by his Parents kept at *School* till he was fit for the University, He went to *Cambridge* and was admitted into *Saint Johns Colledge*, Anno 1550. He there followed his Studies exceeding hard, and being a man of excellent natural parts, he profited in Learning more than ordinary; He never used to sleep

**His Study-  
ousness.**

above five houres in a night, which custom he continued to his dying day.

**He is a  
Lawyers  
Clark.**

Three years after at the death of *King Edward* the sixth, he left the University, and betook himself to the service of a Counsellor, yet followed his studies very hard, as taking more pleasures therein, than in the study of the Law; Thus he continued till the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth* Reign, at which time his Master meeting with *Doctor Pilkinton*, Master of *Saint Johns Colledge* in *Cambridge*, he told him of his mans Learning and studious disposition; The Doctor desired to speak with him, and thereby perceiving his great abilities, and hopefullnesse, with his Masters consent he took him again to *Saint Johns Colledge*, where his proficiency and Progresse both in the Arts and Tongues, was so eminent, that Anno 1560. He was chosen Fellow in that Colledge, and about three years after he was removed to a fellowship in *Trinity Colledge*, where

**His return  
to Cambridge**



where for his great worth, he was ere-long made one of the eight Senior fellows.

Anno 1564. Queen Elizabeth coming to Cambridge, great Preparation was made for her Entertainment, and four of the eminentest men in the University, being chosen to keep a Philosophy Act before her, he was one of them, who performed it with extraordinary abilities, to the great content and satisfaction both of the Queen and his other Studitors. Anno 1567. He commenced Batchelor of Divinity, and three years after he was chosen to be the Lady Margaret Divinity-Reader. He read upon the first and second Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, and performed it with such acuteness of wit, and solidity of judgment, as caused admiration in his hearers: and even at that time he was so famous for his Ministry, that when his turn came to Preach at Saint Maries, the Sextone was faine to take down the Windows, by reason of the multitudes that came to hear him.

His Disputation before the Queen.

He is chosen Professor.

His multitude of hearers.

In his Lectures he was occasioned to discover his judgment about Church-Discipline, which the Doctors and Heads in the University took very haينously, as being dangerous and destructive to the present Hierarchy, whereupon he was convented before the Vice-Chancellor, Doctor May, and other Doctors, and examined upon sundry Articles, or propositions of Doctrine delivered by him publickly in his Lectures, and elsewhere, which they affirmed to be contrary to the Religion received, and allowed by publick authority in this Realm, and thereupon they demanded whether he would stand to, or revoke the said Opinions and Doctrines delivered by him.

He is questioned before the Vice-Chancellor.

Master Cartwright upon deliberation, desired that he might have leave to set down in writing what his judgement in those things was and what he would stand to, which being granted, he drew up in six Propositions what his judgement was, and setting his hand to it, delivered it to the Vice-Chancellor, who thereupon admonished him to revoke the same, and upon his refusal, punished him by the subtraction of his stipend, and so he continued in his Lecture that year.

But the year after, Doctor Whigfitt being chosen Vice-Chancellor, he again convented him before him, requiring his absolute answer whether he did mind to teach his Auditors otherwise, revoking that he had before taught; or whether he would abide in the maintenance of the same? Unto this Mr. Cartwright answered, that for the Propositions delivered by him under his hand to Doctor May, and now shewed to him, they were his own hand-writing, such as he had openly taught, and still continued fully determined to maintain and defend as Truths. Hereupon after Master Cartwright had a while withdrawn, and the Vice-Chancellor had conferred with the other Doctors, Master Cartwright was again called for, and this definitive sentence was pronounced against him by the Vice-Chancellor, Doctor Whigfitt, that perceiving that no admonition would help, but that he still persisted in the same mind, he did therefore pronounce him, the said Master Cartwright, to be removed from his said Lecture; and by his final decree or sentence, did then and there remove him, and declare the said Lecture to be void, and that he minded, according to the foundation thereof, to proceed to the Election of a new Reader. And further he did then and there, by Vertue of his Office, inhibit the said Master Cartwright from preaching within the University and the Jurisdiction of the same.

He is expelled the University.

Now that the Reader may be better satisfied what the Articles were which Master Cartwright drew up, and signed with his hand, and for which this sentence was passed upon him, I shall here set them down in his own words, as I have them transcribed out of the Original, standing upon Record in the Registry of the University of Cambridge.

The Articles for which he was expelled.

1. *Archiepiscoporum, & Archidiaconorum nomina simul cum muneribus, & officiis sunt abolenda.*
2. *Legitimorum in Ecclesia Ministrorum nomina, qualia sunt Episcoporum, & Diaconorum separata a suis muneribus in verbo Dei descriptis, simpliciter sunt improbanda, & ad institutionem Apostolicam revocanda: ut Episcopus in verbo, & precibus, Diaconus in pauperibus curandis versetur.*
3. *Episcoporum Cancellariis, aut Archidiaconorum Officialibus, &c. regimen Ecclesia non est committendum, sed ad idoneum ministrum, & Presbyterum ejusdem Ecclesie deferendum.*
4. *Non oportet Ministrum esse vagum, & liberum, sed quisque debet certo cuidam gregi additi.*
5. *Nemo debet ministerium tanquam candidatus petere.*
6. *Episcoporum tantum autoritate, & potestate, ministri non sunt creandi: multo minus in Museo, aut loco quopiam clanculario: sed ab Ecclesia electio fieri debet.*

*Hisce reformatis, quisque pro sua vocatione studere debet (vocationem autem intelligo) ut magistratus Authoritatis, minister verbo, omnes precibus promoveant.*

*Per me Thomam Cartwright.*

His travels beyond Sea.

Bezas' testimony of him.

He is Preacher to the English Merchants.

Master Cartwright being thus driven from the University, not long after, finding the way for the Exercise of his Ministry in England obstructed, he went beyond the Seas to visit other Reformed Churches, where he grew acquainted with the famous men for Piety and Learning in Christendome, with whom he kept Correspondence all his life after. He was also highly prized by them, insomuch as Beza writing about that time into England to a Friend of his, hath this Expression; *Est quidam Anglus nobiscum, nomine Thomas Cartwright, &c.* Here is now with us your Countrey-man, Thomas Cartwright, then whom I think the Sun doth not see a more Learned Man, &c.

He was also chosen Preacher to the English Merchants at Antwerp, and afterwards at Middleborough, where he did very much good by his Ministry, the Lord blessing his labours exceedingly in those parts; and when he understood that the Merchants, by whom he was maintained, through their great Losses decayed in their Estates, he returned his Salary to them again.

He is chosen to answer Dr. Whitgift.

His imprisonment.

His contempt of the World.

Not long after he came over into England, being earnestly solicited thereunto by Letters from Master Dearing, Master Fulk, Master Wiburne, Master Leaver, and Master Fox; about which time the Non-Conformists having drawn up an Admonition to the Parliament for the Reformation of the Church, Doctor Whitgift, who was then preferred to the Arch-Bishoprick of Canterbury, answered the same in Print; whereupon the Ministers which wrote the Admonition, consulting, but not agreeing upon the choice of one to reply to Doctor Whitgift, Master Cartwright was at last chosen by lot to undertake it, and performed it so well, that his very Adversaries were heard to advance and commend him for it.

Yet was he with divers other of the Non-Conformists brought into the High Commission Court, where, for refusal of the Oath *ex officio*, they were clapt up in Prison, and afterwards proceeded against in the Star-Chamber; But it pleased God so to order it by his Providence, that those very Witnesses which were brought to accuse them, did so clear them, that they were dismissed, and sent home much more honoured and beloved than they were before.

Whilst Master Cartwright was Prisoner in the Fleet, he had thirty pounds sent him from a Noble Friend, of which he took but ten shillings, returning the rest with many thanks to the Donor; and when the Earl of Leicester of



offered him the Provostship of *Eaton-Colledge*, saying, That it was a hundred pounds a year more than enough, besides the conveniency of the place; Master Cartwright answered, That the hundred pounds more than enough was enough for him.

His favour with the Earl of Leicester.

About the year 1580. his Fame was so spread through the Reformed Churches, that King James, then King of Scotland, sent for him, professing to make him Professor in the University of Saint Andrews: whereof twenty years after, upon King James his coming into England, Master Cartwright makes mention in his Epistle before his Commentary upon *Ecclesiastes*, which he dedicated to King James, returning humble thanks for that Royal favour. The Arch-Bishop of Dublin also sent for him into Ireland, proffering him preferment in that Kingdom.

King James sends for him into Scotland.

He was sent to from divers eminent Divines beyond the Seas, wherein they craved his advice for the direction of young men in the method of their studies, as also in the behalf of the Churches in general, for his counsel in regulating their proceeding in the weightiest affairs.

He is sent to for counsel.

Also about the same time the Earl of Leicester preferred him to be Master of his Hospital at *Warwick*, which place was worth to him about one hundred pounds *per annum*: His employment was to pray with the Poor men twice a day, to catechise twice a week, and to preach once on the *Lords-day* at the Parish Church: This place he willingly and thankfully accepted of, because he was therein exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Prelates.

He is made Master of the Hospital at Warwick.

His carriage and deportment was such, that there was not a Nobleman or Gentleman of quality in all the Country that looked Heaven-ward, or was of any account for Religion and Learning, but they sought to enjoy his company, and found much pleasure and content therein; for his conversation was such, that scarce a word came from his mouth that was not of some good use and concernment.

His esteem in the Country.

He was of a very laborious and indefatigable spirit; it was his meat and drink to be doing the Will of his heavenly Father, so that besides all his paines in Writing, and in the Hospital, he preached every Sabbath-day in the morning, about seven a clock in the lower Parish of *Warwick*, and, when he could be suffered, in the upper Parish in the afternoon; Besides which he preached a Lecture on *Saturdays* in the afternoon in the upper Church, in which he went over a great part of the *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes* with singular judgment and profit; and this he did of his own free Will without demanding or receiving one penny for his paines. And whereas he was sometimes suspended by the Bishops from preaching in the Churches, his manner was at those times to preach in the Hospital, whither many resorted to hear him, though they were sure to be brought into the Bishops Courts for the same.

His diligence in the Ministry.

Presently after his coming to *Warwick*, the English Seminary at *Rhemes* published their Version of the *New Testament*, and Annotations upon it in English, which coming over into England, it was looked upon by all as a Book of dangerous concernment, and therefore fit to be answered by the ablest pen that could be found; Hereupon (as I have heard) Queen Elizabeth sent to *Beza* to request him to undertake the answer, but he modestly excused it, and returned answer that she had one in her own Kingdom, far abler then himself to undertake such a task, and upon further enquiry declared that it was Master Thomas Cartwright.

He is importuned to answer the Rhemish Testament.

Then Sir Francis Walsingham, a man of eminent place and power, who herein, as in other affairs was accounted the mouth and hand of the Queen and State, wrote to Master Cartwright, earnestly requesting him to undertake the work, assuring him also of such aid as should further him in the finishing thereof; for which end he sent him one hundred pounds towards the

Encouraged by Sir Francis Walsingham.

charges of buying Books, and procuring Writers which were to be employed by him therein; This was *Anno* 1583.

He is solli-  
cited there-  
to by the  
Doctors of  
Cambridge.

\* Church-  
Discipline.

The same year also he was earnestly solicited by the most learned men of the University of Cambridge by a solemn Epistle, with joynt consent written to him to undertake the answer, wherein amongst other passages they have these expressions; *With you we are earnest (most Reverend Cartwright) that you would set your self against the unhallow'd endeavours of these mischievous men, either by refusing the whole Book, or at least some part thereof. It is not for every man Work-man-like to frame Gods Tabernacle, but for Bazaheel and Aholiab; neither is every one rashly to be thrust forth into the Lords battles; but such Captains are to be chosen from amongst Davids Worthies; Of which, as we acknowledge you to be one by the former battels undergone for the walls of our City, the Church\*; we doubt not if you will enter this War (which truly you ought to do according to the Zeal and Picty you bear to your Countrey and Religion) but that you fighting for Conscience and Countrey (yea even for the very inmost holy place of the Temple) will be able to tread underfoot the forces of the Jebusites, which set themselves to assault the Tower of David. Moreover, (which may marvellously sharpen the edge of your courage) you are not now to fight with a Brother, or fellow of the same Religion (which maketh the Conflist more faint) but with the most inveterate enemies of Jesus Christ, &c. Then they thus conclude: You see to what an honourable fight we invite you. Christs business shall be undertaken against Satans Champions. We stir you up to fight the battels of our Lord, where the Victory is certain, which the triumph and applause of the Angels will ensue. Our Prayers shall never be wanting unto you. Christ without doubt, whose cause is defended, will be present with you. The Lord Jesus much increase your courage and strength, and keep you very long in safety for his Churches good. Vale. This was subscribed by Roger Goad, William Whittaker, Thomas Crook, John Ireton, William Fulk, John Field, Nicholas Crane, Giles Seintler, Rich. Gardener, William Clark; &c.*

And by the  
Ministers of  
London and  
Suffolk.

His discour-  
agements  
in the work.

The work  
left imper-  
fect.

His going  
into Gernsey.

But besides these, the Reverend Ministers of London, and Suffolk, did by their severall letters earnestly exhort him to this work; and Master Cartwright, was at last by these importunities drawn to undertake it, and neither diligence nor constancy was wanting in him to have carried it on to perfection; but he met with such great discouragements and hinderances from Potent Adversaries, that he was forced often to lay pen aside; yea Arch-Bishop Whitgift sent him a positive command that he should deal no further in it; yet afterwards by an Earl and privy Counsellor of great note, and some other noble Personages, he was at last drawn to take pen in hand again; But receiving new discouragements, and having such continual employment in the Ministry, he lived not to perfect that work.

Whilst he was at Warwick, being silenced by the Bishops, he was requested by the Lord Zouch, Governour of Gernsey, to go with him into that Island, with whom he continued some time, and in the mean space he substituted one Master Lord, a godly and holy Minister, then living at Woolstone, in his room at the Hospital in Warwick, allowing him the greatest part of the profits of the place during his abode there; and the rest he caused to be distributed amongst the poor.

His con-  
tempt of the  
World.

He was far from seeking after great places or great things in the world, and for riches he sought them not; yea he rejected many opportunities whereby he might have enriched himself; His usual manner was, when he had good summes of gold sent him, to take only one piece, lest he should seem to slight his Friends kindnesse, and to send back the rest with a thankfull acknowledgement of their love, and his acceptance of it; professing, that for that condition wherein God had set him, he was as well furnished as they for their high and great places.

His



## The Life of Master Thomas Cartwright.

His manner was not to keep any more money in his purse, but what might serve for charitable uses; He was very bountifull to poor Schollers, His charity. He distributed money every Sabbath-day amongst the poor of the Town of Warwick, besides what he gave to the prisoners, and upon other occasions both at home and abroad.

For his Household affairs, he never troubled himself with them, but wholly left them to be ordered and managed by the Prudence of his Wife.

He was very carefull to regulate and order the businesses of the Hospital for the best advantage of the poor Brethren. He continued his diligence and assiduity in his studies even in his old age, and his usual manner was to rise at two, three, and four a clock in the morning at the latest, both summer and winter, notwithstanding that his bodily infirmities were such, that he was forced to study continually kneeling upon his knees. His Prudence. His assiduity.

He was of a very meek and quiet spirit, as appears in those conflicts which he had with Doctor Whitgift, and Dr. Sutcliffe, wherein he used sore Words, and hard arguments; He could not endure, so much as in private, to hear his adversaries reproached, and if any in his presence used disgracefull speeches of them, he would sharply reprove them for it, saying, That it's a Christians duty to pray for, and not to reproach his adversaries; and when Martin Mar-Prelates Book came forth, he shewed much dislike of the Satyrical and tart language used therein. His meekness.

He was also very humble, not enduring to hear any thing spoken in his own commendation, or any titles given him, which in the least measure savoured of ambition; He affected not popularity, but avoided it as much as possibly he could. His humility.

Indeed all his ambition was to advance the Kingdom and cause of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to promote Gods glory. It was the great joy and rejoycing of his heart to hear of the welfare and prosperity of the Churches at home and abroad; for this he earnestly and daily prayed; and when he heard any ill tydings, with Nehemiah, he sat down and mourned, and fasted, and prayed before the God of Heaven; so that all that conversed with him, might easily discern that nothing did affect him in any degree, like the good or ill tydings of the Churches state. His sympathy with the Church.

He was frequent in Prayer every day, and in his younger years hath risen many times in the night to seek out private places to pray in. And as his labours were very great in the work of the Ministry, so it pleased the Lord to make them very successfull for the conversion and confirmation of many, and for terour and restraint unto others. His frequency in Prayer. The success of his Ministry.

There was a woollen Draper, in Warwick, who made a Profession of Religion, but many times brake out into scandalous practices; Master Cartwright on a time walking with him in his Garden, dealt plainly and faithfully with him, rebuking him for his miscarriages, and shewing him the dishonour that he brought to God, and the Gospel thereby; This so wrought upon him, that he presently sunk down, and being carried home, died within a few hours after. A remarkable judgment upon a loose Professor.

In his old age, he was much troubled with the stone and gout, which much impaired his strength, yet would he not intermit his labours, but continued preaching when many times he could scarce creep up into the Pulpit. The Sabbath, before his death, which was the last Sermon that he made, December the 25. he preached upon Eccles. 12. 7. Then shall the dust return to the earth, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it. The morning before his death, which was the Tuesday following, he was two hours on his knees in private Prayer: in which (as he told his Wife) he found wonderfull and unutterable joy and comfort; God giving him a glimpse of heaven before he came to it, and within a few houres after he quietly resigned up his spirit unto God, December the 27. Anno Christi, Joy unspeakable.

His Death. 1603. And of his Age sixty eight. Master *Dod* Preached his Funeral Sermon.

During his abode in the University, he was of great Power and Credit in the Regent-House, so that the Doctors feared lest the Precisians (as they were then called) should choose him Vice-Chancellor, whereupon they procured the alteration of the Statute, whereby the Choice was formerly in the Regent-House; and confined the Election of the Vice-Chancellor to one of those two whom the Heads should prick.

After long discontinuance Master *Cartwright* coming to *Cambridge*, was importuned to Preach on a Week day in Saint *Maries*, where there was a great Confluence of all sorts to hear him; Grave men ran like Boys in the Streets to get places in the Church. After Sermon he dined at Master *Chaddertons*, and many went to the House to see and hear him speak.



### The Life of Master Paul Baines, who dyed Anno Christi 1617.

His Birth,  
and Educa-  
tion.



Paul Baines was born in *London*, and had his Education in his younger Years at *Withersfield* in *Essex*, under one Master *Cosens*, his School-master, from whence, being fitted for it, he was sent to the University of *Cambridge*, and admitted into *Christs-Colledge*, where his Conversation at first was so irregular, that his Father, being grieved at it, before his death, being intimately acquainted with one Master *Wilson* a Sailes-man in *Birchin-lane*, he left with him forty Pounds by the year,

His Fathers desiring him, that if his Sonne did forsake his evil courses, and become an Prudence. honest man, he would then give him that fourty Pounds per annum, if not, that he would never let him have it.

But it pleased God, not long after his Fathers decease, to shew him his sinnes, and to work effectual Repentance in him for the evil of his waies; so that forsaking his former evil company and practices, he became eminent for Piety and Holiness, and according to that of our Saviour, *Much being forgiven him, he loved much*. After which gracious change wrought in him by the goodness of God, it was not long before Master *Wilson* fell dangerously sick, and hearing how God had dealt with Master *Baines*, he sent for him, and desired him to pray with him, by which as also by his savoury discourse, finding that what he had heard of him rather came short of the truth than exceeded it, according to that trust reposed in him, perceiving himself to be upon his death-bed, he told Master *Baines* of the fourty Pounds per annum, which his Father left with him, and so faithfully delivered up to him those Writings of the Agreement which had passed betwixt his Father and him; and being like to leave behind him a Wife and two Children, he intreated Master *Baines*, that as he had faithfully and carefully discharged

Mr. Wilsons fidelity.



## The Life of Master Paul Baines.

charged his trust towards him, so when God should take him away hence, that he would have a care of his Wife and Children, and be a Friend to them. And Master Baines, after Master Wilsons death, that he might fully discharge that trust which was reposed in him, and also by way of Gratitude for that Friendship and Fidelity, which he had found in Master Wilson, married his Widdow.

Mr. Baines  
his Grati-  
tude.

But before this, for his eminency in Learning, he was chosen Fellow in Christs Colledge, where he so much (through Gods blessing on his studies and endeavours) improved his time, and talents, that he became inferior to none for sharpness of Wit, variety of Reading, depth of Judgment, aptness to Teach, Holy and pleasant Language, wise Carriage, heavenly Conversation, and all other fulness of Grace. By his holy Life and Conversation also he did largely Preach to all such as came neer unto him: And for the Heavenly Frame of his Spirit, what it was, his incomparable Writings will sufficiently Demonstrate to all Future Generations.

He is cho-  
sen Fellow  
of Christs  
Colledge

When Master Perkins, who was Lecturer at Saint Andrews in Cambridge, had there for many years held forth a burning and shining Light, the Sparks whereof did fly abroad into all the Corners of the Kingdom, and after he had served in his Generation, was taken up into Heaven, there was none found so meet to receive, as it were, the Torch out of his Hand, and succeed him in that great Office of bearing it before such a people as Master Baines, upon whom also the Spirit of that *Alma* was by experience found to be doubled. In which Station he so demeaned himself for some years, that impiety only had cause to complain. But all that favoured the wayes of God, be it saied of Religion, rejoyced, and gloried in him and his Ministry, as in a Spiritual and Heavenly Treasure.

He is cho-  
sen Lectu-  
rer.

Sometime after Master Baines was silenced, yet preached sometimes where he might have liberty, and as the weakness of his Body would suffer. The rest of his time he spent in Reading, Writing, Meditation, and Prayer, saving that upon occasion, he instructed and comforted those that came to him in private, wherein he had a very happy and heavenly Gift. He was indeed all his Life after pressed with want, nor having (as he often complained to his Friends) a place to rest his Head in. Yet did he never so much con- sult with himself about his denying his sincerity, and complying with the Bi- shops and of whom, and their counsels, he was wont to say, *They are a Gene- ration of the Earth, earthly, and favour not the Ways of God.*

His pain-  
fulness and  
piety.  
And pover-  
ty.

Whilst he lived a private Life, his Wife died, and being Thunder struck by the Bishops bolt, he had time and leasure to apply his able Wit and Judgment, about the discussing of many Questions, which if the Prelates had not forced such leasure upon him, it may be, he would have passed by with others.

He was of such an holy and heavenly Temper, that he was reverenced by all good Men that knew him. His manner was in the Summer-time, to go from one Gentlemans house to another, and happy were they that could get his Company. He had such a Divine and Heavenly Majesty in his Countenance, that it would awe any man to look upon him. Little Re-creation he used, but sometimes to play at Chess.

Once he was called by Bishop *Harsnet*, to the Councel-Table, the Bi- shop having laid a designe, to suspend and banish him under the pretence of keeping Conventicles, the Reason whereof was this. He was an excellent *Casist*, and thereupon many doubting Christians repaired to him for satis- faction in cases of Conscience, which the Bishops would needs have to be keeping of Conventicles. When he was accused hereof before the Pri- vy-Councel, one of the Noble-Men said to him, Speak, speak for your self: Whereupon he made such an excellent Speech, that in the midst thereof, a Noble-Man stood up and said, He speaks more like an Angel than

The Bi-  
shops ma-  
lice.

Gods Pro-  
vidence.

than a Man; and I dare not stay here to have a hand in any Sentence against him; upon which Speech they dismissed him, and he never heard more from them.

His faithfulness and prudence.

Upon a time he went to the House of Mistress *Sheafe* who was his VVives Sister, at *Cranbrook* in *Kent*; were observing that she, and others of the Family used to play much at Cards, and such like Games, as the Custom was, and still is too much used in Gentlemens Houses, he took occasion on the Sabbath Day in his Sermon to speak against such Games: And it pleased the Lord so to work upon Mistress *Sheafes* Heart by that Sermon, that when she came home, she came crying to him, saying, Oh Brother, Why would you thus suffer me to live in Sin, to the dishonour of God, and would never tell me of it before? To which he replied, that it was best of all that God had wrought on her by the publick Ministry, and that it might not have been so well if he had spoken to her in private.

His Character by Dr. Sibbs.

He was a Man of much Communion with God, and acquaintance with his own Heart, observing the daily passages of his Life, and was much exercised with spiritual Conflicts, whereby he became the more able to Comfort others with the same Consolations which himself had received from God. He had a deep insight into the Mystery of Gods Grace, and Mans Corruption, as appears by his Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*. He was one that sought not after great matters in the VVorld, being taken up with Comforts and Griefes, unto which the VVorld is a Stranger. One that had not all his Learning out of Books: Of a sharp VVitt, and clear Judgement. So that though his Meditations were of an higher Strain than ordinary, yet he had a good dexterity, furthered by his love to do good, in explaining dark points with lightsome Similitudes.

His Prayer in his Family was not usually above a quarter of an hour long, and having Respect to the VVeaakness, and Infirmities of his Servants and Children, he used to dissuade others from tediousness in that Duty.

It pleased God to make him an Instrument of the Conversion of that Holy and eminent Servant of Jesus Christ Doctor *Sibbs*.

The manner of his Death.

In his last Sicknes he had many Doubts and Feares, and God letting Satan loose upon him, he went out of this VVorld, with far lesse Comfort than many weaker Christians enjoy. He resigned up his Spirit into the hands of God, in *Cambridge*, *Anno Chri. 1617*.

THE



**The Life and Death of Master William Bradshaw, who dyed  
Anno Christi, 1618.**



**I**T hath from time to time been the lot of divers persons of singular VVorth, and eminent Parts, that they have lived in obscurity, and in a low condition, and past their time without that due respect, and regard, which their excellent endowments might justly have claimed; partly through the shortness of our ward supplies; (for, *they get not up easily, though never so well deserving, that are scanted in that kind*) partly by reason of an inward bashfulness, and over-awing modesty, accompanied with an undervaluing repute of themselves, and their own Abilities; and partly through the iniquity of the Times, wherein they have lived, and the disaffection of those who have swayed most in the State and Government under which they have resided. Such was the condition of that worthy and faithful servant of the Lord, Master *William Bradshaw*, though a man richly endowed, as well with such spiritual Graces, as in Truth are of highest esteem, being peculiar to Gods Favourites, that have interest in his Christ, as with such Gifts and Parts also, as might, and did render him useful and instrumental for the publick good of Gods People; yet never enjoying any plentiful condition; howsoever never prone to complain of want; nor forward at any time, or in any place to put himself forth, as having ever a very low and mean conceit of his own Parts, and admiring in others, what his own Eye either could not descry, or would not take notice of (howsoever to others conspicuous enough) in himself; and being never suffered to continue long quiet in any settled place of more publick Employment, through the envy and malice of some that had a jealous Eye on him, and the disturbances of him in the work of his Ministry, set on foot by others ill-affected towards him, but accrewing from the same, pursued by some of those, who were of greater Power and Authority in Ecclesiastical affairs, and could not brook any, that did not in all particulars comply with them and their courses; as they conceived him not to do.

He was born at *Bosworth*, a Market-Town in *Leicestershire*, famous for the Battell fought near to it, wherein that bloody Usurper, *Richard* the third lost his Crown, (attained by the unnatural murder of his two Nephews in their Non-Age,) together with his Life. His Father *Nicholas Bradshaw*, though descended from an ancient Family of the *Bradshaws* in *Lancashire*, with the Crest of whose Coat therefore being a *Beck-bromzing*, this our Brother used to Seal; yet living but in a mean Condition, and being not so well able therefore to Train this his Son up in Learning as he desired, an Uncle that he had at *Worcester* undertook the Education of him, wether being Master of the Free-school there, as some have supposed, or of some other Profession, as some others conjecture: For that he hath been heard

His Parents  
age.

His Education at  
*Worcester*.

His return  
to Bosworth.

to report, that Master *William May*, (who was sometime by the Turkey Merchants imployed at *Aleppo*, and afterward lived and ended his Days in or about *London*, a Man of more than ordinary Skill in the Learned Languages, and in Exposition of Scripture very accurate and Exact) was Teacher in a publick School at *Worcester*, while he lived there; relating withal, what a near man he then was, howsoever in his after-dayes he grew Cynically fowle, and by his uncouth deportment and jealous disposition, made himself nothing so useful to others, as otherwise he might have been. But however it was for his Uncles Profession, under him (who by some Relations of his, may not improbably be deemed to have been a *Scrivener* or public-like *Notary*) he was brought up and kept at School, until it pleased God to bereave him of this Support by his Death. After whose Decease, returning home to his Father at *Bosworth*, he was enforced, though very much against his mind and desire, to intermit the prosecution of his Studies in Literature for some space of time.

Gods Providence in  
providing  
for him.

His going to  
Cambridge.

Admitted  
into *Emmanuel*  
Colledge.

His Diligence in his  
Studies.

His Father now designing him to some other course of life out of despair of maintaining him in a way so chargeable, as his meanes, being not large, would not reach unto, especially having other Children, three Sons and two Daughters to provide for, besides him. But while the disposal of him hung thus in suspense, it pleased the Lord (who is wont to have a more speciall Providence over those, whom in his secret purpose he hath fore-designed unto the work of his Ministry, to have them fitted for the same) to stir up the spirit of one Master *Ainsworth*, a man of much worth, then School-Master at *Abby de la Zouch* in *Leicestershire* to divert his Parents purpose of disposing him to any other imployment. For by his favour, (having taken notice of his capacity, industry, eager desire of farther progresse in good literature, fitnessse of disposition to be wrought upon to that purpose, and by some buds sprouting out from such seeds thereof as had already been sown in him, conceiving good hopes of such future fruits, as did accordingly ensue) he was taken into the *Free-School* there; where he so profited, and made so successfull a proceed, that after a years continuance, being then about eighteen years of age, he was deemed sufficiently fitted and furnished for the University; and in the year 1589. was, together with that worthy man of great renown, *Joseph Hall*, afterwards Bishop of *Exeter*, then of *Norwich*; and *Hugh Cholmeley*, (who had both been trained up in the same Schooll with him, and did continue also afterward a kinde affection to him, and friendly correspondence with him) he was admitted into *Emmanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*; where with them also he followed his studies under the tuition of that reverend Divine Master *Gilbie*, then Fellow of that Colledge, being there maintained, partly by the allowance of some Gentlemen his fellow-pupils under the same Tutor; and partly by some supplies afforded him from two noble Knights of the honourable house of the *Hastings*, *Sir Edward* and *Sir Francis*, (on the latter of whom his Father also had some dependence) upon the recommendation, and at the motion of that worthy servant of God, now with God, Master *Arthur Hildersham* who was himself also allied to that Family.

In the Colledge with these supports, he continued, husbanding his time to the best advantage, with an abundant blessing of God upon his sedulous endeavours, to a clear evidence of large improvement, manifesting it self in such schollerly exercises, as his time and place there required (in the performance whereof speciall notice was taken of him, as an acute and eager disputant) untill he had taken both *Degrees*, first that of *Bachelors*, and after that of *Master of Arts*. But then, being not capable of a *Fellowship* in that Colledge, for that the Statutes of the House admitted not above one of the same *Shire*, and of that one for *Leicester-shire* Master *Joseph Hall* before-mentioned, being of the same time and standing with him, was already possessed; and having refused a *Vicarage*, endowed with some competent



present yearly revenue, by that Noble Knight Sir Edward Hasting out of his Patrons rendered him; not daring yet to adventure on a work of that nature; Master Laurence Chaderton then Master of the Colledge, and the first from the very foundation of it, bearing a singular affection to Master Bradshaw, as well for his parts of learning, as for his pious deportment, but being unable for that cause above mentioned to bring him in there, cast about with himself, how to procure a place, and get some employment for him else where.

Dr. Chaderton's care for him.

Some years before, that right Honourable and thrice Noble Lady Frances Sidney, Countesse of Suffox, had by her last Will and Testament given order for the erecting and endowing of a Colledge in Cambridge, to be furnished with a certain number of Fellows and Scholars under one Master or Head.

Sidney Colledge built.

The Colledge was now in building, by the provision of the Right Honourable the Earl of Kent, and Sir John Harrington, instructed by her for the performance of that work; and Master James Mountague Sonne to Sir Edward Mountague, then living as Fellow-Commoner, but Student in Divinity, among the Fellows of Christs Colledge, was designed for Master. With him dealt Master Chaderton in Master Bradshaw's behalf, To have him set down for a Fellows place there: which through his Mediation was from those Noble Trustees without difficulty obtained. But because some space of time would runne out, ere the building of the Colledge could be consummated and made fit for receipt, it was thought good in the interim, to dispose of Mr. Bradshaw for some employment elsewhere, untill he might be settled there. It fell out (God so disposing it) that Sir Thomas Leighton Governour of Guernsey, wanting one to be employed about the instruction and education of his children, and having requested that worthy servant of Christ Master Carwright, abiding then at Cornet Castle with him, to write unto Master Chaderton, to furnish them with one fit for such a charge; this Letter of Master Carwrights arrived with Master Chaderton in that juncture of time, wherein he and Master Mountague had this businesse in agitation about Master Bradshaw; and the matter being by them broken to him, who referred himself wholly to what they should advise, it was joyntly agreed, that Master Bradshaw should be sene, or sent rather, unto them, to undertake that charge, and continue in the discharge of it, untill the Colledge building were compleated, wherein upon return thence he was then to reside.

Thither therefore without delay, being furnished with Letters of recommendation from those here to them there, he addressed himself; and through Gods goodnesse, arriving safe there, he was with all kinde and courteous entertainment by them received. By this occasion he became thoroughly known to, and inwardly acquainted with Master Carwright, who highly esteemed of him, and renewed, or pursued rather his acquaintance with him, after both Master Bradshaws and his own return also into England, from may appear by entercourse of Letters yet to be seen, written by him to Master Bradshaw, while he stayed behind him in Guernsey, and from Warrick also after his departure from thence; and to his dying day continued expressions of entire affection to him, and due respect of him, as also both before and after his decease, his Children, both Sonne and Daughters, and those that they were matched unto, and his Widow also, did.

His journey into Guernsey.

Mr. Carwrights love to him.

And indeed such was his demeanure, wheresoever he came, that he left behind him a gratefull memory of him, in the hearts and minds of all well affected, that had occasion to take notice of him, not unlike therein to musk or civet, that leave a sweet scent behind them, even for a long time after they be gone, in the Boxes wherein they were formerly kept, the which continued after his departure thence, not amongst the French Ministers alone in that Island, but among such also of the old Garrison Soldiers, on whom

Master Cartwrights Ministry had some efficacious and gracious work; Who, as Sir Peter Osburn, who had afterward the government of that place, hath been heard to relate, would be oft talking of one Master Bradshaw, that had lived sometime there, and speak with much affection of him.

His carriage in his place.

But for his constant carriage during his abode there, his piety, industry, integrity, fidelity in discharge of the trust reposed in him, and charge committed to him, together with his course of life and conversation otherwise unprovable; as also the love and affection to him, earnest desire, if it might have been, of his continuance with them, and loathnesse, to leave him, with these, who were, after some time spent among them there, then, to part with him, all these things will by no meanes better appear, then by the Letters of Master Thomas Cartwright, and the relations concerning him therein contained, being written and directed to divers in these parts, either neer upon, or at Master Bradshaws departure from thence.

His return to Cambridge. Mr Cartwrights commendation of him

Among others, in one to Sir Francis Hastings of September the fifth 1598, wherein he assures him of his diligence in following his studies, and of his sharp and ready capacity, likely through Gods blessing to bring forth such fruit of Learning, as he might have good cause to rejoyce over any cast that he had been at with him, or should farther bestow that way on him; as also, of his love to the best things, and his conversation in the Family without reproach, for ought he could learn, having had an eye constantly on him. In another to Master Chaderton of December the fifth, (the time, it seems of his departure thence) wherein he thankfully acknowledgeth the great benefit they had received by Master Bradshaw, procured by him to take so long and painfull a journey to them, and his wife and loving care in so good provision for them; returning thanks also to him, from Sir Thomas Leyghon the Governour, and his Honourable Lady for him; and withall requesting him, that they may once again taste of his accustomed love and care in that kind.

And in another yet more fully of the same date to Master Mountague in these words; The Law commandeth, that of things borrowed great care should be had for the well usnage and due restoring of them: Both which we have endeavoured in Master Bradshaw: But the full performance must rest rather in yours and his acceptation, then in pay. For as touching the former of them, his desert of care to profit those committed to his charge, and his Behaviour otherwise in the house, hath been more then every one is able to esteem, and therefore in all respects not so fit to reward. For the other, (unless unwilling parting with him on all hands be against duty) you shall (we hope in the Lord) have him duly restored; Out of all doubt with all thankfulness to your Worship, by whose kindness, both we have enjoyed him some good time, since you of right might have taken him away, and he hath received a supply of recompence for that we were not able to make good unto him. And so with hearty thanks and commendations from the Governour and his Honourable Lady, and my humble thanks for your love, and this fruit I have received thereof by Master Bradshaw, I commend you to the gracious keeping and blessing of God in Jesus Christ. Unto this Letter Master Mountague now Master of the Colledge, upon Master Bradshaws access thither, returneth answer, both thanking him, for the remitting of him to them; (so that on no side thanks for him were wanting, so well was he esteemed of on either part) and withall advertising him of a very great danger, and no lesse deliverance, that neer unto his journeys end had be-tided him.

His gracious deliverance in his return.

Whereunto Master Cartwright in a Letter of March 7 the same year thus replieth; Sir, It cometh from the abundance of your love, to thank me for that which duty it self required at my hands towards Master Bradshaw, and therefore the thanks are returned unto you, who esteem so highly of duty, as to let it go in the account of a Benefit or good turn. My hope is the same with yours,



knows, that the Lord, who by deliverance of him from so great a death, bind the him to a stricter obedience, hath set such an impression of it in his mind, as will be in stead of a watch to waken him every morning to all cheerfull services, which his place will require. And indeed the Letter he wrote of that matter, carrieth that sound, and even undertakes so much in his behalf. And in one to Master Bradshaw himself, after receipt of that from him, touched upon in the close foregoing; That the Lord our most mercifull Father delivered you from so great a death, it pledges unto you deliverance hereafter, especially if they be inferiour to this. So much the rather, as the swimmer sunk like a piece of lead, and he that could no more swim then the Iron-head of the Scholars hatchet, was graciously borne up: And therefore by how much the Proverb is true: *in die periculi erigetur*, by so much we have cause to praise God, that by the Angel of the waters saved you: And withall you may help to encourage others against the excessive fear of drowning in passing the Seas: seeing it was more safe to you to passe the winter Seas, even when they rage most, then the small brook of Hawston Mills. I remembered you to Sir Thomas and my Lady; who told me, that if any entertainment would have holden you, they would not have suffered you to have gone from them; and rejoiced much at your gracious escape. Subscribed, Your assured loving Brother and Friend, Thomas Cartwright.

The Escape in those Letters mentioned was this: Master Bradshaw being to leave Guernsey, shipped himself for England. Nor was his passage by Sea wholly free from hazard, for with so violent a storm were they surprized at Sea, that the Passengers most of them expected nothing but wrack, and a Gentlewoman among them, with another, whom she much affected attending upon her, did in a cord, by the waste, fasten themselves either to other, that they might perish together, and draw their last breath, or breath it out rather, in the mutuall embraces either of others. But that storm being allayed, and the danger of it over, and the Ship with her Passengers now arrived in safety, Master Bradshaw having attained London, did there hire a Hackney, such as are commonly used on that Road, to convey him to Cambridge, there to enter upon the Fellowship prepared for him, and assigned unto him, by help of which Beast, he got so far on his way in safety, that he was now within three miles of his journey's end. But danger oft lieth in wait for us, when we least of all either expect or suspect it; and then many times overtaken, and surprizeth us unawares, when we deem our selves wholly past danger, and are near approaching our intended, much afraid, and now fully expected Port, and have alwaies need therefore both of an eye of Providence constantly on us, and of an hand of Protection continually over us.

For being there to passe a small Brook crossing the road near to a Village called Hawston, and the Water-mills seated on it, thence Hawston Mills; he that had escaped so eminent that apparent a danger at Sea, lighten on, and fell into that unexpectedly, and proved much more hazardous on land, where no experience was of ought in that kind: For being unacquainted with the course of the stream, otherwise passed ordinarily, and that daily without danger, and having not scized a compass far enough, as he ought to have done, the Beast that bare him plunged suddenly into the Mill-pond, or pit; and being not able to recover himself therein perished; and there left him floating in a strong veriginous current, unskillfull in swimming, (nor had any skill in likelihood been available in such case to have saved him) and altogether unable to shift for himself: where he must of necessity have perished, had not some way with the Beast, had not either some one occasionally stopping at the Mill, or some Passenger on the way, espying one floating in that manner, and at the very pitch of perishing, called hastily on the Mill-men, those next at hand to let slip down the Flood-gates, by means whereof the strong current of the water-course was stayed, and this Saved of God.

Gods special Providence over him.

A Miracle of mercy

God, though not without much difficulty, rescued out of the water, and delivered unexpectedly out of that his, in a manner, even desperate distresse.

And it may indeed justly be deemed a wonder of wonders, (in regard whereof that venerable Minister of *Christ* before-mentioned, seems to have apprehended the ministry of an *Angel* used in it) that he was not suddenly in an instant, either swallowed up in that whirling gulf, or hurried away with the violent course of the current, and that he should bear up and keep above water, so long in a place of that nature. For he hath been heard to relate, that while he continued thus floating and struggling with that wheeling surface, it troubled him not a little, that he could not address himself as he desired to prepare for his departure, though having nothing but death in his eye, while his ear was taken up with the voice of some talking in the Mill, from whom he supposed yet some help might come, though neither was he able to call unto them, nor they to hear him.

Thus even Gods Children themselves find a defect oft in themselves, that they cannot with such an exact composure of spirit, in times of distress address themselves unto God, untill he have pulled away all outward prosperity, as well hopes, as helps from them. But being by a special providence of God thus recovered: and as another *Moses* drawn out of the water, and brought into the Millers house, he was there shifted, and put into such dry apparell, as the Miller himself used to wear, in which *Gale* when some of his Acquaintance found him, who upon Tydings of this occurrent, came posting over to him from *Cambridge*, they could not forbear smiling to see him sitting in that Habit, though not a little affected with the casualty occasioning it, and no less heartily gladned for the gracious Issue that God had pleased to afford it, and expressing much thankfulness for his Mercy and goodness therein manifested. The Lord it may seem would hereby fit this his Servant reserved to other hot and hazardous services, unto a farther and firmer dependance in and under them upon him.

But thus his Horse lost, (which to the Carrier its owner, as by his default miscarrying, requiring it, was made good) being after his Escape and recovery somewhat revived and refreshed, and fitted again with a wonted Sult, he was with some of those his acquaintance accompaied to *Cambridge*, and repaired to the *Colledge*; where having presented himself to the *Master*, he was entertained in the *Chamber* of one of the *Fellows*, that assigned him, being not yet fit to receive him, (as indeed they came all to very raw *Chambers* at first) and the use of that offered him, untill his own could be fitted and furnished for him: which being his first entertainment there, albeit but a sorry courtesie to speak of, yet did so affect him, as upon occasion, to some of his familiar friends he afterward professed, (of so ingenuous and gratefull a disposition he was, and so prone with thankfulness to acknowledge, and to set an high rate on the least kindness shewed him, or meanest Office done for him) that it laid the ground-work, or first stone thereof at least with him, for such an Union of inward and entire affection, and well fastned knot of unreserved familiarity and strictest friendship, as did afterward ensue between them two, and so continued, not only while they abode in the *Colledge* together, by a mutual communication of their Studies, Counsels, Courses, and purposes either to other; but even after also, when through distance of abode they were severed the one from the other, by a constant course of Vicissitudinary writing, therein advising either with other, and discussing mutually such questions and doubts, wherewith either of them were occasionally encountered; by means whereof they received much help and light either from other, and albeit in some particulars either not so clear, or not so cleared to their joynt apprehensions, their judgement might, and did sometime differ, (which having on occasion professed to a Friend, desiring to know their joynt

He is admitted Fellow in Sidney Colledge.  
His Gratitude.  
Mr. Gale.



joynt judgment in a case then questioned, and seeming to marvell that they two should be of divers minds in ought, he made answer, that it was no wonder at all, it might rather be wondered, considering mans condition in intellectualls, so impaired and clouded, that any two seriously set upon the search of truth, should not in many particular cases dissent, yea that if in every particularity they should wholly concur, it might seeme to savour rather of a cunningly contrived compact or conspiracy, than a reall and rational consent, yet whereby force of argument they seemed convict, or any mistake manifested, they were ready to yeeld, and did indeed in not a few things, come home either to other, unto their mutual much advantage, nor did their remaining differences ever produce any breach, or abatement of affection between them, but that the knot once knit, from the first to the last, continued firm and inviolate, never loosed nor slackned, so long as God was pleased to lengthen out the line of his life.

His Humility.

His inviolable friendship.

In the Colledge he so demeaned himself, that though the Fellows were not all of one mind, or one way, and there were among them (as usually in Societies of that nature) men of divers dispositions, and sub-divisions consequently of companies, consisting of such as more familiarly consorted, and more inwardly conversed with some few, whom, Selected from the rest, they most affected, yet so loving and lowly, yeelding to all, and complying with all, was his carriage, that notwithstanding he wese by some deemed over-strict, and would freely as occasion was, speak his mind, and deliver his judgment, yet he retained ever the professed, at least, good liking, and external kind usage from them all: Where it will not be amisse to relate a speech of one of them, (a man by occasion of some discontents strongly and strangely possessed with a spirit of jealousy and suspiciousnes of every one, even his inwardest and entirest friends, which in the end proved his overthrow) who having entertained a conceit, that something spoken by Master Bradshaw in a dispute should have a glance closely at somewhat that concerned him, and having discovered that his suspicion to a common bosome Friend of them both, (by whom also upon disclofe of that groundless conceit, he was evidently convinced of his errour therein) he used these words of him, *Although I am sure, he had a gird at me, yet the man is of so kind and loving a disposition, that I could not be angry with him, though he had broken my head.* But I cannot let passe one remarkable Instance that may evidently manifest in him a due temper (which is not over-frequently found) of freedom of spirit, and discrete demeanure, wisely mixed, and well consistent the one with the other.

His prudent and winning Carriage.

During his abode in Guernsey, a Question was on foot, among Divines, of special note, on either side yet in debate, concerning the lawfulness of some pecuniary contracts, wherein Master Cartwright having by writing declared his mind, in way of answer to some arguments objected against it: Master Bradshaw being required by him freely to discover his judgement therein, and seriously to consider of that his answer, albeit of himself he would not have adventured to undertake such a task, yet being so put upon it, he did it freely and largely, with as much strength of wit and argument, (it may not without ground be deemed) as any have done, that have hitherto dealt on that subject, and yet so discreetly and respectfully managing the business, that though being then of a contrary judgement, he used his best forces, and strongest endeavours to shake and shatter Master Cartwrights grounds, yet did it not breed any breach, between them, nor did it (that could be discerned) lessen Master Cartwrights either affection to him, or esteem of him, which from time to time, as occasion was, and as in part hath already been shewed, he was ever ready to expresse. Howbeit it must withall for a truth be acknowledged, that Master Bradshaw, howsoever in the Colledge performing a

His Prudence.

His self.

Tenet

Tenet; yet upon farther consideration in his latter dayes, he is known to have altered his judgement therein.

He enters  
into the Mi-  
nisty.

His im-  
ployment at  
Abington.

And at  
Steeple-  
Morden.

The occasi-  
on of his  
first trouble.

While he stayed in the *Colledge*, that he might with more freedome employ that talent that the Lord had committed unto him, he entred into the Ministry; the rather advised (as some other also were) so to do, while admission was yet more easie, and the way of entrance lesse obstructed, in regard of some things, which out of diversity of judgement, and tenderness of conscience he take stuck at; then was by prudent men, observing how State-busineses began to be carried, deemed like to last long. And at the motion of one Master *Pigot*, a religious Gentleman residing at *Abington* about eight miles from *Cambridge*, he rode weekly over thither, there to preach every *Lords-Day* for some good space of time; joyning also in a weekly *Lecture*, as he had opportunity, with some other neighbour Ministers, at a greater Town called *Basingborn* not farre thence distant. Afterward he was drawn over to *Steeple Morden* in the same shire, by one Master *Martin*, an ingenuous Gentleman, who enjoying the appropriation, entertained him as a *Lecturer*, in regard of the infirmity of the party that was possessed of the *Vicarage*.

But while he was thus taken up with employments abroad, there arose a storm against him at home, and that upon this occasion. About that time two *Lecestershire* Ministers of his acquaintance, Master *Darrel* and Master *Moore*, being questioned about the dispossession of *William Somers* and *Thomas Darling*, (besides some others) supposed to be by evil spirits possessed; the one of them, to wit, *Darling* stood stiffely in avowing the truth of the thing, and refused to acknowledge any deceit or collusion therein; yea though many flights were used to enduce him thereunto, and Letters forged and tendered to him in Master *Darrells* name, as beginning to grow somewhat suspicious of the businesse, yet nothing could prevail with him; But the other, to wit, *Somers*, being in like manner dealt with, and enticed by large Promises of such provision to be made for him, that he should be sure not to want, nor should need to go down into his Countrey again, was perwaded to accuse Master *Darrell* to have set him on work, and taught him how to act sundry strange feats and gestures, whereby he might be deemed to be a *Demoniak*.

Whereupon some of the Bishops, *London* especially, in whose house the boyes had been kept apart, eagerly pursuing the business, the two Ministers were cited into the *High Commission Court*, and there being charged with *imposture*, were suspended and imprisoned untill further cognizance, and Master *Hafnet* [*Londons* Chaplain] mean while set on work to pen and publish a virulent Pamphlet against Master *Darrell*, traducing him therein as a *Grand Impostour and Fugler*, and the whole action about the possession and dispossession of *William Somers*, as a meer *Puppet-play*. Hence Master *Darrell* thus traduced, was enforced to write and publish something for the defence of himself, and clearing of his guiltlesness herein; and so did first in a briefer *Narrative* concerning the manner of their proceedings with him, entituled his *Triall*; and afterward in a larger *Answer to Hafnet*, in way of farther *Apology* for himself. Of these Books some Copies being sent down to *Cambridge*, were directed to Master *Bradshaw*, and a parcell of them by him delivered to one *Underwood* a Taylor, who dispersed of them as well in the *Colledge* as in the *Town*. Intimation hereof being given to Bishop *Bancraft* at *London*, that such Books were in divers hands at *Cambridge*, he writes to the *Vice-chancellor* to make diligent enquiry after the dispersers of them. He lights on *Underwood*, whom upon examination, confessing that he had received a certain number of them from Master *Bradshaw*, he bindeth him in a bond to appear upon warning before the *High Commission*, and chargeth him withall not to give notice of ought to Master *Bradshaw*.



The next morning by seven of the Clock Letters came from the Vice-Chancellor to the Master of the Colledge, requiring him at eight of the clock to repair unto him, and to bring Master Bradshaw with him. About the same time that these Letters came to the Master, an unknown scholar repairing to Mr. Bradshaws Chamber, telleth him, that *Underwood was in trouble, and he should do well to look to himself.* Master Bradshaw upon these tydings thus brought him, went presently to Mr. Wright the Senior Fellow of the house, to ask advice of him what to do in this case: He wished him to withdraw himself, and withall, directed him to *Gransden*, a Town about Nine Miles distant from Cambridge, as a fit place of retire, where one Master *Castle*, a Gentleman well affected, and Master Wrights Brother-in-Law, he well knew, would be right willing to receive him. But Master Bradshaw resolved first to have an assay made by some other, whereby it might be discovered, what the Masters mind herein was. Hereupon Master Ward was sent for, who being requested to break the matter to the Master, was right-willing and ready to undertake that Office. The Master meanwhile upon receipt of the Vice-chancellours Letter, had sent his man presently to enquire for Master Bradshaw at Master Gatakers Chamber, which in his absence then discontinuing, he had the charge of; and kept most in, being more convenient than his own; He not finding him there, was returned back, just as Master Ward came in to the Master: Who upon his repair to him, having but named Master Bradshaw, the Master, before he could deliver any part of his errand, demandeth of him where Master Bradshaw was, and saith he must speak with him. Master Ward told him, *It was not safe for Master Bradshaw to come to him, because he was in danger of the Vice-Chancellor.* The Master replied, *That therefore he must come, for that he had Letters from the Vicechancellor to bring him presently to him.* Which Letters while he stept into his closet to fetch, that he might shew them to him, Master Ward, a fast and true-hearted friend, more carefull of Master Bradshaws safety, than fearfull of the Masters displeasure, and his own danger, stayed not the Masters return, but slippt away with all speed to acquaint Mr. Bradshaw how things stood. The Master at his return missing Master Ward, was exceedingly enraged against him, and threatned to punish him, by setting a deep fine for example upon him. But the hour being now elapsed, which the Vicechancellor had set, the Master wrote back to him, that Master Bradshaw could not as yet be found. Master Bradshaw hereof advertised, albeit that all his friends there, were earnest with him to withdraw, yet for the present refused, and requested Master Wright to repair to the Master, that by him he might understand from him, what his resolute will was, which he purposed not to withstand.

A special Providence.

Master Wright, according to his request, repairing to the Master, found him in much heat: no nay he would have, but Master Bradshaw must needs go, it would else endanger him, and endanger the Colledge, &c. Master Bradshaw informed hereof by Master Wright, not at all fearing to suffer in a good and just cause, as hee deemed it to be, and no less loath to have any other endamaged, or endangered for him, (notwithstanding that his friends were all utterly against it) without farther dispute or delay, went presently to the Master, and presented himself to him; who entertaining him with hot and high terms, the good man answered him in a calm and meek manner, that he had no cause to be so much offended with him, or incensed against him; he knew not of any such Commission that he had, when he sent at first to him, but sent only to him for counsell in that case, deeming it better for him to do it by some other rather than by himself; and being loath to come into trouble in those turbulent times: (for the Earl of Essex his business was then on foot) and that so soon as he understood his pleasure, he readily condescended thereunto. The Master thereupon charged him by the authority of his place, to bring him all Master Darrels Books, that he had in his hands, and to go presently with him unto the Vicechancellor; which without farther reply he yeilded unto. But while he was gone to fetch the Books, the Vicechancellor

sent his servant to the Master, desiring him to come to himself; and the Master, his man to Master Bradshaw, charging him to stay within untill he returned.

He with-  
draws from  
the Colledge.

At his return Master Bradshaw of his own accord repaired to him; who then charged him, at twelve of the clock to repair to his Chamber, that he might take his Answer, and a Bond for his forth-coming. But Doctor Barwell, Master of Christs Colledge, in the mean space coming to him, (whether about that business or upon some other occasion is uncertain) by his advice (it seems) the Master altered his mind; and in likelihood the rather, after much mutual consultation, and better consideration past between them, because both the Masters had themselves bought of the Books: For he sends for Master Wright, and now tells him, that *it would be the best course for Master Bradshaw to go out of the way*: which accordingly he did. The Bishop of London not long after wrote again to the Vicechancellor to imprison Underwood, and to make farther inquiry after Master Bradshaw, concerning whom, the Master being by the Vicechancellor demanded; made answer, that *he was not in the Colledge*: whereunto he replied, that *it was best so for him*, not willing (as may be deemed) to be used as an instrument in molesting him, if it might be avoided. The carriage of this business, together with the several overtures and circumstances of it, is out of a Narrative of his own, the more particularly related, to shew both the discreet and modest, and yet ingenuous and courageous disposition of this Servant of God; and the remarkable passages of Gods providence in a concurrence of occurrences so unexpectedly managed, that he should thereby be kept out of the clutches of those that were so exceeding thirsty to seize on him, and so fiercely bent against him.

His Letter  
to a Friend  
about it.

Master Bradshaw being thereof informed by some Friends, and considering how the Bishop persisted in enquiry after him, conceived that Cambridge for the present could be no safe or quiet place for him: and having therefore withdrawn himself, though retaining his place still there, he spent his time for the space of some moneths, partly with Master Pigot at Abington, and partly at Morden with Master Martine, in which places he had formerly exercised his Ministry, and as occasion required, so still did. Thus there hovering, in a Letter to a speciall Friend, whose good opinion of him he much valued, he thus writes; *I fear it will be somewhat offensive unto you, and that you will condemne me for being too rash and indiscreet in this matter. But I trust you will consider that the thing I have done, was to pleasure most good and Christian Friends; that the cause, it is the cause of God, and the glory of God hath been much increased by it, by reason of the truth of God shining therein; unto which I could not perform a less duty; there being nothing in the Books (as I am perswaded) against the State; howsoever there are many hot words, that might have been spared, though none that have not been deserved. I wish they had past my poor censure before the coming forth of them, they should not then have given so much advantage to the enemies of the truth. I will (God willing) flee the danger as much as I can, especially in these troublesome and tragicall times, which seem of purpose to be chosen, that they might do the more injury, and the speech may be the less. And in another to the same party; My danger for Master Darrel troubleth me not a whit, I thank God; neither do I repent of any thing I have therein done, so long as you think never the worse of me: other matters trouble my mind more, yet such is the goodness of God, that though they distract my mind from other studies needfull for me to wade into, yet when I come to exercise my poor Ministry, and to study for my Sermons, my mind is free enough. Thus is the Lord wont in more special manner to support the spirits of his servants, for such particular impleyments, as he hath more specially assigned them unto.*

The



The matter that more troubled him, was concerning his entrance into any settled place for the exercise of his Ministry, which he supposed would be, and upon some triall indeed found, every way so obstructed, that, albeit places of employment enough were offered, and his imploment in them much desired, yet he could not conceive how it might be cleared in regard of the tenderness of his Conscience, and scruple of some things that he stuck at, which were like to be tendred unto him, and pressed upon him, before admission thereunto; and that the rather in probability in regard of the prejudice now had of him for the business concerning those Books. For he had been offered the *Rectory* of *Abington* by Master *Pigot* the *Patron*, who would have compounded with the present *Incumbent* for the bringing of him in: And Master *Wendy* likewise, a Religious Gentleman in those parts, had, together with some others, been endeavouring to bring him in at *Basingborn*: but neither of them took effect. He was invited also to *New-Castle* in *Staffordshire*, whither also he repaired, but found not matters to his liking there: and after unto *Tarmonth*, to be *Lecturer* with them, with assurance of a liberal maintenance from them; for they very much affected him. But that their design was crossed by the Bishop of the *Diocese*, having a jealous Eye as well on them as on him, and being desirous to prefer and place a Chaplain of his own therefore there, To the Colledge he returned again after some time spent abroad, the storm seeming now to be over-blown, and howsoever there he met with no renewed molestation about the fore-mentioned business, yet had ye no heart at all there to continue, partly in regard of the departure thence of a special Friend, whom he intirely affected, of whose return thither, being now elsewhere settled, he was wholly out of hope; and partly because he perceived, that the *Master* did not then so affect him, as formerly he had done.

His return  
to the Col-  
ledge.

Amidst these distractions, a *Preachers* place falling vacant at *Chatham* in *Kent*, where a great part of the *Navy-Royal*, and Officers of the same attending, did usually reside, the business of supplying them with an able and faithful Teacher was by general consent referred to Master *Chaderton*, being at that time in *Kent* not far from thence, thither drawn over from *Cambridge*, about the consummating of a Marriage between that Reverend man of God Master *Fosias Nichols*, who had passed many sharp Bickerings and Brunts in those times, and the relief of that famous Worthy Doctor *Whitaker* Deceased. He commended Master *Bradshaw* to them. Concerning whom the piously affected Party, after diligent inquiry, received such ample Testimony, that (whereas divers others made first for the place, and by their labouring with some Friends had wrought a siding among them, to prevent such Obstructions as thence might arise) they sent an express to *Cambridge* on purpose with instructions, in the first place to Master *Chaderton*, to entreat him, that he would not any wise give consent to have any other designed to the place, but him only whom he had already propounded: For that they rested in his Choise; and longed much to see and hear him. And in the next place to Master *Bradshaw*, to request him, that he would make no doubt or delay of coming to them; wherein he would not be slack, if he knew how earnestly they longed to see and enjoy him; and wishal to signifie to him, what had been delivered to Master *Chaderton* from them; that they desired only the Sincere Milk of God's Word, and a Pastor bearing a sincere Affection and tender Heart to his People: That they had wrought great meanes to obtain him, that if he refused to come to them, he did not know what he did; and if he came, and found them not worthy of him, yet his labour and charge should be fully made good. Thus being importuned, (as by his own Letter to a Friend of *July* the eighth 1601. appeareth) though by some still pressed for *Abington*, with hopes suggested of clearing the way there for him; he came up to *London* and after advice had with some Friends in the City, from thence went down to *Chatham*. And though it go for a common by-

He is sent  
for to *Chatham*.

He goes to  
*Chatham*.

word, oft verified, that *personal presence abateth much of foregoing Reports, and great Expectations preconceived, are wont seldome to receive full satisfaction*; and if it be true that Master Bradshaw was not a man of much out-side, nor forward to put out himself, of a very bashful and demiss, but not fawning deportment; insomuch that his *bodily and personal presence* might (as the Apostles sometime,) seem *weak*, and not to promise much, with such especially, as look no further than the Face: Yet when he came and was heard, and his meek and discreet carriage by the generality observed, and by the wiser sort well weighed, he was by joynt consent agreed upon, and a solemn Letter of invitation appointed to be drawn up by Master John Cook, sometime Fellow of Trinity Colledge, then enjoying an Office under Sir Fulk Grivel, Treasurer to the Navy, and afterward Secretary of State to King James, subscribed by the Officers there belonging to the Navy, and the most of any Note and Repute in the place, intimating their *Election of him by joynt consent to the place, professing a willingness to submit themselves to his Ministry, and promising to afford him all due support and assistance in the same*. Upon the receipt hereof he fully now Resolved without farther Delay, to entertain the call, and accept of the place, and having signified so much unto them, was very lovingly received by them, and quietly for some good space of time (to wit, from July 1601. unto April 1602.) laboured in the Word and Doctrine among them, (together with Master John Philips, who enjoying the Vicarage did, as Pastor of the place, therein joyn with him) with good success and much comfort, and to the great contentment and gladfomness of People well affected in those parts. Being thus then settled there, with good hope of continuance, motion was made to him by some of his Friends there (supposing that might be some means of further Engagement of him for to stay with them, of a match with a Widow, an housewisely Woman, and one that had lived always in good Repute with them. Which not fore-seeing in likelihood, what would afterward ensue, he did, not unwillingly, so far forth hearken unto, as to entertain some good liking of the Woman; howsoever in regard of the ensuing change of things, the business was no farther then proceeded in, but by mutual agreement between them laid aside, and delayed, untill God should see good to make way by some meanes, for their more convenient coming together, and comfortable Cohabitation of either with other.

His faithfulness in his place.

A motion of marriage made to him.

Satans malice against the progress of the Gospel. He is accused to the Bishop.

For those Halcyon Seasons lasted not long; The common Adversary of God and Man, who out of his inveterate Envy and Enmity, can in no wife Brook the Propagation of the Gospel, and dilatation of Christs Curtains, began, at first more covertly and under hand to contrive some course whereby to cast a rub in his way, and to procure a restraint of his farther proceeding in a course so succesfull, and advantagious for the glory of God and the good of his people. For about the time above mentioned, some neighbour-*Ministers*, envying the recourse of people to his teaching, began secretly to plot against him, though they would not be seen in it, by suggesting to the Bishop of the Diocess, that he was a man not conformable to the *Rites* of the Church, nor well-affected to the present Government. This how far forth it prevailed with the Bishop that then sat there, doth not appear; but the business being smelt out, and by some means discovered, to prevent trouble from him, and settle Master Bradshaw (as they supposed) more surely in the place, it was by divers of his people and Friends there deemed most expedient, (though therein peradventure much mistaken) to have some means used to obtain a Confirmation of him therein from the Archbishop of Canterbury, unto whom Rochester was as Suffragan, and no man being deemed fitter to deal in this business with the Archbishop than that Noble and Religious Knight Sir Francis Hastings, he



he was by a Letter from Master Bradshaw requested to make some tryal of his interest in, and power with Archbishop Whisgift, to that purpose in his behalf. He upon the receipt of Master Bradshaws Letter, the very same day, April 22. 1602. returned him this most kind, Christian, and affectionate Answer, My love to your self you know, and shall ever know it in any thing, wherein I can make it known: my duty, your duty, and all our duties to God, his Church, you know better than my self; and my duty to further a good people to a good Minister, a longing people to hear, to a labouring speaking Minister to teach them, is a bond of duty, that I may never forget, and a work of duty, that I must ever be ready to perform. Assure your self therefore, my velle shall not be slack; and if my posse can prevail, I shall be glad, I will say no more: but pray to my God to encrease his graces in you, to teach profitably; to encrease grace in your people, to hear diligently; and to multiply his graces both in speaker and hearer, that they may speak and hear fruitfully, &c. Subscribed, Your true Christian Friend, Francis Hastings.

Nor was he more ready to promise, then forward to perform, For within three daies after, to wit, April 25. he wrote to the Archbishop this modest, pious, and zealous Letter: May it please your Grace to pardon me, that I do not personally attend you, but presume to write: --- I make bold to become suitor to your Grace, for your favour to a young man, being one that I hold my self interested in, and to whom I owe my best help, to further him to some place of employment and maintenance, which causeth me to become an humble suitor for him to you, not without a special regard to that people, who so Christianly thirst after knowledge and instruction. The man for whom I sue, is one Master Bradshaw, a Master of Arts of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge: The matter I sue for, your Graces favour and allowance that he may preach: The place where his labours are desired, is at Chatham. And I most humbly beseech your Grace, that however you may find or hear, that he is fearfull to do some things that may be argued on him; yet seeing he is well qualified with gifts, and of honest carriage fitting for his calling; let not his fearfulness prejudice him with your Lordship, but vouchsafe him liberty to bestow his talent; and I will undertake to your Grace for him, that he shall not offer any disturbance to the peace of our Church either in word or action; but shall painfully bestow himself in that place, to preach Christ Crucified, and to arm his people with some measure of knowledge, to stand Christianly and courageously for the truth of Christ, and to resist all Errors broached against that holy Doctrine. And the rather I make bold to tender this suit to your Grace for him, because I find plenty of practising by Seminaries and Jesuites to corrupt and pervert the peoples hearts both in knowledge and obedience; and that through penury of preaching in some places it may prove dangerous: I never heard the young man preach my self, but I hear his gifts greatly commended, and I know him to be learned, and painfull also, and careful in that he taketh in hand. And though I know the tenderesse of his Conscience some waies, yet I dare engage my credit again, (as before) to your Grace for him, that he shall walk duttfully, wisely and discretely in the whole course of his preaching, without all offer of disturbance to the peace of the Church. And so longing to hear that my suit may find my desired success with your Grace, I commend my humble duty to you, and commit your Grace, and all your goodly proceedings to the protection and direction of the Lord Almighty. Subscribed, Your Graces most bounden, and ready to be commended, Francis Hastings.

Sir Francis Hastings his Letter to the Archbishop in his behalf

What Answer the Noble Knight had from the Arch-bishop, or what effect this his Letter had with him, we cannot certainly say, but by what followed it may well be deemed, that of the Archbishop it was

Master  
Bearblock's  
malice a-  
gainst him.

He is char-  
ged with  
Heresie.

His Letter  
to Master  
Bearblock a-  
bout that  
Charge.

not very well relished; who in cases of this kind, was seldome wont to do ought without the advice of Bishop *Bancroft*, in whose stomach the memory of Master *Darrells* business stuck still, and of Master *Bradshaws* act about his Books. For not without some animation in likelihood from above, those Master *Bradshaws* back-friends, who had before dealt in the dark, did shortly after begin to disclose themselves, and to manifest their malice, which had formerly lain hid, as embers raked up in the ashes. The first of them that openly appeared in the business, was one Master *Bearblock* Minister at *Strowd*, a Town or Village adjoyning to *Roche-ster*, a man of very mean parts for learning, and of a very scandalous life; but one of those whom the Prophet *Jeremy* speaketh of, that had a singular faculty of *licking and smoothing his tongue*, to sooth men up in their finnes. This man (among other) vexed at the concourse of people that repaired from the places adjacent to Master *Bradshaws* teaching, (although Master *Bradshaw* desirous to comply, so far forth as without offence he might, with him) used to frequent his week-dayes *Lecture*; stuck not both in Private meetings to tax Master *Bradshaw* for delivering *Heretical Doctrine*, and publikely also in a Sermon on the *Lords-Day* so to charge him therewith, that the Auditory, though he named him not, might well know whom he meant. Now, albeit the man himself were of no esteem, and his censure consequently little to be regarded, yet Mr. *Bradshaw* deemed, that a publick charge of that nature, should not be let pass with silence. Howbeit, not willing, nor esteeming it meet to pester the pulpit with Apologies, he chose rather to deal with this his Opponent and Traducer by a Letter, which it will not be amiss here to insert.

"Master *Bearblock*, I was informed by some of your Christian Auditors at *Strowd*, that in your fore-noons Exercise, you took occasion in the repetition of your former Sermon, to adde thereto something in bitter terms, against some *Heretical Doctrine* lately broached in some neighbour-Church; which divers of your most charitable, and the most of your judicious Hearers, conceived to be directed against me. At the first, I had no cause easily to entertain the Report, because I was no way guilty to my self so much as of the least shew of any occasion given unto you, to break out in that manner against me; and did presume you had better Learned the Laws of Charity, than in such an open manner to traduce a fellow Minister of the Gospel before you were better possessed of the cause. Besides, I thought, that reproachfull Reports, that have been bruited against your self, should have taught you, if you be innocent, that a Minister of the Gospel may be much abused and mis-reported of, both for life and Doctrine; and therefore that you would not teach by your own practice, me or any other thus in open manner, to make the Reports of men a sufficient Text to preach against your life, as you have made them to preach against my Doctrine. But since that time I am given to understand, that you have given it out at one Master *Morelands* Table, that I was the man, that you then before God and his Holy Angels indicted and arraigned; and that of no lesse a crime than gross *Heresie*, and that some of your Congregation were purposed to proceed in Law against me for it. You know there was a Law, (and it were well if it were now in force, to bridle distempered Tongues) that if one were accused of a crime, which could not be proved, the Accuser should suffer the punishment due to that crime; and then, Master *Bearblock*, if *Heresie* deserve a punishment, if you should but accuse me of that, which methinks you have already condemned me of, your back should bear the punishment of two *Heresies*. For, first, it is most untrue that I have taught any such Doctrine; and Secondly, if you could not prove that Doctrine, as I know you cannot, this you here so tax to be *Heresie*, your Doctrine that calleth it *Heresie*, deserves no less, *lege Talionis*, than *Heresie*; which I speak not so much



"much in regard of your weakness, as in Grace, of the strength of the cause;  
 "wherein though with the dim eye of mine own judgement I could see no-  
 "thing, yet I have cause to be confident, in regard of their judgement whose  
 "shadows it would become you and me to give room unto, yea, and to run  
 "away from. And I am verily perswaded, that though some of your spi-  
 "rit may be found to judge it an Errour to hold, *That, a bare Reading Mi-  
 "nister, is not a Lawfull Minister before God*; yet that none that deserves the  
 "name of a man of judgement, will push with such horns against it, as you  
 "do, that it is an *Heresie*, and that a *gross and abominable one*. I would I  
 "might be worthy to know, upon your better consideration of the point,  
 "whether that heart of yours, that set your Tongue on fire so against this  
 "poor *Heresie*, would serve to set fire to the pretended *Heretick*. But blef-  
 "sed be God, that Supream Authority keepeth the fire-brands from the hands  
 "of such furies; else there were some cause to fear, lest the Saints of  
 "God (I give them no other title, than your own Conscience gives them,  
 "nay than your own mouth in publick hath given them) should find your hands  
 "as hot, as they now feel your tongue; For methinks in your Divinity, to  
 "make but a question of any thing in Religion established by Law, is no  
 "less than Treason and *Heresie*. There must be some Mystery in it; that e-  
 "very poor man must not presume to look into; that one that is so full of cha-  
 "rity towards Adulterers, Drunkards, Blasphemers and other sinners that  
 "swarm in the Church, should be so fiery against these new *Hereticks* of your  
 "own making. What? Are they of all other past hope of Repentance? Or  
 "do not the mercies of God, wherewith your mouth is so oft sugred, of all  
 "other, belong to them? My self on the week-day am one of your Auditours,  
 "and I hope, none of the worst-minded, and then you seem (as oft as ever  
 "I heard you) as if your soul did overflow with Charity towards us all. You  
 "cannot be ignorant of the words that so often were in your lips; *That* none  
 "that hear you, but they are Gods faithfull Children; *That* though they  
 "be foul, grievous sinners, yet they are repentant, and Gods mercy belongs  
 "unto them; *That* no man is without sin, but the best and holiest are un-  
 "clean. This hath been your tenor for this half year; the Sermon is yet  
 "to come, that ever with the least zeal you spake against Lewdness of life:  
 "And yet now how full of zeal are you against Errours in Doctrine, of  
 "this sort especially? whereas considering the slanders that run of you, (for  
 "I call them so, as I desire for the Gospels sake they may prove) you could  
 "take no better course, than to be most zealous in Doctrine against those  
 "sins, that same hath gone about to brand you withall; and to condemn such  
 "with your own mouth to Hell, rather than to set open Heaven gates so wide  
 "unto them, as you use to do; as though your self were out of hope of  
 "Heaven, except the fewdest of your Congregation go to Heaven. I may  
 "be bold being the injured party, and knowing you better than you me,  
 "to take this leave to tell you thus much of your self, who have so free-  
 "ly given leave to your self, to speak to others worse things of me; that if  
 "the Lords judgements should pursue me so fast, that mine inward corrupti-  
 "ons should break out into notorious crimes, and yet should dare for all that  
 "to exercise an holy Ministry; that then of all methods of teaching that e-  
 "ver I heard, I would surely follow yours. To keep you from advantage,  
 "I acknowledge the Doctrine that you have taught in my hearing to be ve-  
 "ry sound and true; But this is it that I affirm, and you may keep it to  
 "your self if it please you, that in dealing against sin, in all the Sermons I  
 "have ever heard you, you have said no more in substance, than what you  
 "shall have always running in the wickedest mouthes; *That* All men are sin-  
 "ners; *That* the godliest do fall seven times a day; *That* men must not de-  
 "spair of Gods mercy; *That* they are sorry for it, when they have sinned;  
 "*That* it is their corruption of nature, &c. which are all true words,

"and comfortable, Doctrines to a broken heart, but very poyson to an  
 "impenitent; so that if a Minister should preach them to the stewes, he  
 "should have as many applauses and *Amens* there to them; as any  
 "where else. If therefore a foul life be as abominable in the eyes of God  
 "and man, as false Doctrine; if this zeal of yours against false Doctrine  
 "were of God, you would blow as strong a blast against the other, as you  
 "do against it, and a stronger too, considering that the other having bor-  
 "rowed the wings of fame, is flying continually in your own face: This,  
 "if you could have let me alone, would never have bitten you. But to  
 "draw to an end, if my bare denial, and the voices of them, that with  
 "best understanding heard me, and are best able to repeat the heads of  
 "that Sermon, can perswade you, that there was no such Doctrine then  
 "delivered, I hope you will satisfie that Congregation, whose ears you have  
 "abused with that report; and especially the Gentleman, to whom you rela-  
 "ted the particulars. If you cannot be moved to this; yet be contented,  
 "such you say the Law must proceed upon me, to stay the proceeding of  
 "your tongue against me, till you have tried me guilty or not. If you can-  
 "not yield to this, but have a purpose to pursue the matter, let Religion o-  
 "ver-rule you thus far, to deal with me in the points by private writing.  
 "But if you have resolved to go on in this indirect course, openly thus to  
 "injure me, do it I pray you, in your weekly exercise, that I may not trust  
 "to the report of others, but may be a witness to my self of mine own a-  
 "buses, and then I shall know the better how to satisfie you. It is the  
 "humour of most of your stamp, under pretence of a zeal to her Majesties  
 "proceedings in matters of Religion, to take your liberty of speech against  
 "some, that are perswaded some things might, and should be reformed; if the  
 "State had Leisure to look into them; and you know it full well, that such  
 "as you are, shall find ears enough to receive your accusations against such;  
 "else upon equall ground you would not be so confident, thus hand over  
 "head to condemn as good Subjects (without any disgrace) as your self, of  
 "no less than *Heresie* and Treason. As for my self, I thank God, I have  
 "had that care, both of mine outward conversation and Doctrine, that none  
 "of any civility, I trust, shall find a face to reproach me for the one, nor a-  
 "ny of any judgement in Religion, will accuse me of the other. And as for those  
 "Reports, that are given out against me, out of yours and others mouthes;  
 "your shame shall send them home again, and I will wear them about my  
 "neck as Chains and Garlands. In particular, for your self, (though I  
 "desire the love, acquaintance, and favour of any well-gifted Minister) it  
 "will be no great disgrace to me, to sit at home without your countenance  
 "except your self were in greater Countenance with them that truly fear the  
 "Lord. Thus leaving you at this time to a better spirit, than that which set  
 "you so greedily on work against me, I commit you to the Grace, mercy,  
 "and pardon of God; and my self to his wise direction, hereafter to take  
 "heed, how I give mouthes, so readily open to reproach to my Ministry, any  
 "just and direct occasion. *Chatham* the last of *April* 1602, Your Fellow-la-  
 "bourer and Minister in the Lords work, desirous of peace, and if it were  
 "possible, of love also, *William Bradshaw*.

The Antino-  
 mians pra-  
 ctice.

This Letter, though somewhat large, it seemed not amiss at full to relate;  
 because it representeth to the Life, both the *Character* of many such Teachers,  
 as were forwardest to oppose Gods Faithful *Messengers* in those times, and  
 the manner of their Teachings, which the most of our *Antinomian* Party  
 that give out themselves as the only *Gospel Preachers*, come so near unto  
 now adaies; And the most unequal and unchristian courses also, that were  
 by such then commonly practised, to work them into disgrace with the Peo-  
 ple, and to procure trouble to them from the State. But the malice of the  
 man stayed not here; which, of it selfe for ought he was able to do,

was



was not much to be regarded. For being Nettled by this Letter, upon Consultation had with some of his complices, a Knight of Note in that County, a man of some parts of Learning and Wit, but of loose Life, utterly averse from, and adverse to the profession and practise of Piety, was by them procured, to come down from Rochester, where he then was, to Chatham on a Lords Day, to hear Master Bradshaw, and that for no other end, but to pick somewhat, (if it might be) out of his Teaching, for which, upon his information against him, (a Practise most unworthy a man of his Ranck) his Mouth might be stopped, or he inhibited at least from farther employment in that Place. And according indeed to their wicked design and ungodly desire the Plot proceeded. For, whereas Master Bradshaw being then entred upon the handling of the story of Christs Temptations (related by two Evangelists, on which his Sermons, much desired by many that heard part of them, and though not fully perfected by him, yet by some small supplies being made up, may peradventure hereafter see Light) had observed, that this was the main scope of Satan in his first encounter, to bear our Saviour in hand, that howsoever he had been put in some hope by a Voice, as from Heaven, that he was *the beloved Son of God*; yet God by his present neglect of him, and leaving him in such difficulties, destitute of all necessities, did thereby manifest that he did not respect, or regard him at all. Hereupon he took occasion to admonish all true Christians, to Arm themselves diligently against this Temptation, and to strengthen their Faith in the assurance of Gods favour towards them; care of them, and undoubted Truth of his Promises made to them; using this as an Argument to incite them unto the greater care in this kind, for that (said he) *If this Temptation do once fasten upon us, that we shall come by Satans sleights to be persuaded, that there is no such matter, that God hath no such respect or regard unto us; it cannot but cool our love unto God.* Which words of his, very wholesome and good, the Knight perverting and misreporting, enforced underhand against him, that he should deliver, *That a man was not bound to love God, unless he were sure that God loved him.* Hereupon Master Bradshaw was shortly after, by a short note under Doctor Buckeridges hand bearing date May twenty six, 1602. and directed unto him at Chatham, made acquainted, that it was the pleasure of his Lords Grace of Canterbury, and his Lord of London (the main prosecutor of the business against him) that he should the next Day by nine of the Clock appear personally before them at Sharn, a Town situate between Rochester and Gravesend: VVhither accordingly he repaired, and thereupon appearing, after some questions moved, and Answers thereunto returned, the Bishop of London began to charge him with teaching of false and ungodly Doctrine, such as had been suggested by the Knight before-mentioned; whereunto when he answered Negatively, relating withal truly and sincerely, what he had delivered, and offering to produce not a few of good Credit, who could and would testify what then he taught, that would not be admitted; London affirming, that what had been enforced, was avowed by such, as were able to conceive, being learned; and to understand aright what it was that he delivered, and received it not by report from others, but had been Ear-Witnesses of it themselves. However at last, to strike all dead sure, subscription was tendered to him, whereat they knew he would stick: which because he professed that he could not condescend unto, they inhibited him to preach any more at Chatham, and having bound him to appear, when he should be farther called upon, for the present so dismissed him.

The next Lords Day was long suborned, in the habit of a Traveller, to repair early in the morning to Master Bradshaws lodging at Chatham, who asking to speak with him, pretended that he came on purpose out of his way to hear him, and demanded of him whether he preached that Day or

A Spie sent to entrap Him.

He is falsely accused  
He is summoned before the Bishop.

Subscription made a snare.

He is summoned from Chatham.

Another  
Spy sent to  
entrap him.

The Inha-  
bitants of  
Chatham  
Petition for  
him to the  
Bishop.

no? Whereunto he answering, that he did not, being by Authority inhibited, he made shew of such sorrow, as being frustrated of his Expectation, but he was descried to be no other than a Spie, sent to sound Master Bradshaw what he intended to do; so greedy were they to have farther enlarded him, if by any means they might. The same day Master Bearblock was observed at Strowd, as triumphing after a Victory atchieved against some great Adversary, to have appointed to be sung before his fore-noon-Sermon, the former part of the 27 Psalm. Those of Chatham much affected with the inhibition of their faithful Teacher, and grieved in their Souls for the restraint of that precious Food, which they had formerly received from him, were not backward to use what means they might for the taking off of the inhibition, and removal of the Restraint. To this purpose a Supplication was framed in the Name of the Parishoners of Chatham unto the Bishop of Rochester, their mediate Diocesan; in these Words, *Right Reverend Father, and our very good Lord, If we were not by manifold Trial and long Experience assured of the Love that you bear, and the care that you have over that Flock, which the Lord hath committed unto your Charge, we could not with so good hope and comfort, as now we do, become Petitioners unto your Lordship, in the behalf of our too much wronged Preacher, Master Bradshaw; Unto whom, in sincerity of a good Conscience we do voluntarily yeeld this Testimony, that he is a man so far in every respect from desert of those misreports, wherewith his causelesse Adversaries have endeavoured to infence your good Lordship against him, as his Accusers have been from the remembrance of that Duty, which they ought to bear to your Lordship, whom they have abused with sinister and unjust informations; his Doctrine always Holy, Wholsome, True, and Learned, utterly void of Faction and Contention; his Life so thoroughly garnished with unblemished Vertues and Graces, as Malice it self cannot reprove, or suspect him; directing all his Labours only to the beating down of Sin and Wickedness, the comfort of the Faithful, and the instruction of the ignorant, without intermeddling at any time, with the needless and conceited Controversies of this factious Age. May it therefore please your good Lordship with Favour (according to your wonted goodness) so to tender this your little poor Flock of Chatham, as to restore unto us our Vertuous and faithful Teacher; lest otherwise we be as sheep without a Shepherd. Which being obtained, we your humble Supplicants will account it so great a Blessing of God from the Hands of your Reverend Father-Hood, as that we shall hold our selves bound faithfully to pray unto the Almighty, for your good Lordships endless prosperity.* This their Petition after their own frame conceived, is the rather here inserted, to shew their reverend estimation of Master Bradshaw, and their earnest desire to have retained him still with them. But the business was in higher Hands, London was the man that must do it, if ought were done. With whom Master Chaderton going up to London upon occasion of some Colledge-Affairs, promised to deal in Master Bradshaws behalf; and in likelihood did: but (as appeared) without success.

Gods Pro-  
vidence for  
him.

He departs  
from Chat-  
ham;

Thus was this blessed Servant of God tossed to and fro, and could not be suffered to abide long in a place; though a man of peaceable carriage, a most meek and humble Spirit, and a kind and loving Disposition. But Gods pious Providence over his, and gracious Provision for them, never faileth. He is oft working for them, when they least see it, and where or whence they least look for it. He was then preparing a retiring and resting place for him, when he seemed to be now utterly out of hope of any. For being now driven from Chatham, he came up to London, whence after some short stay with a Friend, having at present no employment, he thought good to look down into Leicester-Shire to visit his Friends there. And he indeed intended the journey only as a Visit: Howsoever the Lord in his hidden disposal, unknown unto him, had a farther aim in it than he was then aware of; as by the



as by the event appeared, and he afterward took special notice of, and did thankfully acknowledge.

For upon his coming down into those parts, by the good hand of God, using that his worthy Servant of blessed Memory, Master *Arthur Hilderham* (as formerly sometime, so now again) as an instrument therein, he was brought into some notice with, and commended unto one Master *Alexander Radich* a religious Gentleman, then residing at *New-Hall*, an House of Note, situate neer to *Burton upon Trent*. in the confines of *Darbyshire*, *Leicestershire*, and *Staffordshire*. He not only received him into his house, but obtained also for him from the then Bishop of *Coventry and Litchfield*, being a moderate man, a Licence to Preach in any part of his Diocese: Which favour and liberty, Master *Bradshaw* without any interruption enjoyed in those parts during that Bishops Life, yea, and after too, without any trouble (a light and short storm only excepted, and that soon again laid, the Year before his Decease, (whereof somewhat hereafter) unto the time of his Release-ment.

He is settled at *New-hall*.

For his entertainment there, though the means allowed him were very small, in regard that the Gentlemans estate was much encumbered, and he by reason thereof disabled to do what he otherwise desired; the Lady *Ferrers* his Wives Mother yet surviving, who had an estate for life in that part of the Land, which was to come to his Wife, whereon he then resided; nor, in regard of Religion (for a strong and zealous Papist she was) so well-affected towards them, being forward another way, and some other part of it, by concealment of some Evidences being wrongfully detained from him, as in process of time upon discovery thereof did evidently appear: Yet the small pittance that was allowed him, together with their kind carriage toward him, and the loving affection to him that he found generally in the Family, did give him very good content. For in a Letter to an inward Friend he professeth, that he found both the Gentleman, and his Wife, very tender hearted and sincerely Religious, so kind unto him, as his heart could not desire more; and that in gifts they were otherwise beneficial unto him; and the truth is, (saith he, for you have his own words) it is impossible to find more love in a place than I do find, more and more both of great and small in the House: so that the Lord; I see, hath not clean forsaken me. And in another to the same party; Never let your mind be troubled about the smallness of my Maintenance, it is more than he from whom it cometh can well spare, yet as much as my labours upon them deserve; and more than many of my betters have. To adde hereunto some farther matter of encouragement, and contentment, he withall signifieth, that the Lord had blest him there with a most kind neighbour, (abiding in a house not far from thence with the Lord *Paget*) a young man of Oxford, and a Londoner by birth, one Master *Hassal*, a man of very rare parts for all kind of learning, of most prompt and ready speech, and of a very courteous and affable disposition. With him he entertained familiarity, and maintained a good correspondence, while they abode so neer together. For he was not nice to embrace acquaintance with any moderate man, of endowments especially; and very forward to take notice of the good parts of others, and to set them out as occasion was offered, to the utmost: so far was he from that malevolent humour so rife with too many in these times, of extenuating or blurring the endowments and abilities of others; such especially as do not in every particular conceit, though but groundlessly oft fancied, comply with themselves, as also together with his ingenuous composure of spirit, his pious disposition may herein be observed, in taking notice of, and acknowledging a passage of divine providence in every accommodation, that might any way, or in any measure, improve the comfort of his present condition.

His small means of Maintenance.

His contentment.

His Letter to a Friend about it.

His humi-ty.

But that the great moderation of mind in one of such worth as was this Servant of *Christ*, may the better appear, we shall compare the means of maintenance afforded him, and his employments, whereof he professed before, not to deserve so much as so small a pittance amounted unto, the one with the other. That the allowance was very small, may very justly be deemed, when his friends were so much troubled and grieved, to think that one of his endowments should be driven to accept so low and slender conditions: and the truth is, as by his own relation appears, the allowance at first agreed upon, was but *ten pounds by the year, his diet, fire, candle, and all kind of attendance*, as himself draws it out at length to make the most of it. That which is here specified not in any wise to asperse the Gentleman, whose present condition would not then well afford better termes, and yet shewed his good will by free addition to what he stood engaged for, even in his first year of abode with him; and afterward also, as charge grew upon Master *Bradshaw*, though means were not much amended with him, yet strained himself unto a farther enlargement, as hereafter shall be shewed. But to manifest the exceeding, and almost unparallel'd modesty of the man, esteeming his labours beneath so poor an allowance. For his employments that himself so much undervalued, what were they? Besides his private exercises at set times performed in the Family; he preached at first constantly twice every *Lords day* in a Chappel of some capacity, belonging to the Gentlemans House, and situate within the park wherein the House stood; and afterward, when the resort from other parts more remote, grew so great, that the place could not well contain them; (that the more might enjoy the fruit of his Ministry, and with the more ease to them, though the less to him and the Household) he was easily induced, (the Governours of the Family, out of their religious disposition, well approving thereof, and condescending thereunto) to bestow his labours, as he had before done in the Chappel, in a more Publick place, at a Parish-Church (where a Reading Vicar only was) at a Village called *Stapenhill* or *Stapenball*, about a mile distant from the place of his abode.

His great  
pains.

And this he did constantly for above twelve years at least, at such times as the Gentleman abode with his Family at *Newhall*, which was the Principal place of his settled abode: receiving for such his pains among them, no consideration at all from the people of the place; (the most or them deeming him more beholden to them, for coming and staying to hear him, than themselves to him for coming to preach to them;) save that on the *Lords day* for his better ease and refreshment, between his forenoon and afternoons employment, he was usually entertained at the House of one Master *Alexander Buckley*, who had sometime belonged as a *Bayliff* or *Steward* to Master *Rediches* Family, and whose Wife, *Mistress Anne Buckley*, a very sweet natured, humble and godly woman, was both a *Mary* and *Martha* to him, no lesse diligent to attend his teaching with the one, then sedulous to make fitting provision for him with the other; and that some of the better affected sort among those that heard him, would now and then gratifie him with some kind of Countrey-courtesies, When He kept House by himself.

Monstrous  
ingratitude.

Having thus spent above a twelve-moneth or more with Master *Redich* his thoughts began to be more solicitously renewed concerning that business of *Marriage* propounded to him at *Chatham*, and so farre forth, as hath been formerly shewn, embraced then by him; which in regard also of some other emergent occasions had hung hitherto in suspence. This to Proceed in and consummate he much desired, not so much in regard of himself, as in regard of the other party, who had been held in expectation thereof so long already, and might deem it some wrong, if it should be



be still so delayed. But how this might consist with his continuance in Master Rediches Family he was not able well to conceive; and how very loath he was to part with a Family, where he had found so much love. Howsoever he resolved to break the matter unto them, before he would proceed any farther therein, that if no fit meanes of compliance there could be contrived, he might with their good leave look out for some other place of employment, and they have some convenient space of time for the fitting and furnishing of themselves with some other to succeed with them in his room. Upon relation hereof, according to such his resolution, (having taken a fit time for it) made unto them, enforming them truly and freely in all circumstances, how the case stood with him, and how he stood affected towards them, it was strange to see (it is in his own words related) how great affection they shewed to bear unto him, expressed even with teares, that on no condition he must depart from them; such course should be taken, as that, when he should in that kind change his condition, he might still conveniently and comfortably abide with them. Whereunto he subjoyneth; And this indeed is the first hour of my solid comfort, that the Lord hath vouchsafed me a standing place, where I may settle my self. And indeed God was pleased to work in some particulars somewhat strangely and unexpectedly, beyond what he was than able to foresee or fore-cast, toward the farther accomplishment of his desire in this kind; as hereafter shall be shewed.

Mean while Master Redich by occasion of businesse drawn up to London, and having taken some lodgings for himself and his retinue neer unto Christ-Church, with purpose to make stay some good space of time in the City, Master Bradshaw abiding there with him, was requested to preach sometime at Christ-Church: which accordingly he did, and that with such approbation and good liking of the well-affected in the Parish, that the afternoons Lectures there becoming vacant, albeit Doctor Milward, a man of some note in those times, stood for it, yet by the greater number of votes, in a Vestry purposely for that end assembled, Master Bradshaw was chosen to be their Lecturer, though not having sought it himself, but having been without his privity propounded by some such of them as had been much taken with his former Sermons. But the will of God (it seems) was, that he should still adhere to that Family, which he was fallen into, and where he had found so much affection; that which to his dying day also he did. For though by some of those, who earnestly desired him, great means were made to the Bishop, yet would he in no wise condescend to give way thereunto.

He is chosen Lecturer at Christ Church London.

During his stay in these parts, looking down to Chatham, he there consummated that businesse, which hitherto had been delayed. And in regard that Master Redich with his Wife and retinue were by reason of his urgent affairs in divers kinds likely to continue for a longer space of time in the City than at first was expected, Master Bradshaw having brought up his Wife with him from Chatham, did for awhile board her with a sister of hers, before married and seated in the City, and afterward took part of a tenement for himself and her, who being a woman that affected employment, for their better support, taught there a few Scholars. Much about this time, by occasion of that formall conference acted and transacted at Hampton-Court, wherein some of our chief Prelates endeavoured to possesse the Kings Majesty with a prejudice against those that made suit for a Reformation of things amisse in Church affairs (his disaffection to whom, he had himself also in some writing of his, partly discovered already) and to perswade him, that for Ecclesiastical affairs all things were so well settled, that no Reformation needed, but some strict injunction only of a precise conformity unto, and constant observation of things already established, which began thereupon in many places with much vigor to be pressed; It came to passe that many Books came abroad, being private-ly

His marriage.

Conformity strictly pressed.

ly printed, wherein divers godly Ministers, who were of a contrary judgement, declared their grievances, laid down their exceptions, set forth their grounds of dissent, and returned answer to the *Arguments* produced and urged against them to induce them to *Conformity*.

Gods good  
providence  
over him.

The trouble  
of his  
Wife.

Gods mercy

For Books of this nature, search was made in the City; for one, more especially among the rest, that had (it seems) given our great *Clergy-Masters* most offence, and Master *Bradshaw* being known to abide then in the City, a man in much suspicion with them, two *Pursuivants*, accompanied with Master *Norton* the *Kings Printer*, were sent with Commission to search his house both for it and him. Whither accordingly repairing, but not finding him at home, they enforced his Wife to open his Closet or Study, the Chests, Trunks, Boxes, and Presses, to make search for such Books, but found nothing. For the truth is, (and there was a good Providence of God in it) after that Master *Bradshaw* was that morning gone out, not above half an hour before that this business fell out, his Wife looking into his Study, and seeing some of those Books there, to prevent future danger, (which yet she then little deemed or dreamed to be so near at hand as it proved to be afterward) had taken them out from thence, and cast them into a hole between two Chimneys, where being covered over with old besomes, they remained undiscovered. But howsoever they could meet with nothing of that which they looked for, yet on his Wife they seized, who would rather have had him; her they took and led unto *Doctors Commons*, where having presented her before Doctor *Stanhop*, Doctor *White*, and a third party, whom she knew not, a number sufficient to make up a compleat *High Commission Court*; they examined her, yet without oath: first, *Where her Husband was*: whereunto she answered, *she knew not*; then, *What means of Maintenance she had, and from whom?* To which she made answer, that *she gat her living by her work, and teaching of a few young Children*; after that, *What Children she had*: she told them, *none yet; but on she hoped in her belly*, being then great with Child: which was her first-born Son, now a *Minister of the Gospel*, afterward born in that House they then dwelt in, in *Thred-needle street*, and baptized in the Church near thereto adjoining, where the Minister of the place, somewhat thick of hearing, by a mistake, instead of *Fonathan*, nam'd him *Fohn*, which name therefore he bare afterward, and doth to this day. But after divers such questions to little purpose propounded and answered, in conclusion they told her, that *they knew well enough that the Book they then searched for, was none of her Husbands making, though he might have a hand in the venting of it*; and withall, that *if they had been disposed, they could have had him, for all his keeping in a Lancashire Gentlemans house*. So they termed Master *Redich*, because his own Lands of Inheritance lay in those parts. Thus having parlied with her, they dismissed her, not suffering those greedy Harpyes the *Pursuivants*, who were eager upon her for their fees, ro exact ought from her only binding her at a daies warning to appear again before them.

Thus through Gods goodness and watchfull eye over his Servant, too regardlesse in some sort of his own safety, having escaped the snare that was set for him, he returned after some space of time, Master *Rediches* main businesses being now dispatched, together with him and his, unto their former place of abode at *New-Hall*, taking his Wife and little one together also along with him.

His return  
to Newhall.

Being there arrived, the Gentleman both enlarged his maintenance, and assigned him and his Wife certain Chambers in his House conveniently furnished; as also herbage in the Park for a certain number of Kine, and of Swine, and some Poultry, together with a convenient Room for a Dary, wherein she might exercise her huswifery; which she very well could do, and accordingly did.

Now



Now while they thus lived together in Master Rediches House, Master Bradshaw went on cheerfully in his wonted course, both of private exercises for the instruction of the Family, and of publick employment on the Lords day for the benefit of others also abroad. But the old Lady Ferrers, Mistresse Rediches Mother, a woman of a great spirit, and a resolute Papist, though not an absolute professed Recusant, could by no meanes brook Master Bradshaw; and the lesse now because married, and for that he had brought his Wife also to live with him in House with them: yea she had conceived such an extream hatred against him, professing to *bate him above any man in the world; that she had made a vow, that she would never set her feet in the house where he was*, and it was therefore feared, not without some just ground of suspicion, that the Family might from her, fare the worse for him. *But she hearts of all men, and women also, are in Gods hand, and he can wind and turn them which way he will: and when a mans waies do please the Lord, he can, if he see it good, yea, doth oft, when he seeth it will be for the good of his, make of his utter foes, his Friends.* And even so fell it out here. For the Lady notwithstanding this her extream disaffection, so deeply Rooted, and so vehemently expressed, yet in proesse of time being enduced by some that were in credit and repute with her, to visit her Son-in-Law and Daughter, and make a stay for some time (which they much desired) in house with them; and being withall informed and assured by them of Master Bradshaws mild and moderate demeanure, and his meek, kind, and lowly carriage, she was over-wrought by them, contrary to that her former unnaturall and irreligious engagement, to repair thither, and take up her lodging with them: where it pleased God, withall, not long after her accessse thither, (being now an eye-witnesse her self of what she had formerly heard by report of him from others) so to alter, that her former disaffection to Master Bradshaw, and to cast it into a clean contrary mould, that all that beheld and observed her carriage on all occasions towards him; wondered exceedingly at it, to see so strange an alteration, and such not unexpected only, but unusual carriages in her. For, albeit she were otherwise, a Gentlewoman, as of very proper and personable presence, and in that regard much admired by the *Scottish Queen* that suffered here, whom she also much affected, so of her self no lesse forward to take and keep state; yet she used Master Bradshaw with very much courtesie and complement, at table drinking to him, and carving for him; resorting twice a day constantly to prayer with him and the Family, and speaking reverently of him; yea whereas formerly she could not be induced to hear any of our Ministers preach; howsoever for fashion sake, and to escape penalty of Law, she might sometime repair to hear the *Liturgy* read; yet was she content to hear Master Bradshaw, and commended his Sermons. Which the better to work upon her, he wisely framed to such subjects as he deemed would best serve, to take off such false imputations, as are wont by the adverse party to be cast upon our Profession and Preaching, as if we were utter enemies to *mortification and good works*. For first out of *Math 5. 16.* he took occasion to speak of the *necessity and nature of good works*; the ground from whence they spring, and the end that must be aimed at in them; and after that out of *Psalm 51.* of *repentance and mortification*, with both which discourses she seemed to be very much affected. What farther work these things had upon her after her departure thence, we are not able to say; but certain it is, that while she abode there she seemed to be much better disposed, not towards Master Bradshaw only; but (contrary to what was formerly feared, and strongly suspected) toward her Son-in-law and Daughter also. For before she went thence, she sealed them a Lease for three years, of the Land they held from her, with abatement of an Hundred pounds by the year of the Rent formerly paid; and a remission of thirty pounds by the year besides, otherwise accruing to her; (God might bless the issue, for his *Josephs* sake) and her continued good opinion of, and affection to Master

The Lady Ferrers respect to him though a Papist.

His prudence in his Ministry.

Bradshaw

Bradshaw she farther Manifested, by her free Consent, to have a House built for him and his Wife to live in, on a parcell of land that she had interest in; which was accordingly with as much speed as might be, not long after effected. *Then which* (saith he, so modest and moderate were his affections for the things of this life) *I desire no more worldly things, than that I may be settled in that little House, and rest there in quiet, which these times give small hope of.*

This he conceived the lesse hope of, because the Bishop under whom he had hitherto lived quietly, about this time, was deemed not like long to continue, and indeed shortly after deceasing, it was given out, that Bishop Neal, translated from Rochester, was to succeed (that which he much dreading, in divers of his Letters had oft up, *Lord keep us from Rochester*) and so he did indeed, though not immediately, yet not long after. For Doctor Abbots Dean of Winchester, who came in between them, fate not long there, but before many moneths expired, stept from Litchfield to London.

**Bishop Neal** But Bishop Neal was the man, whom all the pious, as well private men as Ministers, in these parts mis-doubted would do the most mischief. And it was reported, that the Bishop was minded to reside from the space of time at Drakelow, a place not far distant from New-hall; whose neighbourhood was like to prove no more beneficial to Master Bradshaw, than the brass pots

**Gods Providence over Him.** company in the Fable to the earthen pitcher. But, as *dangers oft befall us, where we least mis-doubt or suspect ought much less expect any;* so (the Lord on that wise disposing things for the safety of his servants, and the enuring of them to a constant dependance on his providence) it falleth out sometime on the other side, *that we prove least assailed or annoyed from thence, whence we have been most affrighted with the greatest expectation of much damage, or sore distresse.* So it fell out with Master Bradshaw here. For, howsoever in one of his Letters he manifesteth his fears to that purpose, that in regard of the considerations before-mentioned, he *much doubted, that Zone would be too hot for him;* yet in another afterward he signifieth that *he had not as yet heard ought from him, or of any complaints that had been made to him against him.* Nor indeed doth it appear that he was at any time after molested, or disturbed in the exercise of his Ministry by either of them, by what means soever the Lord was pleased so either to repress or divert, as well the malice of the one, as the might of the other, that neither of them should fasten to any purpose upon him, untill the year before he died.

About this time Master Redich bestowed his eldest Daughter, Mistress Grace Redich in marriage with Sir Robert Darcie, Son and Heir to Sir Edward Darcie, a Kentish Knight, a very religious Gentleman, in great favour and repute with that Illustrious Prince Henry, of rare parts, and great hopes, of whom this land was not worthy, and one that highly esteemed Master Bradshaw, as he justly deserved. He, making his abode most at New-hall untill his Fathers decease, (where his Lady a very gracious Gentlewoman according to her name, not inferiour to her Husband, either in piety, or in sincerity of affection to Master Bradshaw, was the Second time delivered of twins, and became Mother of four Children, within compasse of a year) Master Bradshaw by his company there received much comfort and encouragement in the work of his Ministry, and furtherance also in his Studies. For Sir Robert being a Scholar and studious, had a Library furnished with many of the best Writers, as well in Divinity, as in other kindes of literature, whereof Master Bradshaw had the free use; and he brought also upon his motion, divers others on purpose, that might be usefull for him. And this his affectionate and courteous carriage to Master Bradshaw, toward whom he ever demeaned himself with much reverence and due respect, was continued by him untill his decease, which did not many weeks precede Master Bradshaws.

In the year 1613. it Pleased God to take from him that worthy Gentleman Master Redich, his Patron, who in a very holy and Christian manner at New-hall departed this life. His frequent removals from New-

Hall



hall to Longford, another house that had befallen him in those parts not long before his decease, was occasion of much distraction to Master Bradshaw, now settled with his Family at Stanton Ward near to Newhall, but his decease much more: Concerning which he thus writes, among other things in a Letter to a Friend, Master Rediches decease hath made an heavy alteration in this Family; and for mine own estate, Mistresse Redich giving over house, as she intendeth to do, and to live somewhere hereabout, as privately as she may, for the better discharging of her Husbands debts, it will be the lesse comfortable, and more chargeable to me then it hath been. But I am willing for her good to undergo any thing. Master Redich on his death-bed was willing to have assured me of something during my life. But the force of his disease did so grow upon him that he could do nothing. If God lend Mistresse Redish life, till the debts be discharged, or a sure course taken for them, I hope she will, if it lie in her power: for she hath promised so to do; and I assure me, she will do her uttermost to effect it. But whatsoever fall out, I trust I shall be content, having been hitherto at the Lords finding; who hath shewed himself at all times a loving Father to me his unworthy Child; and our time here, though it be full of wants, is but short. Thus it pleased the Lord to inure this his Servant to a dependance from day to day for provisions upon his Providence; and as a grave man of God sometime said, Whereas many other have, and eat their bread stale; to receive his bread, and eat it daily new from his hand; that which he also, you see, was very well content to do. Mean while the good Gentlewomans incumbered and unsettled estate she was left in, being to take course for the payment of her Husbands debts, and to compound for the Wardship of her younger Daughter, who was afterward matched to one of the Lord Chief Justice Cooks Sons, could not but exceedingly distract Master Bradshaw, as well as her self, and drew him up to London together with her, oftner then he had any mind of himself, or desire thereunto. But from that Family the main means of his maintenance accrued; and to it therefore he constantly addicted himself, as in duty he deemed himself obliged to do.

His Letter about Master Rediches Death.

At Stanton Ward, not far from Newhall, as was before intimated, his Family still abode in the little house there built for him: Where, while Mistresse Redich abode in those parts, or when he had any liberty to get down from these parts, while she was longer then usually detained in or about the City, he went on constantly in his wonted course, teaching freely at Stapenhill every Lords day, as formerly he had done. Only in the year 1617. coming down from London, (upon what occasion, or through whose instigation, is uncertain) he was welcomed home by the Bishops Chancellour, with an inhibition to preach there, till he heard further from him. But by the mediation of a couple of good Angels, the one from himself, (so willing and forward was he to redeem his liberty, for the benefit of others, without advantage to himself) and the other from a Friend, the Chancellour was soon pacified, and the restraint removed; whereby it appeared that the Prohibition proceeded Principally from his own avarice, rather then from mis-information from any thereabout, or injunction from above.

He is inhibited from Preaching.

But soon Restored.

Amidst this his restless and distracted condition; and constant pursuit of his religious employments, the Lord was preparing a place of settled rest for him, and a royall reward in the highest Heavens, for his faithfull service here upon earth, drawing on apace now to its utmost period. For in the year 1618. being come up from Stanton, to attend Mistresse Redich, while he lodged with her at Chelsey, not far from the City, visiting a Friend at Rederith, whose house he usually frequented when he was in these parts, he complained of some malady that by his present distemper he mis-doubted might be growing upon him, and though by

His last Sickness.

his Friend he was earnestly urged to take some speedy course, by the *Physicians* advice, for preventing the farther growth of it, yet being too regardlesse of himself, while he neglected so to do, he was suddainly surprized with a violent and (as the *Physician* affirms) malignant Fever, which so fiercely set upon him, that in its very first apparent encounter it cast him down upon his couch. And notwithstanding all the means used, that either were desired, or could be procured; no care being omitted, or cost spared, by that worthy Gentlewoman, who most tenderly and intirely affected him, for advice of *Physician*, who constantly repaired to him, assistance of Apothecary, according to direction with all requisite necessities supplying him, and diligent attendance, as well of those in the Family, as of some other also for that end procured from abroad, without intermission successively about him; even the Gentlewoman her self (though advised to forbear, in regard of some malignity deemed to be in the disease) frequently resorting to him, sitting by him, and with her own hands offering, for his better ease, to be helpfull unto him, which yet he was very loath to admit; in all which from the first to the last she expressed a very great measure of cordiall affection unto him, and no lesse an earnest desire, both of his present relief, and future recovery also, if God should see it so good; yet the time being now come wherein the Lord had determined to put an end to his faithfull Servants labourious employments, continued distractions, and restless condition, and to translate him hence to a place of endlesse rest, and peace never to be interrupted again; the force of the disease within the space of a few daies fretted asunder those bands that kept soul and body together, and leaving the one behind to be laid up in the bowels of that element whence it had its first original, set the other at full liberty to return unto him, from whom alone it immediately received its existence at first.

His Death  
An. Christi  
1618.

His behavi-  
our in his  
sickness.

During the short time of his sickness, wherein yet, through Gods goodnesse, he continued free from any notable sense of pain, and was accompanied with much freedom of mind and memory, he had his heart and tongue in meditation set wholly upon God, acknowledging his special favour and goodnesse unto him, who had so far forth vouchsafed to cast a gracious eye upon him so vile and loathsome a creature, while he yet continued in his native condition, as to give him an interest by Faith in his Christ; yea so farre farther to grace so unworthy a wretch, as to call him to be a Minister of his Word, and Publisher of his Will, and to make his weake endeavours and worthlesse labours, at any time in any measure efficacious to any of his people, (as he hoped in some sort with some at least they had been) either for the conversion and bringing of them home unto him, or for the establishing and building of them up in the saving knowledge and belief of his truth, and in the graces and comforts of his Spirit. Withall seriously professing this to be his comfort, the testimony of his conscience in the sight of God bearing witness in his behalf, that in sincerity of heart, though with much weaknesse and amidst many failings, through the whole course of his Ministry, his main end and scope in all his labours and endeavours had been both in publick and private, to seek the glory of God, the delivery of his truth, the peace of his Church, the spiritual good of his people; in all things to approve himself to him, and continue faithfull with him, who hath been pleased to take him into his service; and desiring now nothing more, than that he might be so enabled through the support of his good Spirit, that by his Christian and comfortable carriage under his Fatherly hand, in this close of his day-work, he might confirm and seal up to others the truth of those things that he had formerly Professed and Taught, Withal earnestly Exhorting all that came about him, to Learn now to Die before they came to it, to be sure to lay a good Foundation in time of Life and Health, for matter of firm Support and sound Comfort in time of Sickness, and at the hour of Death; and to make as much Provision

His counsel  
to his  
Friends.



*Provision and strong Preparations against that time as they could, assuring themselves, that they should find all their utmost endeavours and carefullest Addresses to be little enough, when they came once to that Work.*

Amidst these and the like Religious Meditations and Pious Employments, perceiving his desired end now to Approach, and having requested Prayer to be conceived in his behalf by a special Friend, who had accompanied him most part of his sickness, not long after that Office performed by him, he quietly and peaceably resigned his Soul into the hands of his blessed Saviour, no less ready (doubtless) to receive it from him, than himself was desirous and forward to recommend it unto him.

His Funeral Rites were performed at *Chelsey*, where he drew his last Breath; most of the Ministers of better Note about the City, either constantly residing, or occasionally detained there, besides a very great multitude of private Persons well affected, repairing thereunto. Who were all there, after the usual manner in such cases and on such occasions, entertained at the Charge and by the Bounty of that worthy Gentlewoman of singular Piety, in whose House he Deceased. From which Place his Corps being conveyed on the Shoulders of six of his Reverend Brethren of the Ministry, who of their own accord offered themselves unto that Office, to the place of publick Assembly, where it was to be interred: Master *Thomas Gattaker* his ancient and inward Friend, though full of Grief for the loss of one, who so entirely affected him, and whom as well for the high esteem he had of him and his worth, as for that entire affection which he constantly bare to him, was most deservedly exceedingly dear to him, and in regard thereof not so free or fit for performance of that Office, yet enforced himself to Preach at his Funeral, and to give, though very briefly, such Testimony of him, as was generally approved of by his Reverend Brethren there present. And he was indeed a Man of eminent Parts, for sharpness of wit, clearness of apprehension, soundness of judgment, exactness of Method, and Powerfulness of Delivery, and singular dexterity in beating out perplexed and intricate Debates, descrying and discovering where the Knots lay, stating of Controversies aright, and dissolving of difficult cases of Conscience, to which purpose not only many even from remote Parts resorted unto him, either of their own accord, or directed and recommended unto him by other his Brethren of the Ministry, as one most likely of any to give them Satisfaction in their doubts, but divers of them also, of good note, (as by their Letters to him may appear) deemed it no disparagement to seek resolution from him in questions of that nature themselves. Neither was he one that kept his Talent wrapt up in a Napkin; though he were cooped up mostly in an obscure corner, through the harsh courses of those, that would not suffer his Light to shine forth in any eminent place; yet was he exceeding laborious in those parts wherein he lived, both in private employments at constant set times in the Family, and in publick also; where he might be permitted, though without benefit to himself: That which may appear by abundance of papers and Note-Books yet extant, though by many Casualties a multitude of them have miscarried. Besides his constant course of Preaching at *Stapenhill*, for the most of his time from his first Admission into that Family, save only by interruption, through occasion of Removals, which neither usually lasted over-long, nor, though distracted him in his Studies, did any whit lightly lessen his Labours; he was frequently drawn forth to join with other his Reverend Brethren in their Meetings and Exercises, at *Asbie de la Zouch* in *Leicester-shire*, at *Repton* in *Darby-shire*, and at *Burton upon Trent*; at some of which Meetings the manner being, that some one of them Preached his Hour on the Scripture propounded the meeting before, and the rest or a certain number of them spent afterward, each one in his halfe Hour or thereabout on some other portion of Scripture, one being appointed to moderate

derate, by minding each that spake, if occasion were, of the time, and to close up all with some succinct Rehearsal of what had been Delivered, together with an Additament, if it seemed good, of somewhat of his own. It hath been reported by some of those Ministers, who frequented these Exercises, that when they could get this our Brother, into that Number, or into the Chair, which latter he could hardly be drawn into, he was observed to have a reach still beyond the rest; and in regard of his depth of judgment, and Dexterity in due ballancing of Points controverted, and differences in Opinion concerning the same, he was commonly filed among them *The weighing Divine*, as hath been attested by that worthy Servant of Christ now at rest with him, Master *Oliver Bowles*, from the mouthes of some of them, who in his hearing related it.

His method  
in teaching.

For his ordinary manner of Teaching, it was in some kind somewhat different from the usual Method of most Teachers in those times. For he seldom made any Excursion into the handling of common places, or drew his subject matter out at length by any prolixly continued Discourse: But the main frame both of his publick Sermons and private Exercises, for the most part, if not wholly, consisted, after some brief and genuine Relation of the context, and explication of the Terms, where need required, of Notes and Observations, with much variety and great Dexterity drawn immediately from the Text, and naturally, without constraint, issuing and flowing either from the main Body, or from the several Limbs of it, with some useful Application annexed thereunto: Which though neither of them long insisted upon, yet were wont with that vivacity to be propounded and pressed by him, as well might, and oft did, pierce deep into the Hearts of his Hearers, and not only rectifie and clear their judgments, but have a powerful Work also upon their Affections. Nor was it his manner to quote many Scriptures, finding it troublesome to his Memory, and supposing it would be so to his Auditours also: (that which was the practise and Opinion also of Doctor *Chaderton*, as they well know, that heard him on *Matth. 21. 13.*) besides deeming it the less needful, in regard that his Observations being grounded immediately on the Scripture he handled; and by necessary consequence thence deduced, seemed to receive proof sufficient from it. A constant form of Prayer he used, as in the Family, so in his publick Ministry; only varying or adding upon some special occasions, as occurrences intervening required; The reason he gave thereof, was this, because hesitation, (which he said he was much subject unto) was in prayer more Offensive, than in other Discourse; unto prophane ones especially, whereof in mixt Multitudes, and Meetings some lightly, too many usually, were; that which he affirmed also to have been Master *Carwrights* Practise, with whom sometime he conversed.

The efficacy  
of his  
Ministry.

He used a  
form of prayer,  
and  
why.

The Scriptures  
which  
he preached  
over.

In such manner of Teaching he went over divers Portions of Scripture: Among others, the *fifty first*, and the *hundred and nineteen Psalms*: the *story of Hanna*, *1 Sam. 1.* and of *Naamen the Syrian*, *2 Kings 5.* Part of *Christs Sermon on the Mount*, *Matth. 13.* and of *the Rich man and Lazarus*, *Luk. 16.* the Relation of *Christs Temptations*, Recorded by two of the Evangelists; the whole *History of Christs Apprehension. Arraignment and Execution*; together with *Judas his end*; the *four first Chapters of the Epistle to the Romanes*, the *three last Chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrewes*, beside many other more particular parcels of Scripture.

X His works  
that were  
published.

Of this sort was by himself published in his Life-time, *A Preparation to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper*; at first written out at the request of that right Religious Lady *Darcy* for her private use, and by importunity afterwards, more publick for the farther benefit of others. Therewith many have been much taken, (by means whereof it hath oft been reprinted) and among others one *Thomas Foster*, a Mercer by Trade, living at *Shefford* in

*with a small catechism*



in *Bedford-Shire*, a very honest, humble-minded, and sincere hearted Christian, hath heard to professe, that that Book, and that part of it more specially wherein are laid down certain marks and signs of Faith and Repentance, was as far (as he was able to deem) the only outward Instrumental means of his Conversion, through the gracious co-operation of Gods Spirit working powerfully and efficaciously upon his heart in the reading thereof. And since his death have been published, *A Nuptial Sermon*, entitled; *A Marriage Feast*, on *John 2. 1. - 12.* *A Meditation of Mans Mortality*, on *Psal. 90.* His *Sermons on the second Epistle to the Thessalonians.* *A Treatise of Christian Reproof*, on *Matth. 18. 15, 17.* And another of the *Sin against the Holy Ghost*, on *Matth. 12. 22. - 32.* which in his life-time he had been, by that worthy Knight Sir *Robert Darcy*, who died not long before him; much pressed to publish; but could not prevail with him, being very backward in that kind; much undervaluing his own works, and very rarely, if ever, satisfying himself in ought that he undertook. For the use of the Family wherein he lived, he drew up a twofold *Catechism* as they Term it; the one somewhat large, the other more brief, for young beginners extracted out of the former; which latter, to save labour of Transcribing, he permitted to be Printed.

What spare time he had from his constant Employments, either private or publick, when not taken off by occasional Occurrences, he spent most of it principally three ways.

First, In labouring to clear some Points about the *Doctrine of Faith and Justification*; Concerning the latter whereof, after many Debates (first occasioned by some Lectures of Doctor *Grey*, sometime Fellow of *Trinity Colledge in Cambridge*, then reading on that Subject at *Gresham-Colledge in London*) that passed to and fro by reciprocal Letters between him and a special Friend of his, he began to set upon an exact *Treatise* of that Argument: Which being upon the first Draught of it communicated to that Friend of his, upon some *Advertisements* from him, he in divers particulars farther cleared; he being afterward imparted to divers of prime Note in either University, he was by them not much incouraged only, but earnestly invited to divulge it; that, which though by much difficulty drawn unto, yet at length he did. And howsoever that accurate Piece was but courtly entertained by one of his Brethren in the Ministry, then living in the City, traducing it publicly in a Lecture at *Pauls*, quarrelling with him who had Licensed it for the Press, and framing a bitter *Invective* against it; which upon perpetual was found so Virulent, that he could not get it permitted to the Press; yet was the Work so well approved by many Learned and judicious in both our Universities, that divers of them have professed to have received more Light thence in that Point, than they had ever before from the Writings of any that had dealt in that Argument. Hence it was that having occasion to be sometime on the Act-Day at *Oxford*, one of those that had seen it, and deeming not undeservedly of the work-man by the Work, seeing him passe along in a plain russet Clock, is reported by some that were then in Company with him, to have said to them, *Do you see the man that goeth yonder, in that plain Habit, and in that self-neglecting Garb and Posture? He hath more sound Learning in his Head, than twenty of us have.* And that famous Professor Doctor *Prideaux*, after his Decease, in some Company hearing his Son yet surviving then present there Named, demanded of him whether that Master *Bradshaw*, that wrote the *Treatise of Justification* where his Father? And being informed that he was, he professed himself heartily glad to see the Son of that man, for the old Acquaintance he had; not with his Father himself, but with that Work of his; For those were the Doctors own Words. Hereunto may be added the Verdict of the great and grave Counsellour of State, so much esteemed for his judgment in Law-Cases, the Lord Cook,

*Cook*, who visited the Gentlewoman (by the marriage of her Daughter to his Son, now neerly linked to him) at her house where Master *Bradshaw* then lay sick, and finding the Book lying accidentally in a Window, after the perusal of some good part of it, freely professed, That he *had seldome Read a thing more Pithily and Pregnantly Written.*

Nor was this work of his in such esteem at home only, but with other learned also abroad. Among whom Master *Lewis Chappel*, a man of special Note for variety of Learning, and Professor of Divinity at *Salmure* in *France*, having received the Book sent him from *London* by Master *Aaron Chappel* his kinsman, then Minister of the French Church there returneth him many thanks for it; requesting him withal, to enquire after the Authors place of abode, and convey from him unto him the Letter enclosed; In the Superscription whereof he stileth him, *Doctissimum, ornatissimum, clarissimumque virum*; and in the Superscription, out of his respect to him, and estimation, yea admiration of him, in regard of that piece alone, thus writes of himself, *Tui non studiosus modo, sed cultor & admirator.* In the body of the Letter, after signification, how upon some occasion being to part with the Book, he had taken pains, before he would let it go out of his hands, to translate it out of English into French, he passeth this Censure of it, *A little Book, small for bulk, but for Learning, Wit, and Acuteness a grand one. --- To speak ingeniously, I never hitherto read ought in any humane writing of Doctrinal Divinity, that so exceedingly liked me; so learnedly, acutely, soundly, pithily, plainly, and yet with admirable Brevity is this Argument so fully comprised, and thoroughly handled therein, I want words wherewith to commend and extol it according to its due desert; I have oft read it over, and yet never have enough of it; but the oftner I return to it, and read it over again, the more egerly is mine Appetite stirred up unto it, so much Light and Brightness of Learning, Wit and Art shineth forth in it.* And whereas treading then precisely in *Piscators* steps, he propounded his doubts withal, concerning some particulars, wherein Master *Bradshaw* seemed to swarve from *Piscator*; Master *Bradshaw* to give him farther satisfaction therein, and yet save much writing at large to and fro, reviewed his own work, and endeavoured to clear those things somewhat better; wherein also he was farthered by some Exceptions from Master *Wootten* imparted unto himself, unto which he had returned an Answer; and having turned it so revised into Latine, he sent a Copy of it in Writing unto Master *Chappel*, who upon receipt thereof, wrote back at first briefly, but not long after more fully, in these words; *Right worthy Sir, I wrote before to you, that I had received your truly golden Book, enlarged by you and turned into Latine, and that presently I read it over, but in haste; so eager an Appetite had I unto it, by reading the other Edition of it in English before. Since that I have read it over again, not once, but often, and taking leasure thereunto. Which the oftner I read over, the more it pleaseth me, and is approved of by me, so accurately and exactly is it Composed by you. I hope this Birth and Issue of your Mind will find Approbation with peaceable and moderate Dispositions, on whether side soever, albeit you condescend not unto them in all things that they require. You so space in the middle between either Opinion, that neither of them ought to be displeased with you, if they truly love Peace and Concord.*

Thus that learned man word for word translated out of his Letters in Latine, which in the same language have been represented also, and published elsewhere. Whereby may appear, what entertainment, approbation, and estimation this *Treatise* (which yet the Author speaks so meanly of himself in private Letters to his Friends) found with the learned in foreign parts, and he himself also, where otherwise wholly unknown, for it. And whosoever shall with a regardfull eye read over the generally well approved, and deservedly much esteemed writings of those worthy Servants



of God, now with the Lord, Master William Pemble and Master Samuel Torset, concerning this subject, collated with this of Master Bradshaw, which came forth some good space before either of them had writ ought; he shall easily discern, on whose foundation they built, in whose steps they trod, with whose heifer they ploughed, at what Torch they lighted their Tapers, and from whence they received much of their light in that Argument. For it may be with good ground of truth be averred, that amidst the extream opposition of Divines in this point dissenting, this our Brother did herein beat out such a middle tract between them, as appears not to have been formerly discovered by any, wherein these two men of special note coming after him for the main matter of their principles, have kept close to his footsteps, in the path by him cut out and cleared to their hands. Of this latter in Latine, a Copy being sent over by him to Doctor Ames not long before his decease, was by him not long after it printed. Unto this his purpose was to have added a *Treatise of Justifying Faith*, the proper nature, peculiar act, and Office of it in that work, and great pity it was that such an head as this one piece shews him to have had, was not set apart for such like employments. How many points of much difficulty might haply been clear, if one of his parts received encouragement, and means of support, to apply himself and his main studies unto so usefull an employment? Surely what he saith of another, might be well said of him, *That if such as he was, had the handling of Controversies, Questions would not be so infinite and intricate oft as they are, and being aright stated, some that now fight most eagerly one against another, would be found to agree, being brought at length aright to understand either other.*

A second businesse whereunto he applied himself, about which he took much pains, was in the discussion of the matters then in controverfie, for which he so much suffered, about *Subscription*, the *Ceremonies* then pressed, the *Civil Power*, and the *Prælatial*, in affairs of that nature. Of this kind discourses penned by him were underhand printed, and published as they could be secretly got out and dispersed, these following: *A Protestation of Supremacy: The English Puritanism: A Treatise of True and False Worship: Twelve Arguments against the Ceremonies, and conformity thereunto: Of the Nature of things Indifferent.* Of which Argument also he wrote in Latine *Answer to Master Gabriel Powel*, which yet was not published. And it is well known to some yet surviving, that the greatest part of that which was done in that grand *Controversie* with Doctor Downham concerning *Episcopacy*, for the main matter of it, came forth of his forge; (howsoever of his labour and paines therein taken, another bare the name, and received the reward of the work) the tart and bitter language only, wherewith it was rather pickled than seasoned, proceeding from another pen somewhat too much steeped in Vinegar and Gall, that which he complaineth of as much milking, in a Letter to a Friend: for he was a man of a very mild and meek spirit, and of a moderate disposition; and how farre forth in his judgment and practice he could have acknowledged, submitted unto, and complied with some kind of *Superintendency*, or *Episcopacy*, as it is commonly stiled, may appear by his demands propounded to Master Francis Johnson in his *Answer to his Reasons for Separation*, of which more anon.

Divers other subjects he had set upon, and made entrance into, but afterward laid aside; whether for want of time and opportunity, or for what other cause, uncertain, among others, of the former sort, was a *Refutation* in Latine of Dutch Thomsons *Diatriba, de amissione & intermissione justificationis & gratia*; which upon notice given him of Doctor Abbots undertaking of that task, he surceased; of this latter sort, in English, *An Answer to Master Hookers Ecclesiasticall Polity*, a work so much cried up, and

and admired by the most; and it were greatly to be wished, that he had had life and leasure (had the Lord seen it good) to have gone through with it: but the Lord had otherwise disposed.

His Zeal against Sectaries and Separatists.

In the third and last place, amidst these his labours about, and suffering for those controverted matters, he bent his forces as much also another way; to wit, against *Sectaries* and *Separatists*. To this purpose he had divers bickerings with them, and with some of the chief leaders among them, both by *Conferences* with them, and by writings against them, and the courses taken by them, whereby many were stayed from going those wayes, and some also reclaimed and brought back again. Among other, at the request of a Gentleman of *Lincolns - Inne*, (for the stay of some that were staggering, and warping that way, that one Master *Clifton* had gone before them, seduced by Master *Smith* sometime Fellow of *Christs Colledge*, who had thrice been baptized) having imparted to him a *Relation* in writing, of what had past between *Smith* and *Clifton*, who by that their mutuall *Collation* pretended, as upon good and just grounds, being convict in conscience, to have past over to him; he wrote a large *Discourse*, wherein he discovered a great deal of weaknesse, as well in the *Arguments* of the one, as in the *Answers* of the other; thereby making it manifestly to appear, by what slight and ill-wrought twine rather then twist, that might have easily been inapt asunder; Master *Clifton* had been drawn away, and induced to leave his former station, and abandon his wonted profession; nor was his labour herein without its desired successe with those, for whom it was undertaken: As also thereby he took occasion to write *A Defence of the Baptism of Infants*, against the same parties. Against Master Francis Johnsons *Reasons for Separation*, he wrote a Book Entituled, *The Unreasonablenesse of Separation*, and that upon this occasion. One that was deemed to be a man of an ingenuous disposition, was earnestly solicited by some with whom he conversed, to withdraw from our Congregations, and seeming to be much perplexed with Master Johnsons *Arguments*, was yet perswaded by some of his discreet Friends, to do nothing inconsiderately in a businesse of that concernment and consequence; but to consider seriously first of it, and have conference with some grave and godly Ministers, such as he deemed as well judicious as consciencious, whereby it might be descried, whether the grounds that he was in this course intended to go upon, were such as would endure triall or no; This advice of theirs was hearkened unto, and choice made by himself of Master Bradshaw and another, whom he conceived to be both understanding and moderate men. The place for conference was agreed upon to be in a common Friends house, and the meeting intended to be very private, not above two or three of that party, besides himself, the two Ministers and those of the house; but such of them whose presence alone he desired, having acquainted divers others of their complices therewith, a multitude of them intruded themselves. Now in regard of such an unexpected company, it was deemed meet to proceed the more warily. And the party in the conference principally concerned, being put to his choice, whether he would *Argue* or *Answer*; was willing rather to *Argue*, and to make use of Master Johnsons *Arguments*, then to frame others of his own: that which very well pleased those of the separating side, as deeming Master Johnsons *Arguments* unanswerable. To prevent mis-reports, it was mutually agreed, that two persons, one of either side, should write down each *Argument*, as it was propounded; and each *Answer*, as it was returned thereunto; and should read audibly, what had passed in the prosecution of any *Argument* at the close of it, before entry upon a new, which was accordingly done; and so many of Master Johnsons *Reasons* discussed as the straits of time would permit; in pursuit whereof was so evidently shewed how

A Disputation.



how grossely Master Johnson had abused divers passages of Scripture, quoted for proof of those propositions, whereunto he had affixed them, that the whole company of them were exceedingly puzzled with it, and some of them to save their Champions credit, would faine have fastned some fault upon the Printers, but could not well find how to do it.

The evening coming on, the debate ceased for that day: and Copies on either side taken, being read, collated, and interchangeably delivered, the conference was adjourned till afternoon the next day, what time the other Arguments were to be scanned. But the party, whom the businesse concerned, being perswaded by the rest of them, (as it seemed) to desist, did the next morning make known his unwillingnesse for some pretended causes to go on, and so it brake off. Howbeit Master Bradshaw having waded so fare in examination of Master Johnsons Reasons, was much importuned to proceed on therein, and to go through with the rest, considering how needfull a work it was, and how usefull it might prove. Which being at length drawn unto, and that the rather because Master Johnson had fetcht some Arguments from grounds laid by him in that Treatise against Conformity, which stood Master Bradshaw upon therefore to confider of, and give satisfaction unto; that which was drawn up by him, after perusall and approbation of some, on whose judgment he much relied, was by their advice sent over to Master Ames, who with an Epistle of his own prefixed, caused it to be printed in those parts, where he then abode. Neither was there any Reply ever returned unto it, in defence of Master Johnson, either by himself, while he lived, or by any other in his behalf, so long as Master Bradshaw survived; only many years after Master Bradshaws decease, an attempt was made against it by one Master Can of Amsterdam, which was not long after returned back upon its Author by a Friend of the deceased.

And indeed to Separation he was ever very adverse, and to withdrawing from the publick places of Assembly, or from any part of Gods Worship there used. To which purpose shall be related out of his papers in his own words the ensuing passages, delivered by him in a Sermon at Longford on *Matth. 5. 1.* It is the great mercy of God toward us, that we have no cause to seek the word in deserts and wildernesses, in woods and caves and desolate mountains; but such worthy edifices as these to assemble in, dedicated only to this use. And where Gods people have by publick authority such places as these appointed and allowed ordinarily to assemble and meet in, we are fowly at least to suspect those Assemblies, and the worship done therein, which forsake those places, and fly into woods and deserts. It is true, that among the Jews at this time there was the Temple, and besides sundry Synagogues, answering to these Churches of ours; and which is more, the doors of the Pulpits were generally open to Christ himself; and yet our Saviour often taught in other places, but this was upon extraordinary occasions, such as seldome or never fall out with us; and so carried by our Saviour, that there was no Schisme or Separation made by him, or any of his speciall Disciples or followers, from the Assemblies then established. And after concerning the places of Assembly themselves. It is indeed in honour, that those which are in Authority and ability, should do to the Worship of God, to see that comely and seemly places be dedicated and separated from other common uses thereunto; and it is a disgrace and contempt to Gods Worship, when men that may remedy it, care not how base and contemptible the place of Gods Worship is; when men have not that care of the place, where the holy Assembly of God meets, as they have of their barns and stable. As also concerning some circumstances of Gesture used in them, From Christ sitting to teach, we learn that such externall behavious to follow our Saviours example; that is, in matters not doubtfull, and controversal, at least to conform our selves to such outward fashions as are generally used in these times, and thus Church wherein we live. For example, in the like case; It is the general custom in our Church, that the Ministers

nisters preach standing in a seat higher than the People, and bare-headed: and this gesture is no peculiar gesture, but borrowed from the common practice of Orators, and such persons as make speeches to solemn Assemblies. It is meet therefore in such cases, that we should not be singular and odde, but conform to the received fashion of the Church. So that if we should sit and preach as Christ did, we should not conform to Christ; because we should cross that, which was the ground why Christ sate. Lastly, concerning repair to all parts of Gods service, from those words; And his Disciples came to him, &c. This also is a matter of order, that, as much as may be, divine Worship should begin, when the Congregation is assembled and come together. Therefore the Members of an Assembly should make more conscience than usually they do of coming together sooner. I urge this the rather, because it is a general fault in our Assemblies, not committed only by them, that care not which end of Religion goeth forward, but generally of most, that so they come to some part of Gods Worship, it is well enough especially if they can come time enough to the beginning of the Sermon. Hence many times the Minister with the Clerk are fain to perform a great part of the publick Worship of God alone, or with one or two at the most, and the rest of the Church come dropping in one after another at their own leisure, as though the publick prayers of the Church, and reading the Scriptures were a Worship that concerned the Minister, and Clerk only, and not the whole Church. This is the rather related, and here inserted, because not published, to manifest the moderation of the man, notwithstanding so much hard measure as he sustained from the hands of those, who so grievously abused the power they had in those times.

Thus have a rude and crude delination of this blessed and faithfull Servant of Gods course and race, whose life was indeed as a continual peregrination here upon earth; extracted, partly, from Letters written to him by others, communicated, for the better making up of this module, by Master Samuel Hildersham, Pastor of the Church at West Felton in Shropshire, Son to that famous man of pious memory Master Arthur Hildersham, and Master John Bradshaw, at present Minister of the Word at Echingham in Sussex, Son to this worthy Champion of Christ Jesus, both genuine heirs of their Parents best parts; and partly from Relations of his own and others of good credit, his Letters especially to a bosome Friend, whom he was wont from time to time thereby to acquaint with most occurrents of Note that befell him, or did any way concern him, while they lived at a distance. It might have been more exactly and intirely performed, had not some Letters of his been lost, and a bundle of others to him miscarried, torn by Rats in his absence from the place where they lay, the Loss whereof in a Letter he much Laments, and wishes that as many of his Books, to save them, had undergone the like ill-usage.

His death was much lamented, as by all that knew his parts, and how usefull he might farther have been to Gods Church, had the Lord been pleased to Lengthen out the line of his Life; so more especially by the well-affected of that Family, whereunto he had adhered; but in a degree farre above the rest by the head thereof, Mistresse Katharine Redich, the Relict of Master Alexander Redich, deprived now of a second stay, and principal support, for spiritual helps especially, since her Husbands decease; a very tender-hearted Gentlewoman, much addicted to Hospitality, and of very remarkable devotion and piety, Reported by those who were inwardly acquainted with her more retired courses, to have been wont constantly to spend privately twice a day, at several set-times an hour at least, in meditation and prayer, mixed oft with many tears. She, good soul, was so affected with his departure, and so feelingly apprehensive of her own losse thence ensuing, that albeit she survived him about, if not above, some twelve years; yet was it observed by those that conversed with her, that to her dying day, she could very seldome with dry eyes, either speak of him, or hear him spoken



ken of by others; that which made divers forbear speaking of him; what they well might, in her presence, for the renewing of her grief. Nor was her hearty affection to him, and due esteem of him manifested in such kind of expressions alone, (wherein, even counterfeits, though not so constantly, yet can at sometimes exceed) but it was made to appear in beneficence to her ability, and in carefull provision to her power for those he left behind him; for what by her Husband was intended, though she met with many obstructions in the pursuit of it, the estate was so entangled, she at length got made good, and settled according to his desire. And for his eldest Son, (for he left three, whereof two yet survive, and a Daughter,) being set apart for a Scholar, she maintained him at Grammar-School, untill he was fitted for the University, and at the University in part also, so long as she lived.

With those in general, among whom he lived, and that knew him but at a distance, he left behind him the estimation of one very *studious, humble, plain, honest, loving, free, liberal, charitable and compassionate*. Very *studious* they deemed him, because they seldome saw him walking abroad without a Book in his hand; and reading usually, if alone, in it, as he walked, though he walked commonly somewhat fast, being therein farthered through the quicknesse of his eye, and the steadinesse of his hand. And for his *humility*, it so readily offered it self to the eye in his whole deportment, that they could not but take notice of it, reading it as written in text Letters, therein, that saw ought at all in him.

A *plain* man he was, as *Jacob*, without Welt or Gard; and a *plain-dealing* Man, as *Nathaniel*, without craft or guile; free from all Courtship, either for counterfeit, or complement. Among the meaner sort he was the more beloved, because, though his means were but mean and scant, yet they perceived him to be of a *free* and *liberal* disposition; and were willing therefore to work with him ordinarily before any other, because he used to give them somewhat above their hire or agreement, which few others did. His *charitable mind* and *tender-heartednesse* many waies manifested it self. It hath been known, that he hath borrowed money, when he had none about him, or by him, to relieve some that have been in want, and to have been as carefull to repay it, as forward to part with it. His Char-ty.

While he was at *Chatham*, some gallies that had sometime been built for service, and lay along time after there idle, being found unusefull for our Seas; yet being than on foot, and some put into them; he walked down one day with some company to see the manner of them: which when he had viewed, it seemed to him so dismal a sight, to see men, Christian-men, put to such kind of servitude, that he could not endure to behold it without tears, and having given them a little money, so left them, returning back in a very sad and pensive moode. Yea, he was one of those, whom *Solomon* speaks of, whose *commiseration* reacheth even to the bruit beasts, which he could not endure to see unmercifully used: and would oft say he was perswaded that men took too much liberty to themselves in killing and misusing some, even contemptible creatures, without cause. Riding homeward sometime with his Son behind him, whom he had taken out with him, the waies being bad and deep, and the beast that bare them travelling heavily and wearisomely, he took occasion thereby to enter into a discourse to the lad behind him, what hardship the poor unreasonable creature was put to, to be serviceable to us; what misery such sustained for mans sin; and so affectionately he spake of it, that to his Son, whom he spake to, he seemed to weep with it.

He may be thought to have had some presage of his end approaching, before his Last Accessse to the City. For it is reported by his Son now in the Ministry, and treading in his Fathers steps, that being very earnest in soliciting of him, that he might then go up to *London* with him, which since he sucked, it seems he had never seen, he willed him, *not to be so desirous*

## The Life and Death of Master William Bradshaw.

sirous to see London; for whensoever he saw London, he should see it to his cost. And to his great grief indeed he did, coming up with his Mother, a heavy Widow, not long after his Fathers departure hence, and funerall rites here performed.

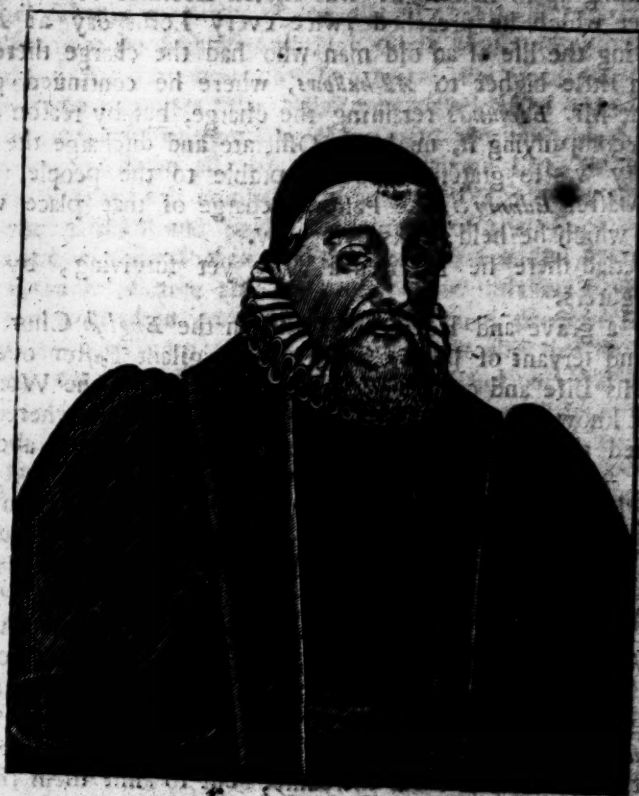
Doctor  
Halls chara-  
cter of him.

We shall close all, with that free and ingenious Character, which that Illustrious late Bishop of Norwich, his old, true and loving Friend (he is pleased so to stile himself in some Letters to him) truly giveth of himself: He was saith he, of a strong brain, and a free spirit; not suffering himself for small differences of judgement to be alienated from his Friends; to whom notwithstanding his seeming austerity, he was very pleasing in his conversation, being full of Witty and harmlesse Urbanity: he was very strong and Beger in arguing, hearty in his friendship, regardlesse of the World, a despiser of Complement, a Lover of Reality, full of digested Learnings, and Excellent Notions; a painfull Labourer in Gods Work, and now, no doubt, gloriously rewarded.

This Life was drawn up by my Reverend, Learned, and worthy Friend Mr. Thomas Gataker of Rederith.

THE





## M. STOCK

### *The Life of Master Richard Stock, who dyed Anno Christi 1626.*

**R**ichard Stock was born at *Yerk*, and after he was thoroughly furnished with Countrey Learning, he went to *Cambridge* at the age of Eighteen or Nineteen years, as most in those Northern parts in those times used to do, where he was admitted into *St. Iohns Colledge*, and after a while was chosen Scholar of the House. At this time Doctor *Whitaker* was Master of *Saint Iohns* (under whom his younger Brother had a Sifers place) who favoured Master *Stock* very much for his ingenuity, industry and proficiency in his Studies.

There he remained till he had taken his degree of Master of Arts, at which time he had had a fellowship, but that his Countrey was full, whereupon he left the Colledge, and lived some space of time with Sir *Edmund* or *Edward Cope*, at *Cannons Ashby* in *Northamptonshire*, from whence he afterwards removed to the *Lady Elene* at *Banton* on the water in *Gloucestershire*, to be her Chaplain.

Before he left the University he was designed to a Fellowship in *St. Marys Colledge*, then intended and beginning to be built; but having long discontinued before the building was accomplished, he had then no mind to return to the University again.

His Birth  
and Breeding.

His removal  
from Cambridge.

But

His coming  
to London.

But coming up to *London* he was chosen Lecturer at *Austins* in *Watling-street*, after which he preached twice every Lords day at *Mildreds Bred-street*, during the life of an old man who had the charge there: Whence he removed a little higher to *All-hallows*, where he continued preaching constantly, one Mr. *Edmunds* retaining the charge, but by reason of age and infirmities accompanying it, unable to Officiate and discharge the place himself. His Ministry was so gratefull and acceptable to the people, that after the death of Master *Edmunds*, the Pastorall charge of that place was conferred upon him, which he held to his dying day.

His marriage.

Being seled there he Married a Wife yet surviving, by whom he had three Daughters.

His character by Mr  
Cataker.

He was a grave and Reverend Father in the *English Church*, a faithful Minister and servant of Jesus Christ, and a vigilant Pastor over his Congregation. His Life and courses and constant Labour in the Work of the Lord were well known through the whole City of *London*; wherein he constantly continued the Work of his Ministry by the space of about thirty two years.

His study  
of Humanity.

During his abode in *St. Johns Colledge* in *Cambridge*, even from his first beginnings, he was of eminent Note for his unwearied Industry, and singular Proficiency in those Studies of Humanity, that are as Hand-Maids to Divinity, and help to lay a good ground for any future Profession. So that his Care was to intertwine Piety and Humanity the one with the other, that as Web and Woof they ran on even along together, through the whole course of his Studies. Nor was he only careful of this Practise himselfe, but

Heb. 10. 24.  
'Εἰς τὸ κα-  
τασκευάσαι

(according to that of the Apostle, *Observe one another to whet on to Godliness and well doing*;) he was no less forward to incite others to the like Practise: Yea, not only to incite them thereunto, but to assist them therein, and to afford what helps he could (which well also he could do) unto any that were desirous, yea or but willing to embrace them, so that many of his Friends had Cause to bless God that ever they come acquainted with him. In a word, whilest he stayed in the Colledge, he gave before hand e're he came to it, evident signes of one likely to prove a skilful Master-Builder in Gods Work, and a winner of many Souls unto God.

His painfulness.

Nor was he one of those rath-ripe Wits, that promise fair in the Blossome, but fail in the Fruit; that like Comets, blaze brighter than the fixed Stars for a time, but after a while vanish and come to naught, the matter of them being either wholly spent or dispersed. But his proceedings in publick were correspondent to his beginnings in private. When it pleased God to call him out, and to set him apart to that employment that he had ordained him to before, he proved a painful and faithful Minister of *Jesus Christ*, a skilful and powerful dispenser of Gods Word. And if any proof hereof be desired, Not to insist upon his constant and incessant employments with generall approbation and applause of those that were Religious and judicious, continued for so many years (as aforesaid) together, nor a *Sabbath* intermitted wherein (if health served) he preached not twice, either in his own charge (where he was most frequent) or elsewhere abroad, besides his Catechizing of the younger sort in the week dayes at certain times, and other such Offices as to the Pastorall Function are necessarily annexed, and are privately to be performed; wherein also he was no lesse diligent than in the execution of his publick Ministry. Nor to insist (I say) upon this (which yet were sufficient proof of it) as the Apostle saith of the *Corinthians*, *You are the seal of my Apostleship, and my Letters Testimonial*. So may it well be said of this reverend man of God, Many Christian Souls having professed themselves to have had their first effectual Calling and Conversion from him, the like whereunto few others could say at that time; Besides the multitudes of those which have acknowledged themselves to have been edified, built

1 Cor. 9. 2.  
The effectual-  
nesse of  
his Ministry.



built up, and bettered by him, are the seal of his Calling, and of *Christ* speaking in and by him, and not verball or vocall, but real Letters testimoniall of the efficacy of his Ministry, through Gods blessing upon the same.

One faith that the Apostles were like Fishermen, the succeeding Ministers like Huntsmen. The Apostles like Fishermen that caught many at one draught: The succeeding Ministers like Huntsmen, that with much toil and clamour running up and down all day, scarce take one Doe or Hare ere night. And such is the hard condition of many of Gods Servants, that notwithstanding the faithfull and painfull discharge of their duty, yet are enforced to complain with the Prophet, *Who hath believed our report? and, I have laboured in vain.* Scarce able to produce, or instance in any one, of whom they can with some good ground of assurance presume that they have gained; at least him unto God. But well might this worthy Servant of *Christ*, through Gods blessing upon his labours, stand out and say, not of one or two, but of troops, in the words of the same Prophet, *Behold I, and the children that God hath given me.* And with the Apostle, *These have I begotten unto God by the Gospel of Jesus Christ.*

Yea more then that, many famous lights in Gods Church, and faithfull Ministers of his Word do professe to have lighted their candles at his Lamp; yea some of them to have received their first beginnings, not of Light only, but of spiritual Life and Grace (without which all Light, be it never so great, is no Light, but meer Darknes) from his Ministry. It's no small honour for a man to win, if it were but any one Soul (*He hath saved a Soul*, saith Saint *James*, as a matter worthy the glorying in.) For to win a Souls, is to win more than the whole World besides is worth. But what an honour then is it to be, not a winner of a Soul, but a winner of such as prove winners of Souls; and so by winning of some one immediately, to be a mediate winner of many others by him? *They shall shine* (saith he) *as the Heavens, that instruct; and they that Convert others, as the Stars.* And how gloriously then (suppose we) doth this blessed Man of God shine now in the Kingdom of God, that was an instructor of those that are instructors of others, that was a Converter of those that are Converters of others themselves!

Many then did this worthy Man (as the holy Ghost saith of *John the Baptist*) win unto God. Many he won, though all he could not; that was more than the Apostle *Paul* was able to do. The *Jews* opposed themselves against his Ministry, and Blasphemed, *Act. 18. 12* and *2 Thess. 3. 2.* *All men* (saith he) *have not Faith.* But yet many he won, and his desire and endeavour (with the same Apostle) was to win all, his own Flock especially, of whom he used to protest, That is was more comfort to him to win one of them than twenty others. But some refractory Spirits (as what Minister doth not?) He met withal, that would not be reclaimed; that by their cross-grain carriage and behaviour, were as Thorns in his Eyes, and as Goads in his Sides, and proved a vexation of Heart to this faithful Servant of *Christ*. But against such Persons, not only the dust of the Ministers feet, but the sweat of his Brows, and Tears of his Eyes, and his strength wasted amongst them, and his Spirits spent upon them, shall one day rise up in judgement against them, to make their Doom the heavier, if it be not prevented by speedy and unfeigned Repentance.

But because a man may win others, and yet lose himself, he may save others, and yet not save himself, They may beget life in others that have none themselves. The Word may work by a man, and yet not work in him. He may be like a stone gutter (saith *St. Austin*) or a leaden pipe, that conveyeth water into a Garden, yet receiveth no benefit thereby it self. Or like the hand on the high-way that pointeth others the way, but never walks thither it self. Or like an Harp (saith the Psalmist) that maketh others melody, or a Trumpet that sounds loud, but heareth nothing.

1 Cor. 9.  
27.

Mat. 23. 3.  
His exem-  
plary Life.

What  
makes a  
compleat-  
man.

What  
makes a  
compleat  
Minister.

His manner  
of preaching

nothing it self. Or like to the water in Baptism (saith Gregory) that helps men to Heaven-ward, but afterwards is poured down the sink it self. He may preach to others, and not preach to himself. He may convert others, and yet himself prove acast-away. Though yet indeed it's seldome seen, that much good is done where a due consent is wanting between tongue and hand, between lip and life. It was far otherwise with this reverend man of God; he was none of those that say and do not; but as he taught so he wrought; his Doctrine and practice concurred, and went hand in hand together. His actions were, though silent, yet reall and affectual Sermons of that which he Preached in the Pulpit. The course of his life was uniform with the tenour of his teaching; and both joyning and concentrating in one, were a means to draw on many; who by the one alone probably had not been so easly won to *Christ*.

In a word, for his teaching, many that were his constant Hearers, have given him a large testimony; and they that knew his conversation have done the like for his life. He was not a flash, one of those which shew all in a Sermon, or that spend all upon one curious good work that they mind to make their *Master-Piece*. But both in his life and teaching he held on such a constant tenour, that the most men, especially such as were wise and judicious, were acquainted with either, the more they revered and esteemed him for both.

There are two things (saith one) that make a compleat man, Integrity and judgment; the one whereof is but lame and maimed without the other; and yet in few they use to meet together; yet there was an happy conjunction of them both in this worthy man. One sign whereof will appear by the frequent practice of many, who made use of him for to be an overseer of their last wills, and craved his assistance by way of direction for the disposall of their outward estates (and all know how cautious men use to be in that kind.) Another testimony of it was by those Reverend Brethren of the Ministry, as well as others; who either by Letters or otherwise, out of all parts of this Realm, did usually seek to him, as to one more than ordinarily able to give them satisfaction for the resolution of their doubts.

These two then made him a compleat man; but there is something more required to make a compleat Minister, *viz.* That he be able to speak his mind sirly (for what use can there be of a mute Messenger) and that he dare do it freely (for of whom is courage and freedom of speech more required than of Gods Messengers?) Nor was Mr. *Stock* defective in either.

For as for the former, how well able he was, not to expresse only, but to urge and presse too; not to confirm alone, but to commend also that that he delivered with clear method, sound proof, choice words, fit phrases, pregnant similitudes, plentifull illustrations, pithy perswasions, sweet insinuations, powerfull enforcements, allegations of antiquity, and variety of good literature; that both the learnedest might receive satisfaction from him, and the very meanest and dullest might also reap benefit by him, and so as might well leave a deep impression in the hearts and minds of the Hearers, they cannot be ignorant, that for any space of time heard him. In a word, in this kind he was such an one as many strove to imitate, but few attained to equalize him.

Again, Because it is in vain to be able to speak to good purpose, if a man dare not use his tongue: if (as one said of the *Eretrians*) he be like the sword-fish that hath a sword in his head, but no heart in his body: or like a cowardly companion, that carries a weapon to ruffle with, but dares not draw or make use of it, though just occasion be offered. For



his freedom of speech therefore in reproving of sin, and that even to the faces of the greatest, whether in publick or private, when occasion required; many even now living are able to testify, and some accidents made it more Publickly known, then his desire was that it should have been.

He was very zealous and earnest for the reformation of some prophane-  
His zeal for the Sabbath.  
 tions of the Sabbath. Wherein he prevailed also for the alteration of something offensive in that kind, as well with the main body of the City, as with some particular Societies, as for their meetings upon *St. Thomas* day. He perswaded also some of the companies to put off their solemn Festivals from Mundaies to Tuesdaies, that so the Lords day might not be prophaned by their preparations for those Feasts.

His prudence also appeared in his order of Catechizing the young persons of his Parish, by examining them apart, the youths on one day, and the maids on another. The riper and forwarder first in the presence of the ruder and rawer, and the ruder and rawer apart by themselves, when the former were departed, that so they might reap what fruit they could by hearing the others; and yet might receive no discouragement by being heard of them.

His prudence.

Neither was his pious diligence and care lesse seen in the Religious instruction and education of those that were under his private charge, as Children and Servants, for whom his care was greater to provide for their souls than their bodies, for their spiritual than for their temporal estate (yet not neglecting that neither) by bringing them up in the nature and fear of the Lord. In a word, time and speech would sooner fail then matter, If I should proceed to write of all the gifts, graces and praise-worthy qualities of this eminent servant of *Christ*.

His care of his Family.

In his publick Ministry his usuall manner was upon occasion to quote the sayings of many of the Fathers, which some taking exceptions at, he thus Apologized for himself, *If any (saith he) take exceptions at my acknowledging of Fathers (as some have taken offence at my using of Reasons to confirm the Doctrine, but with very little Reason as I suppose) I must pray them, to give me leave to use them, till I can see that unlawfulness which they affirm to be in the practice, and to censure me in charity for the use of them, as I do them for not not using them. I will look as well to my heart in the use of them, as God shall enable me; and when I shall see the hurt of them, I will endeavour as much to avoid them. In the mean time I will make as much use as I can of them, to Edifie the Church of God.*

His Apology for quoting the Fathers.

In his younger dayes being called to Preach at *Pauls Crosse*, he dealt somewhat plainly and freely in taxing some abuses in the City in unequall Ratings, whereby the meaner sort were over-burthened, whilst the rich and great ones escaped with more ease. This was ill taken by many of them, who checked him as over-rash for dealing in such matters, calling him a green-head: but in his latter daies being called to preach at the Lord Maiors Election, he fell again upon the same subject, and told them a gray-head spake now what a green-head had done formerly.

His faithfulness in reproving.

But to draw to an end together with his end, The end of his labours, but the beginning of his rest; The end of his work, but receipt of his reward. In the aforementioned and such like employments, publick and private, he spent his time: He spent his strength like a Torch or Taper, wasting and consuming himself for the profit and benefit of others, having his work with God then, and his Reward for it from God afterwards. And for these employments sake was it principally, that he desired recovery of Health and Strength: Unto the performance whereof also (though therein injurious to himself, and contrary to his own desires) he oft strained himself, and that in the midst of his infirmity and weakness, not to uncertain

His last sickness.

hazard only, but to evident impeaching and impairing of either, *What is the sign* (saith *Hzekias*, when he was promised recovery) *that I shall go up to the House of the Lord?* As desiring continuance of Life, and recovery of Health for no one end more than that. And therefore also was it that this worthy man was desirous of Recovery, that he might repair to Gods House again, and that he might return to Gods Work again. To which purpose the very last Lords Day before his disease, having after many relapses recovered a little Strength, he made shift to get out to a Neighbour Congregation, there to joyn with Gods People in publick performance of such solemn Service of God, as that day is usually spent and imployed in. And having held out with them to the end in both parts of the Day, he rejoyced much therein that he was able so to do, the rather because he thereby conceived some good hope, that he should be strong enough ere long to return to his wonted Work and Employment again. But the Lord saw it better (for his will appears by his work) to put an end to his incessant Labours here, and to translate him to the Place of his endless Rest elsewhere, and that upon the twentieth day of *April*, Anno Christi 1626. having been Preacher at *All - Hallows Breadstreet* during the space of thirty two years, where he was an example to his People *in Word, in conversation, in Charity, in Spirit, in Faith, in Purity*. But as one saith, An exact Face is seldom drawn but with much disadvantage; so neither is his Character, so that we may well say as one doth of *Basil*, *There wanted but his own Tongue to commend him with.*

His Death.

1 Tim. 4. 12.

THE



*The Life of Master Richard Rothwel, who dyed*  
*Anno Christi, 1627.*



Richard Rothwel was born in *Lancashire*, at, or near *Bolton* in the *Moors*, about the year of our Lord, 1563. After he took the Ministry upon him, and God gave him another heart, he disposed his temporal estate amongst his friends, and *ex vi Evangelicæ Civ, 1 Cor. 9. 11, 14.* He lived of the Gospel.

His Birth and Education.

His education was in the Schools, and afterward in *Cambridge*; in the one he attained to an exact knowledge of the Tongues, (especially *Greek* and *Hebrew*, wherein he was a Critick) and in the other of the Arts, so that he became a skilful-Linguist, subtil-Disputant, Copious Orator, and of a deep insight into any kind of knowledge, Humane or Divine.

In this first course of his studies appeared presently to his observers, the buds and blossomes of that fame which after he attained unto; for he had a prompt wit, a quick apprehension, a clear understanding, a sound judgement, a ready speech, and a strong memory. All these seldome meet in one man, but did in him very eminently, and were improved by diligent study, which (out of a desire of Learning and knowledge) he continued to his last without weariness.

His natural and acquired parts.

His Constitution of body, and morall endowments of mind, were great props and supporters to his intellectual habits, *Gratior est virtus veniens à corpore pulchro.* This is not the Ordinary Lot of Scholars; He was tall, well set, of great strength of body and activity; of a stern countenance, of invincible courage, of approved valour, and of a very goodly and majestick presence: Grief; nor any misery could ever break him, but joy would presently melt him into tears.

He was of a generous spirit and deportment, yet withall very humble and Courteous; His Language was sententious and proverbial. I have heard many others say, what I must needs my self, *Nunquam illi accedo quin doctior evadam*, I never came to him, but I went the Learner from him. He had a great Dexterity in Communicating his mind to another, and speaking to his understanding; God gave him a great in-let into the hearts of men.

After many years spent in the University, he betook himself to the Ministry, and was ordained *Presbyter* by Doctor *Whitgift*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who forbade him meddling with interpretation of *Moses Types*, the *Book of Canticles*, *Daniel*, and the *Revelation*. Which then he thought himself, as the Bishop did, were not so usefull for him to study as some other Scriptures.

His entering into the Ministry.

But alas! all these natural dispositions, intellectual habits, personal deportments were but as so many weapons in the hands of a mad man: Judge how able he was by these to resist the truth; For he remained some years without any change of heart, or sensible work of grace upon his soul, but preached learnedly as they called it, and lived vainly; abhorring debauchery, and debauched companions,

His course  
of Life be-  
fore his  
Conversion.

nions, through the height of his spirit, but gave himself to hunting, bowlling, shooting, more then became a Minister of the Gospel, and sometimes he would swear *Faith and Troth*, and in his passion greater blasphemies. I have heard him tell that there were two Knights in *Lancashire* fallen out, and a great fewd betwixt them; That the one had a very good Park with store of Deer; That the other had excellent good Fish-ponds, and store of Fish: He robbed the Park of the one, and presented what he got to the other; and the Fish-ponds of the other, and presented the Fish to his Adversary; thus he pleased himself in the daies of his vanity, with such kind of follies. In doing this one night, the Keeper met with him, his Dog having killed a Buck; at the fall of the Buck, the Keeper came in with his sauchion and staff, and met Master *Rothwel* who had a staff also; They fell from words to blows; He got the Keeper down, bound him by the thumbs, and drew him up to his full height, that he could but touch the ground with his toes, and so left him tied to a tree till next morning, where others found him and loosed him. At length God pleased, who separated him from his Mothers womb, as he did Paul, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son in him. Which because it was famous, and he himself afterwards proved the meanes of the Conversion of so many, I shall set it down, as I remember, I have heard him speak it.

The means,  
and manner  
of his Con-  
version.

He was playing at Bowles amongst some *Papists* and vain Gentlemen, upon a *Saturday*, somewhere about *Rachdale*, in *Lancashire*; there comes in to the green to him one Master *Midgley*, a grave and godly Minister of *Rachdale*, whose praise is great in the Gospel, though far inferiour to Master *Rothwel* in parts and learning; he took him aside and fell into a large commendation of him, at length told him what pittie it was, that such a man as he should be a companion for *Papists*, and that upon a *Saturday*, when he should be preparing for the *Sabbath-day*. Master *Rothwel* sleighted his words, and checked him for his meddling.

Power of  
Prayer.

The good old man left him, went home and prayed privately for him; Master *Rothwel* when he was retired from that company, could not rest, Master *Midgley*'s words struck so deep in his thoughts; The next day he went to *Rachdale* Church to hear Master *Midgley*, where it pleased God to blesse that Ordinance so, as Master *Rothwel* was by that Sermon brought home to Christ. He came after Sermon to Master *Midgley*, thanked him for his reproof, and besought his direction and prayers, for he was in a miserable condition of nature; and under the spirit of bondage he lay for a time, till afterwards, and by Master *Midgley*'s hands also he received *The Spirit of Adoption*, wherewith he was so sealed, that he never lost his assurance to his dying. Though he was a man Subject to many Temptations, the Devil assaunting him very much, yet God was mightily with him, that out of his own experience he was able to comfort many. He esteemed and counted Master *Midgley* ever afterward for his Spiritual Father. This makes me think upon *Augustines* speech to God, when he came to hear *Ambrose* preach: *non ut ad Doctorem veni* (but upon another account) *ad eum; per te dusebar nescius, ut ad te per eum sciens ducerer.* So did the Lord by Master *Midgley*'s plain kind of teaching, put forth the evidence of his Spirit upon this mighty and learned Rabbi.

His Faith,  
and Com-  
fort.

Confess. 1. 5.  
c. 13, 14.

His going  
into Ireland.

Whether it was before or after this his Conversion that he went a Soldier, and Chaplain to a Regiment under the Earl of *Essex* into *Ireland*, I know not; but there he was, and did very great things. And certainly wisdom and courage were so eminent in him, that there were few of his Calling his equals, I think none at all his Superiours.

He now becomes another man, forsakes all his wonted courses and companions, preacheth in another manner than formerly, opens the depths of Satan, and deceitfulness of the heart, so as he was called the *Rough Hewer*. He had the power of God that went with his Ministry, when he preached the Law



Law to make men tremble, yea sometimes to cry out in the Church: and when he preached the Gospel, he was another *Barnabas*, and had great skill in comforting afflicted consciences.

The efficacy of his Ministry.

He studied now the point of Non-conformity, which was as the joynt in *Abahs* armour, through which the Prelates hit, and deprived so many godly and able Ministers in those times. In these Controversies he was so well versed, that he satisfied many, and silenced any that disputed with him. He was so fixed in his judgement, that he would never either marry, (expecting daily persecution; and the word he used in all his Books, was *Persecutio pignus futura felicitatis*;) nor take any Benefice, (though divers great livings were proffered him) because he would still say, *My head is too big to get into a Church-door*. But he betook himself first to a Chappel in *Lancashire* as a Lecturer, and afterward (to decline the storm of the Prelates) to be a Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of *Devonshire*, and at that time I first knew him, and came (I beseech God) acquainted with him.

The place of his first employment.

There now ran nothing more in his mind; but why the Bishop should forbid him preaching upon those Scriptures before mentioned; and he began to conceive that there was sure something there, could he find it, which would mightily batter down their *Hierarchy*; He prayed therefore much to God; (wherein he was mighty) and studied them; and God opened those mysterious passages of his Book to him more than to other men; that he seldom preached abroad out of any other Scriptures, and did write an exact Commentary upon *Moses Types*, which he unveiled with very much profit and delight to the Reader: But that Book is lost to the great losse of Gods Church thereby.

The study of the Prophecies.

Learned and godly Master *Cotton* enquired of me whether that or any thing else might not be found amongst his papers after his death: I told him there was little found, but what was in Characters. He prayed me to send him what I could gather, to *Boston*, where men were that were expert in Characters. I did so, but I believe they could make nothing of them. That and some other of his learned and judicious labours he hath lent out, I suppose, and I fear they will not be recovered. Learned men that have seen them, judge them a rare treasure. He had some contests with the Prelates, especially with Bishop *Neal* then of *Litchfield*, afterwards of *Durham*.

His contests with the Bishops.

At length he came to spend most part of his time in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, by means of an honourable and Elect Lady, the Lady *Bowes*, afterwards the Lady *Darcy* in the North. Of whom it was truly preached at her Funeral, (Alas, that it was at her Funeral) *Whosoever this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her*. She gave about one thousand pounds per annum, to maintain Preachers where there were none, nor any means for them, and all her Preachers were silenced, men by reason of Non-conformity: Such as Master *Baynes*, Master *Dike*, &c. She would lay out all her interest to get them their liberty, and then she would dispose of them, where there needed in the North, or in the Peak in *Darbyshire*, or other places, and allow them pensions; O! That God would raise out of the ashes of this *Phoenix* some more such Mothers in *Israel*. Sir *William Bowes* her husband dying, his Funerals were kept at *Bernards-Castle*, where he had some honour: Master *Dike* (Father of the Writers of that name) was then her household Chaplain, and went into the North to that Funeral; at his return he represented the state of the people destitute of a Minister to my Lady, who would have sent him thither; but he told her he durst not venture on so surly a People, but commended Master *Rothwel* to her. She sent to him, then at the Earl of *Devonshires* house, and proffered him this employment; His answer was, he would go thither, and if the people called him, he would then accept of her motion.

Mat. 26. 13.

The Lady Bowes, her great Charity.

At his first dayes labour, they all desired him; he returned to the Lady, and told her he would go; she replied, though for their sakes she was glad, yet she was afraid to send him; understanding that they were of a fierce disposition, and having never heard the Gospel, might deal unkindly with him; he answered, *Madam, if I thought I should never meet the devil there, I would never come there; he and I have been at odds in other places, and I hope we shall not agree there.*

He desired to have me with him, and with much ado prevailed; and so I (blessed God) he not only fitted me for the University, but was a means to bring me to the first saving knowledge of *Christ*; I remember, and shall do ever, the first Sermon and point which God blessed to my soul for that purpose. I was about eight years his bed-fellow and eye witness of the great success he had in his Ministry there, and over all the Countrey, where he was worthily called, *The Apostle of the North*. The Lady allowed him forty pounds *per annum*, and such as God wrought upon by his Ministry contributed to him, but he would not have a penny from any other.

His self-denial.

There was once in his absence collected 30. li. by Sir *Talbot Bowes*, that lived there, from the people; but when he returned and knew it, he caused it to be restored to the Parties, that gave it, and told them, *He sought them, not theirs.*

His patience, and courage.

His carriage amongst his people.

At his first entrance he had great opposition, and sometimes was way-laid to take away his life; but he overcame all that with his patience and courage, and at length his greatest enemies were afraid of him; and few Sermons, but it was believed, he gained some souls.

His manner was to spend the forenoon at his Studies, and the afternoon in going through his Parish, and conferring with his people; in which, as he excelled, so he gained much upon them; and within four years had so many judicious and experimental Christians, that they came from *London, York, Richmond, New-Castle*, and many other places, to see the order of his Congregation: And many lewd Gentlemen came oft, ten or twelve Miles to hear him, to carp and get somewhat to accuse him: Many of which God took hold on, and they returned, some Convinced, and some Converted.

His last sickness.

Not long after, (saith mine Author) I went to the University, and after eight years continuance there, came over into *England* upon some opportunities, and stayed about halfe a year, ere I returned. When I came to *Mansfield* in *Nottingham-shire*, I found him there their Minister, and sick unto the Death; at my coming he revived, and in the strength of that joy so far recovered, that within a week he went about the Town with me to divers places; but relapsed, and engaged me to Preach for him once the next *Sabbath* following, and in the afternoon at *Mansfield Wood-house*, within half a mile of *Mansfield*. On *Fryday* we looked for no life from him, he was almost past his understanding; There came a Vicar of *Mansfield*, one Master *Brittaine* to see him, and desired him now, that he was not like to live, to tell him what he thought of the Ceremonies, he knew he was learned, and therefore would be glad, to be informed by him. Master *Rothwel* either understood not, or minded not what he said, but answered sometimes *Yes*, sometimes *No*, as he apprehended. Master *Brittain* went away telling him he was satisfied, and reported that Master *Rothwel* recanted his judgement of Non-conformity.

He foretels his Death.

The next day [*Saturday*] he had some lightning, and sat up in his chair, and discoursed freely, cheerfully and heavenly all that and the next day; some sent to enquire on the *Sabbath* how he did, he answered, *I am well, and shall be well shortly*; and whispering with me, said, *Do you know my meaning? I shall be with Christ ere long; but do not tell them so.* He caused me to repeat my Sermon preached in the forenoon for him, after which



which, with tears in his eyes he laid his hands on my head, and lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and with a short Prayer blessed me: Then he bad me go to preach at *Manfield Wood-house*, and tarry there all night, (for he had promised it to one Master *Dund* there;) but to be sure to come when he sent for me: This he did next morning about six a clock, when I came I found him in pangs of death, he had not known nor spoken to any in an hour before: The chamber was full, and one was praying for him; after Prayer, I spake to him, he turned about his head, took me by the hand, and bade me pray, pray; I desired a Reverend Minister to go to prayer again; Master Rothwel said, *Pray you, pray you*; I did so: after that he smiled, *Now* (saies he) *I am well: Happy is he that hath not bowed a knee to Baal*: He bad us sing *Psal. 120.* he sang a while, but in the singing of the Psalm he died; *Anno Domini 1627.* and in the year of his age 64.

His Death.

Thus have I given you as true an account as I could of this famous Champion of *Christ*, who notwithstanding his Non-conformity, may be called with *Austin*, *Hereticorum Mollus*, *The Hammer of Hereticks*, and with *Ambrose*, *Orbis terrarum (Anglicarum) oculus*. The eye as bright as any other in the *English Orbe*.

Two things (amongst many others) I think worthy the inserting into his life, which have been omitted in the fore-going story.

The one is a strange sickness and recovery he had once at *Bernards Castle*. His sickness was a *Vertigo capitis*, he would have forty fits at least in an hour, and every one of them accompanied with mischievous temptations, which when the fit was over, he dictated, and I writ down; these held him about three weeks, in which time he had the advice of learned Physicians from *London*, *York*, *New-Castle*, *Durham*, and other places, they all jumped in their judgments, imputing it to much study, fasting, and inward trouble of spirit; their Prescriptions wrought kindly, but removed not his disease: He desired divers Christians to pray for him on a day prefixed, and promised to joyn with them as well as he could, with some others that should be with him, assuring them, *That he was confident that disease would not be removed but by Prayer and Fasting*. The morning of that day he had a fit continued four hours together upon him, and the devil set upon him all that while, with most dreadfull temptations, telling him he would make him the *Idol* of Religion, and every man should reproach it for his sake, that had before by his means looked towards it: That he should never preach more, but should Blaspheme the name of God he had preached, with many like suggestions: God gave him courage, comfort and Victory over them all. The devil told him if he did fast and pray that day, he would torment and hinder him, &c. We met at the time appointed, and Master Rothwel would needs have me to perform the duty, which through Gods goodnesse I did; and the devil was not permitted to hinder or interrupt him or us, and God heard our prayers, so that he had never a fit after that, and the *Sabbath*-sevensnight following he preached, but after many wrestlings with Satan, who told him he would make him mad, and before all the people in the pulpit make him a scorn if he did adventure to preach; Nevertheless his Faith in *Christ* overcame his fear of Satan, and he preached with great assistance and comfort upon that text, *Psal. 116. 9. I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living*, Nevertheless that sickness did so weaken his brain that ever after he was enclining to some infirmities, *Which love must cover*.

His strange sickness, and recovery.

Satans Malice.

The power of prayer.

The other is a relation which I had from himself, and from divers others to whom the story was known, that are yet alive: As well as I can recollect it, it is thus: There was one *John Fox* living about *Nottingham*, who had no more learning then enabled him to write and read: This man was Possessed with a devil, who would violently throw him down, and take

His disposing of the devil.

take away the use of every member of his body, which was turned as black as pitch in those fits, and then spake with an audible voice in him, which seemed sometimes to be heard out of his belly, sometimes out of his throat, and sometimes out of his mouth, his lips not moving. He lay thus (if I mistake not) some years: many prayers were put up to God for him, and great resort, especially of godly Ministers to him: amongst the rest Master Bernard of Batcomb, then of Worktop; and Master Tangle of Truswel, betwixt whom and John Fox, I have seen divers passages in writing, he relating by pen his temptations, and they giving answers when he was stricken dumb.

As Master Rothwel was riding to see him, the Devil told all that were in the House, *Tonder comes Rothwel: but I will make a fool of him before he goes.* The people looked forth, and saw him coming about a quarter of a mile from the house. As soon as he entered the Room, the Devil said, Now Rothwel is come: and as some say spake thus. Rothwel, Thou sayest there is no possession, what thinkest thou now? Here is a man opens not his lips, and yet he speaketh? And after a while he further said:

Devil: *Say nothing to me of this man, for I tell thee he is damned, and he added thereto many fearfull Blasphemies.*

Rothwel: Thou art a lyer, and the father of lies; nor art thou so well acquainted with the mind of God concerning this man, which makes thee thus to torment him, therefore I believe thee not, I believe he shall be saved by Jesus Christ.

Devil: *He is a murderer, and thou knowest no murderer must come into Heaven.*

Rothwel: Thou liest again, for David murdered, and is in Heaven; and the Jews with wicked hands crucified the Lord of Glory, yet both Christ prayed for them, and Peter exhorts them to repentance, that their sins may be blotted out.

Devil: *But this man hath not, cannot, shall not repent.*

Rothwel: If he had not, thou wouldst not have told him so; but if he have not, I believe God will give him repentance, and thou shalt not be able to hinder it.

Devil: *Thou art a murderer thy self, and yet talkest thou thus?*

Rothwel: Thou liest again, I have fought the Lords Battels against his known enemies, the idolatrous and bloody Papiests in Ireland, Rebels to the Queen my Sovereign, by whose authority I bore armes against them; otherwise I have killed no man.

Devil: ( *Sware and blasphemed* ) *Thou didst murder one this day, as thou camest hither, and there is one behind thee will justifie it.*

Rothwel looked over his shoulder, and with that the devil set up a hideous laughter, that nothing could be heard for a great while, and then said:

Devil: *Look you now, did not I tell you I would make Rothwell a Fool? and yet it is true, thou didst Murder one this day; for as thou camest over the Bridge (which he named) there I would have killed thee, and there thy Horse trod upon a Flie and killed it.*

Master Rothwels Horse you must know stumbled there, it seems the Devil had Power to cause it, but without hurt either to Master Rothwel or his Horse.

Rothwel: Thou hast oft beguiled me, I hope God will in time give me Wisdome to discern, and Power to withstand all thy Delusions; and he it is that hath delivered me out of thy Hands, and will I doubt not also deliver this poor man.

The Devil Blasphemed fearfully, quoted many Scriptures out of the old and



## The Life of Master Richard Rothwel.

and New Testament, both in Hebrew and in Greek, cawled and played the Critick, and backed his Allegations with Sayings out of the Fathers and Poets in their own Language, which he readily Quoted, so that the Company Trembled to hear such things from one that understood no Learning, and that moved neither Tongue nor Lip.

Master Rothwel was mightily enabled by God to detect the Devils Sophistry.

Devil: *What stand I talking with thee? All men know thou art BOLD ROTHWEL, and fearest no body, nor carest for words, therefore I will talk to thee no more,* (that name he carried to his grave; They would say, That is he the Devil called BOLD ROTHWEL.)

Rothwel (turning to the People) said, Good People, you see the goodness of our God, and his great Power; though the Devil made a Fool of me now, through my weaknesse, God hath made the Devil dumb now; do you see how he lyeth? Therefore let us go to Prayer; That God who hath made him dumb, will (I doubt not) drive him out of this poor Man.

Devil Raged, Blasphemed, and said, *And wilt thou go to Prayer? If thou do, I will make such a Noise, that thy Prayer shall be distracted, and thou knowest God will not hear a distracted Prayer: But thou hast got a device, because thou wilt not be distracted with thy Eyes in Prayer, thou winkest* (so he always did,) *but if thou Pray, I will pull out thy Eyes.*

Rothwel: I look to find thee as great an Enemy in this Dury now, as I have done heretofore, but I fear not thy Threat, I know thou art limited; God heareth the Prayers of the upright, hath promised to give his Spirit to supply infirmities, therefore in confidence of his Promise, and powerful assistance of his Spirit, and in the Name and Intercession of his Son Jesus Christ we will go to Prayer.

They did so, Mr. Rothwel kneeled by the Bed on which the poor man lay; The Devil for a quarter of an hour together, or more, made a horrid Noise; nevertheless Master Rothwels Voice was louder than the Devils. After a while the Devil Roared at Master Rothwels Face (this was the first motion of any part of the mans Body) Master Rothwel opened his Eyes, mer, and brought down the Hand, which he held with great ease, two men being scarce able to hold the other hand: Prayer was still continued; at length the Devil lay silent in the man, and after that departed from him. The man fetcht divers deep sighs, insomuch as they thought he had been expiring, but his Colour returned to him, and the use of all his Members, Senses, and Understanding; and at the next Petition, he said (to the Glory of God, and amazement, but comfort of all the company,) AMEN: and so continued to repeat his Amen to every Petition: Prayer was now turned into Thanksgiving, and so concluded. After Prayer, John Fox said, Good Master Rothwel, leave me not, I shall not live long; for the Devil tells me he will Choak me with the first bit of Meat that I eat. Master Rothwel answered, *Wilt thou believe the Devil that seeks thy Destruction, before thou wilt trust in God through Jesus Christ, that seeks thy Salvation? Hath not God by his Almighty Power dispossed him? Had he had his will, thou hadst been in Hell before now; but he is a Liar, and as he is not able to hinder thy Souls Life, so neither shall he be able to destroy the Life of thy Body. Wherefore get me something ready* (saith he) *for him, and I will see him eat before I go, and will crave a Blessing upon it.*

When it was brought, eat saith Master Rothwel, and fear not the Devil, shewing him that he might do it in faith of that Ordinance by which God appoints meat for means to preserve Life, and urged that place of *Marcs* Daughter restored to Life: He Commanded to give her Meat, Luk. 8. 35. With much ado, and in great trembling at last, he took, and eat it. Look, (saies Master Rothwel) you all see the Devil is a Liar, the first bit hath

*Chocked him, nor shall the rest.* Master Rothwell left him, after which he was stricken Dumb for three years together. I had a Book written with his own hand, of the Temptations the Devil haunted him with afterwards, and the Answers divers godly and Reverend Ministers gave to those Temptations: But the Cavaliers got them, and all my Books and Writings.

Thus the poor man remained Tempted, but no longer possessed; At length by Prayer also (which was instantly put up to God for him, every Sabbath and Lecture Day, in many places,) the Lord opened his Mouth, and restored his Speech to him: one using this Petition, *Lord open thou his Mouth that his Lips may show forth thy Praise.* He answered in the Congregation, *Amen:* and so continued to speak, and spake graciously to his dying Day.

*This Life was drawn up by my reverend Friend Master Stanly Gower of Dorchester.*

THE





**D<sup>r</sup> PRESTON**

*The Life of Doctor Preston, who dyed*  
**Anno Christi 1628.**



**J**ohn Preston, the Son of *Thomas and Alice Preston*, was born at *Heyford* in *Northamptonshire*, a town divided by a little River into the upper and lower *Heyfords*, and is in Maps oft written in the plural number. It is a Rectory, and hath a fair Church in the lower *Heyfords*, but yet stands in divers Parishes. That Farme wherein Master *Thomas Preston* lived, is in *Bugbrook* Parish, where they buried and Baptized, where we find that *John* the Son of *Thomas Preston* was baptized *Octob. 27. 1587.* but was descended from that Family of the *Prestons* that lived at *Preston* in *Lancashire*, from whence his great Grandfather removed upon occasion of a fatall quarrel with one *Mr. Bradshaw*, a neighbour Gentleman, whom in his own defence he slew, and satisfied the Law and was acquitted for it; but not the Kindred, who waited an opportunity to be revenged, as the manner in those Northern Countries then was.

It fell out not long after, that Master *Bradshaw*'s next brother meets Master *Preston* near to the place where he had slain his Brother and told him he should do as much for him, or he would revenge his Brothers blood. Master *Preston* told him he had slain his Brother against his will, and in his own defence that he

bare no evil will unto them; desired him he would forbear, but when nothing would prevail, they fought, and *Bradshaw* fell again.

But Master *Preston*, was troubled and grieved at it, for he saw a fire was kindled that would not easily be quenched, and therefore resolved that he would leave that fatal and unlucky Countrey, though he was a Gentleman of a very fair estate; and walking one day pensive in *Westminster-Hall*, one Master *Morgan* of *Heyford*, with whom he was acquainted, came unto him, and asked why he was so sad? To whom for answer, he relates the former story. Master *Morgan* knowing him to be a gallant man, was very sensible of his estate, and told him if he would go with him to *Heyford*, he should have a good Farm to live in for the present, and what accommodation he could afford him. Master *Preston* thanked him, and after some consideration of the matter, resolved to take his offer, and so Master *Preston* of *Preston* in *Lancashire*, became a kind of Farmer in *Northamptonshire*, where he afterwards lived and died; and his Son succeeded him, and so it came to *Thomas Preston*, as we have said.

His Education.

His going to Cambridge.

His Mothers name before she married, was *Marsh*, but she had an Uncle by the Mothers side, whose name was *Craswel*, a man of means and good esteem in *Northampton* where he lived, and where he had been several times Mayor. This Uncle being rich, and having no Child, was very carefull of her, and took this Son, whilst he was young unto himself, and sent him to the Free-School in *Northampton*, where he was a Scholar under the Government of Master *Sanderson*, then Master of the School, and after under Master *Wastel*, who succeeded him; and when he had been there some time, his Uncle was perswaded to remove him into *Bedfordshire*, unto one Master *Guest*, who had sometime taught a private School in *Northampton*, and was accounted a better teacher of the *Greek* tongue, from whence after he had perfected his Studies in the *Greek*, he was sent to *Cambridge*, and admitted of *Kings Colledge*, under the tuition of Master *Busse*, one of the Fellows, *Anno Dom. 1684.* where he did, as young Scholars use to do, that is, applied himself to that which was the *genius* of the Colledge, and that was musick; and finding that the *Theory* was short and soon attained, he made account the practice would also be so; and accordingly adventured on the Noblest but hardest Instrument, the Lute, but here he found that Art was long, and was not willing to attend it; he used to say within himself, while he was fingering of his Instrument, *quantum hoc tempore legi potuit?* and whilst his fingers were thus distempered and foundred upon the Lute, it fell out that his Tutor, Master *Busse*, was chosen Master of the School at *Eaton*, and so removed from the Colledge about two years after he was admitted. Coming not from *Eaton* School, but from another, he could not be of the foundation, and was therefore incapable of those preferments in the Colledge that were of most worth, and the sooner perswaded also for to remove, which he did unto *Queens Colledge*, where he was received and admitted under the tuition of Master *Oliver Bowles*, one of the Fellows of that House, a very godly learned man, and a noted and carefull Tutor, under whose Government he settled to his Book and left his Musick, and by whose conduct and directions he grew in knowledge, and was improved unto very thriving and undertakings in his Studies.

His remove to Queens Colledge.

It is not nothing to be well descended, *series creantur fortibus & bonis*, *sheep* and *Neat* bred in *Lancashire*, or on the *Peak-hills*, and after driven into *Northamptonshire*, and planted there, produce a very gallant race. These *Prestons* though removed from their native soil, and much impaired in their *pedigree* retained yet the garb and metal of their Ancestors, they carried themselves and were accounted Gentleman; something there was in this young *Prestons* spirit that was not vulgar; I have seen in a Book of his, under his own hand when he was young, such sparklings of aspiring ingenuity, as argued in him something that was not common. He



He was as yet but *Junior Sophister*, but looked high, and grew acquainted with those that were Gentle, and fancied state affairs and Courtship, that had desires or dispositions to be Secretaries or Agents in princes Courts; thought it below him to be a Minister, and the study of Divinity—a kind of honest silliness, and accordingly got in with a Merchant, by whose means he did procure that he should live in *Paris*, and learn the language and garb of *France*; and another Gentleman in recompence, should be received and entertained in *London*, to learn our garb and language. Master *Creswel* of *Northampton* was by this time dead, and had bequeathed certain Lands in that Town to him after his Wives decease; These Lands he sold to put himself into a posture fit for that design; but here he now began to find that he had reckoned without his Host, and that he should have said, *if the Lord will I shall live and do this or that*, *Jam. 4. 15.* for the Merchant dies before the exchange could be accomplished, and so these blooming hopes, that had thus long held up his imagination, died with the Merchant.

He was of an able, firm, well-tempered constitution, brown, comely *His Character*, vigorous and vivide eye, but somewhat inclining to that kind of *Ser.* melancholly that ariseth from addust and parched choler, which now began a little to be discovered in him. For being mated in his first design, he grew discouraged, went not so much abroad among the Gallants, but struck sail to fortune and retired; yet his appetite was rather dammed than dried up; for after a very little pause and boyling over of his sullenness, he begins to steer again the same course, although by more certain and domestic *mediums*, and if he must be shut up and confined to the *Muses*, resolves to be no ordinary Servant to them; His *genius* led him unto natural *Philosophy*, which by that time was become his proper task; which he undertakes, not as boyes use to do, to serve their present use, but with devotion, resolves to leave no secret unattempted; adoreth *Aristotle* as his *Tutelar* Saint, and had a happiness to enter often where others stuck, and what broke others teeth, was nuts to him, no dark untrodden path in all his *Physicks* or *Metaphysicks*, but he was perfect in it; and so drowned and devored was he, that he seldom or never could be seen abroad, to the wonder and amazement of his former brave companions, so that no time passed, *fine linea*, not that between the ringing and rolling of the Bell to meals; and for his sleep he made it short; and whereas notwithstanding all endeavours, there was one in the Colledge that would alwaies be up before him, he would let the bed-cloths hang down, so that in the night they might fall off, and so the cold awaken him; insomuch that his Tutor was constrained to read unto him moderation, and to tell him, as their might be intemperance in meats and drinks, so also there might be in studies; but the evil of it as yet he felt not, the sweet and good he did, came off with honour and applause in all his acts, and was admired in the *Regent House* when he sate for his degree, both by the *Posers* and all the Masters that examined him, and from that time much observed throughout the University. *His study*

About this time his Tutor [Master *Bowles*,] was called to the Rectory of *Sutton* in *Bedfordshire*, and so left the Colledge, and another of the Fellows, then Master, (afterward) Doctor *Parier* became his Tutor, a very learned man and great *Philosopher*, who never went about for to dissuade him from his studies, but gave him all assistance and encouragement. The year following it came unto his Tutor to be Head Lecturer in the Colledge, and Sir *Preston* being to probleme in the Chappel, made such an accurate and strong position, and answered so understandingly, that his Tutor borrowed his position of him, when he had done, to look on and peruse, and finding it elaborate, resolved to make more use of it, than ever his pupil did intend. *The*

He is chosen Fellow.

The Master of the Colledge at that time was Doctor Tyndal, who was also Dean of Ely and resided for the most part there; Thither his Tutor goes, and carries his position with him, which he shewed to the Master, and acquainted him with what he had observed, that he was a youth of parts and worth, and deserved some encouragement; The Master was an honest gallant man, and loved a Scholar, and was glad of any opportunity to shew it, and so bids his Tutor send Sir Preston over unto Ely to him, where he assured him, he should not want what was in him to do him good; and bad him hold on, and he would take care for him: and there being an Election in the Colledge, soon after he was chosen Fellow by the unanimous consent of Master and Fellows, and his Tutor, Master Porter, brought him word of it, as he was at study, not thinking any thing, and told him that he must come down into the Chappel presently to be admitted, and accordingly was admitted Fellow of *Queens Colledge in Cambridge Anno Dom. 1609.* That is, five years after his first admission into the University: He was not so much moved at it, as young Students use to be, because he looked still at higher things, and had not quit in his retired thoughts his first design of being some body at Court, to which he thought this honour might be a bar: This courtesie was not *compes* to him, yet it was not manners to be discontented, but attend what should en-  
sue.

He studies Physick.

He was by this time grown a Master in *Philosophy*, had waded far in *Aristotle*, and had met with few that were able to encounter him, and therefore now resolves to go another while to School to *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, and verifie what is so often said, *ubi desinit Philosophus, incipit medicus*; He had a very penetrating wit, and exact and solid judgment, to conjecture at effects in causes, and prognosticate events; and being skilfull in *Philosophy* before, soon made the *Theory* his own, but because *perfectio scientiarum est in summitate*, the life and vigour of a science is in the practice, he resolves to make enquiry after that. Books make not men Practitioners in any Art, *Nemo ex libris evasit artifex*, he retires unto a friend of his in *Kent*, who was very famous for his practice, where he earnestly attended and waited on the trade and way of knowing Simples, and compounding Medicines, wherein he attained to that sufficiency, that had Divinity failed, he might have been another *Butler*; yet what he had was not in vain; for when any of his Pupils were amisse, though he sent them alwaies unto *Physicians*, yet himself perused, and many times corrected their Prescriptions.

He study of Astrology.

It was not easie to allay his eager, and unsatisfied appetite and apprehension with any one art, *Eccl. 5. 10.* He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver. *Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia Crescit.* The more you put into the soul, the wider presently it reacheth. He thought he could not be a good *Physician*, that could not read the powers of the Herbs and Plants in Stars and Planets, and therefore acquaints himself with *Ptolomy*, and other Authors in *Astrology*, and other curious Arts and *Calculations*, as they are called, *Ast. 19. 19.* that he might be able to study, not only Books; but Men, and to read mens fortunes in the heavenly bodies; but he could not, nor did not read his own.

There was a Soothsayer that told *Agathocles* he should be slain the next Moneth: Who asked, How long he thought he should live after him? He Answered, Many Years. He told him he would prove one of the two false, and leave the other to the Issue, and so commanded for to hang him presently. Master Preston was very busie among the Houses of the Planets, but saw not there his own Domestick Doom, nor what his Maker had determined concerning him; For as he was in these celestial Contemplations, it fell out, that Master Cotton, then Fellow of *Emanuel Colledge*, Preached in Saint  
Marries,



*Maries*, where Master *Preston* hearing him, was set about an other exercise, constrained from his Contemplations in *Astronomy*, to look into himself, and consider what might possibly befall him. It was his manner, as it is of other Students, when they come home from Saint *Maries* Sermons, to run unto their Studies presently, or what is worse, but this young Student was forced to retire and ruminate: This Sermon had bereaved him of two beloved Notions, one was his low Opinion of the Ministry and Preaching; For he saw an over-ruling gravity and Majesty in that Sermon, that he thought had been impossible to Pulpits. I have heard it often in the Colledge, that he took away sixteen Answers in a Probleme in the Chappel; but here was one he knew not how to take away: *Sed haec lateri lethalis arundo*, no cunning in *Philosophy*, or skil in *Physick* would suffice to heal this Wound. Another was his great Opinion of, and Ambition after State-employments; For these were higher things that now were offered to him, concernments of eternal influence, which nothing could divert that he had studied hitherto; There have been divets eminent and great *Physicians* that began in meddling with their own Infirmities. Self-love rides alwaies on the fore-horse. His own Accounts and Aking Conscience, set *Luther* first upon the study of Divinity.

Master *Preston* after this Affront and baffle in the Pulpit, wanted ease, and when he could not find it in his other Books and Studies, begins a little to look into the Bible, and to consider of the study of Divinity. In the prosecution of his study in *Philosophy*, he found many of the Schoolmen quoted, and so was willing for to look a little into them, and finding those he light on, pithy and sententious, went on: It gave him ease, that he was now a student in Divinity, and had left *Albumasar* and *Guido*, and such high-flown speculations, yet it pleased him for to see and find his Master *Aristotle*, so often quoted, and in such request among them, and thought if that were to be a Preacher, he might adventure well enough upon it, and so was drawn on very far in the study of the School-Divines. I have heard him say, There was nothing that ever *Scotus* or *Occam* wrote, but he had weighed and examined; He delighted much to read them in the first and oldest Editions that could be got. I have still a *Scotus* in a very old Print, and a paper not inferiour to Parchment, that hath his hand, and Notes upon it throughout; yet he continued longer in *Aquinas*, whose Sums he would sometimes read as the Barbar cut his Hair, and when it fell upon the place he read, he would not lay down his Book but blow it off, and in this Tune he continued, until a Rumour came into the University that the King would shortly come to visit them. King *James* was happier in his Education, than his Mother would have had him. It pleased God to breed a *Buchanan* on purpose, for to guide his younger years, and by that time he was Ripe, *Scotland* was grown acquainted with *Geneva*, and the King no stranger unto *Calvins* way. The News awakned all the University, and there were few but promised to themselves some good from this fair gale, that seeing *Promotion* came neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South, *Psal.* 75. 6. it must and would come from the North; and the Proverb be inverted, and be, *Omnia bonum ab Aquilone*.

Doctor *Harsnet*, Master of *Pembroke-Hall* was then Vice-Chancellor, a prudent well-adviced Governour, who knowing well the critical and able apprehension of the King, was very careful and solicitous to pitch upon the ablest in every faculty, for Actors in that solemn entertainment, and himself made choice of Master *Preston* to answer the *Philosophy* A&Q, and sent unto him to provide himself. He was ambitious enough by Nature, and had this News come a little sooner, nothing had been more suitable to his design and inclination. But now the Gentleman was Planet struck, grown

dull and Phlegmatick; Master *Cottons* Sermon had so invaded him, that Kings and Courts were no such great things with him, especially when he understood that another was resolved on for Answerer.

He is chosen to oppose before the King.

Doctor *Wren* was then a very pregnant Scholar in *Pembroke-Hall*, and also Chaplain unto Bishop *Andrews*, and thought fit to be employed in this Commencement service, but was not willing to have any other place but Answerer: The Vice-Chancellour urged his Promise and engagement unto Master *Preston*, and his Opinion of his great Ability, but nothing would serve. The Vice-Chancellors Colledge, and the Bishops Chaplain must have Precedency, which he most seriously excused to Master *Preston*, and endeavoured to reconcile him to the first opponents place, which he declined, as being too obnoxious unto the Answerer, who is indeed the Lord and Ruler of the Act; but there was no removing now, and so he goes about it with much unwillingness, being rather driven than drawn unto it.

His great and first Care was to bring his Argument unto a head, without Affronts or Interruptions from the Answerer, and so made all his Major Propositions plausible and firm, that his Adversary might neither be willing nor able to enter there, and the *Minor* still was backed by other *Syllogismes*, and so the Argument went on unto the Issue: Which fell out well for Master *Preston*; for in Disputations of Consequence, the Answerers are many times so fearful of the event, that they slur and trouble the opponents all they can, and deny things evident, which had been the case in all the former Acts; there was such wrangling about their *Syllogismes*, that sullied and clouded the Debates extreamly, and put the Kings *acumen* into straits; but when Master *Preston* still cleared his way, and nothing was denied, but what was ready to be proved, the King was greatly satisfied, and gave good heed, which he might well do, because the question was tempered and fitted unto his content; namely, *Whether Dogs could make Syllogismes*.

The opponent urged that they could; An *Enthimeme* (said he) is a lawful and real *Syllogisme*, but Dogs can make them; He instanced in an Hound who had the major Proposition in his mind, namely, *The Hare is gon either this or that way*; smels out the *minor* with his Nose; namely, *She is not gon that way*, and follows the Conclusion, *Ergo this way with open mouth*. The instance suited with the Auditory, and was applauded, and put the Answerer to his distinctions, that Dogs might have *sagacity*, but not *sapience*, in things especially of Prey, and that did concern their Belly, might be *nasutus*, but not *logici*; had much in their Mouthes, little in their Minds, unless it had relation to their Mouths; That their lips were larger than their Understandings: Which the opponent, still endeavouring to wipe off with another *Syllogisme*, and put the Dogs upon a fresh scent, the Moderator [Dr. *Reade*] began to be afraid, and to think how troublesome a pack of Hounds, well followed and Applauded, at last might prove, and so came in into the Answerers aid, and told the Opponent that his Dogs, he did believe, were very weary, and desired him to take them off, and start some other Argument, and when the opponent would not yield, but hallooed still and put them on, he interposed his Authority and silenced him. The King in his conceit was all the while upon *New-Market Heath*, and liked the Sport, and therefore stands up, and tells the Moderator plainly he was not satisfied in all that had been answered, but did believe an Hound had more in him than was imagined. I had my self (said he) a Dog, that stragling far from all his fellows, had light upon a very fresh scent, but considering he was all alone, and had none to second and assist him in it, observes the place and goes away unto his fellows, and by such yelling Arguments as they best understand, prevailed with a party of them to go along with him, and bringing them



The Opponent also desired leave to pursue the Kings Game, which he had started, unto an Issue, but the Answerer protested that his Majesties Dogs were always to be excepted, who hunted not by common Law, but by Prerogative. And the Moderator fearing the King might let loose another of his Hounds, and make more work, applies himself with all submissive Devotion to the King, acknowledged his Dogs were able to out-do him, besought his Majesty for to believe they had the better, That he would consider how his illustrious influence had already ripened and concocted, all their Arguments and Understandings; that whereas in the morning the Reverend and Grave Divines could not make *Syllogismes*, the *Lawyers* could not, nor the *Physicians*; now every Dog could, especially his Majesties.

He was reserved naturally, and could keep counsel; few knew how Master Cottons Sermon had affected and wrought upon him. But this not failing when the wind blew, begat suspicion. Some judged he was modest, and wanted opportunity to bring him on; some that he was melancholy, and so neglected what was proper for him to intend; some busie and intent upon his Pupils, who now began to come from all parts. But the Politicians assured, it was some inclination unto *Puritanisme*, a name now odious at Court; For it could not be, (said they) that he should let so fair an opportunity miscarry, if he had not something else in view. Kings think themselves extreemly undervalued, if a word be not enough; Cardinal *Poole* being chosen *Pope* at midnight by the *Conclave*, and sent unto, to come and be admitted, desired it might be let alone untill the morning, because it was not a work of darknesse. An honest Argument, but not *Italian* enough; *Quis nisi mentis inops?* And so they went back and chose another. When *Balaam* came not at the first call, see how *Balak* reasons, *Numb. 22. 37. Am I not able to promote thee?* But Master *Preston* had indeed another King in his thoughts, when he had found treasure in the field, he parts with all for that, *Mat. 13. 44.* A purchase is not worth the having, that hath not either some convenience annexed, or may not some way be improved. God was a greater good than man, Heaven than earth, a Crown of Glory than a

His many  
Pupils.

Crown of Gold. But this neglect and self-denial, was well interpreted by good men, and that opinion of affecting *Puritanes*, which blasted him at Court, began to blazon him at home, and work a reputation, that to him was more acceptable. Men thought him meet for to be trusted with the care of youth; and many had their eyes upon him, for their Sons or Friends. Master *Morgan* of *Heyfords*, had been some-time dead, and had left his Son and heir an Orphan, in trust with some that were his Kinsmen, and like to manage his estate to most advantage. This Master *Morgan's* Son, under whose shadow these *Prestons* had for some time lived, was by his *Guardians* now commended to his care; not only for that relation he had to *Heyfords*, his native Town, and to the Family, but also that by that means the young Gentleman might be preserved from the influence of his other Friends, who were many of them *Popish*. King *James* had been so well pleased at the Commencement held before him lately, that he resolves upon another visit. The Heads agree to entertain him with a Comedy. There was one *Buggles* of *Clare-hall*, that had made a jeering Comedy against the Lawyers called *Ignoramus*. This was resolved on for to be acted before the King, and great care was taken for to furnish and accommodate all parts, with Actors answerable. Master *Morgan* was a comely modest Gentleman, and it was believed would well become a womans dresse, and accordingly his Tutor [Master *Preston* sent to,] that he would give way and all encouragement unto the service. He liked not the motion, could not believe that his Friends intended he should be a Player, and so desired to be excused. But the *Guardians* were not so exact and scrupulous, but thought if he played this Game well, he might win more than could be hoped for elsewhere; and so Master *Morgan* was allowed by his *Guardians* to play his part, and afterward removed unto *Oxford*, and suffered to play what part he would, and so relapsed unto *Popery*, which hath proved fatal and infortunate to him and his.

His Zeal.

But here was matter for Master *Preston's* back Friends, to argue he was not a Courtier, that would envy so small a courtesie to those, that had so freely offered greater unto him; and it was resented with a kind of angry indignation, that their offers had so little influence upon him; and there were some that watched opportunities to make him sensible of this neglect. There is no such *Solacisme* at Court as Independency. *Si non vis ut per illos tibi bene sit, efficiens ut sit male.* But Master *Preston* by this time had cast up all accounts, and resolved to stand unto his bargain whatsoever it cost him. Only he thought if he must be a *Puritan*, and bid farewell to all his Carnal and Court-designes, He would not be one of the Lower rank, but would get places if he could. *Mediocribus esse Poetis, non dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ.* That counsell of the Wise man, *Ecl. 9. 10. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might,* he alwaies practised. And what is commonly said, was true in him. *In magnis ingentiis nihil mediocre.* This faithfulness to Master *Morgan*, attended with so great a shadow upon himself, increased his Reputation in the Countrey, so that now he was accounted the only Tutor; and being carefull to read unto them, and direct their studies, he found himself abridged of his own time, and was constrained to take up time, that should have been bestowed on his body. He also grew acquainted now with many eminent and godly Ministers, as Master *Dod*, and Master *Hilderham*, who would come often to his Chamber, and he was so hardened in his way, that he would get them many times to go to Prayer with his Pupils, a boldnesse not adventured on by any other: But by these labours his able body was debilitated. It was a great Orator that said, *Primo desii velle causas agere, deinde desii posse.* At first, said he, I would not plead, at last I could not. Master *Preston* in his youth would not sleep, but let the bed-clothes hang down, and awaken him: Now he could not, but about midnight still awakened, and slept no more; whereby in time his body languished, and could not answer as in former times.

His diligence.

Master



Master Butler of *Clare-hall*, was then the Oracle in *Physick*, to him he goes, and opens his condition to him; who after some few questions bids him take Tobacco, and so leaves him. He knew that Butler was odd and humorous, and thought he might give this advice to try him, and therefore resolves to wait a while before he medled with so odde a Medicine, which Hippocrates and Galen had never ordained to any of their Patients, and was at that time not so common, and of no good report; but his want of rest continuing, and his appetite unto his Book encreasing, he goes again to Master Butler, as a stranger, and propounds the case again. Master Butler gives the same advice, and being satisfied that he was serious now, falls to taking of it, and found that this hot copious fume ascending, did draw those crudities from the stomacks mouth, that hindered Concoction of his meat, and vapours from it that occasion sleep, and so restored his rest, and that in time his strength, and so he went on in his work, untill Doctor Tyndal [Master of the Colledge] died. He was an old man, and that preferment of the Mastership of *Queens*, was more accounted of than now it is. There were very many that had their eyes upon it, but Doctor Mountain in a special manner, who was often heard for to professe, he would rather be Master of that Colledge than Dean of *Westminster*. But Master Preston had another in his eye, Doctor Davenant, was a Gentleman descended, and was a Fellow-Commoner, when under Graduate, but very painfull, and of great capacity, and grew accordingly in learning and in reputation, and for his worth and parts was already chosen *Margaret* Professour, and read in the Schools with much applause those excellent Lectures upon the *Colossians* which now are printed; Him Master Preston pitched upon, but knew it must be carried very privately; for the mountain was already grown into some bignesse, was one of parts, and first observed in acting *Miles gloriosus* in the Colledge, and had been Chaplain unto the Earl of *Essex*, but like the *Heliotrope* or flower of the Sun, did now adore Sir Robert Carr, already Viscount *Rochester*, the only Favourite.

When it was agreed among the *Persians*, that he should reigne, whose horse first saw the rising Sun, and neighed at it, one turned his horse head towards the mountains, believing that the Sun would first arise there; but it fell not out so here. Master Preston having laid his plot before-hand, and seen what mountain was in his way, had taken care that word should be daily brought him how the old Doctor did, and when he found him irrecoverable, laid horses and all things ready; and upon notice of his being dead, goes presently and was at *London*, and in *White-Hall* before any light appeared on the mountain top; the Court was quiet, and he had some Friends there. His businesse only was to get a free Election, which he made means for to procure: But knowing also with whom he had to do, makes some addresses unto Viscount *Rochester*, in the behalf of Doctor Davenant, who being unacquainted with his Chaplains appetite to that particular, was fair and willing to befriend a learned enterprise. So Master Preston returns unto the Colledge before the Masters death was much took notice of; and assembling Doctor Davenants Friends, acquaints them with what had past at Court, and so they went immediately to Election, and it was easily and fairly carried for Doctor Davenant, who being called, was admitted presently. But when Doctor Mountain understood that Doctor Tyndal was departed, he sends and goes to Court and Colledge for to make friends: But alas the Game was played, and he was shut out. Never did *Aena* or *Psuvius* more fume, but there was no cure; only he threatens and takes on against the Actors, but they were innocent and not obnoxious. This Doctor had made great promises, gave a very goodly piece of Plate unto the Colledge with this Inscription, *Sic incipio*, but now he vowed it should be *Sic desino*. However the Colledge for the present was well paid, and grew in

reputation very much; and because they wanted room to entertain the numbers that flocked to them, built that goddly Fabrick that contains many fair Lodgings both for Schollars and Fellows, towards *Kings Colledge*.

It was not long before it came to Master *Prestons* course for to be Dean and Catechist, which he resolved to improve by going through a Body of Divinity, that might be a guide unto the Schollars in their Studies in Divinity: For it was not his opinion that others should do as he had done, that is, peruse the Schoolmen first, and then come to the modern Writers; but first, read *Summes* and *systemes* in Divinity, and settle their opinions and judgements, and then read Fathers, Schoolmen, or what they had a mind to. This being known, and some honest Townsmen hearing him at first by chance, there came the next day, very many for to hear him, and the next day more, both Townsmen and Schollars from other Colledges, so that the outward Chappel would be often full before the Fellows came. Master *Preston* was of a very meek and quiet spirit, never refented injuries, nor provoked any unto avernesse, yet had some enemies: *Si injuria multos tibi fecit inimicos, faciet invidia multos*. What had *Paul* done, *Act. 13. 45.* for to deserve so sharp an opposition, but envy moved them: There had been other Deans and Catechists before this Gentleman, yet no such crowding. Complaint was made to the Vice Chancellour of this unusual kind of Catechizing, it was assured, not only that Townsmen and Scholars mingled, but other Colledges intruded also, that the Fellows for the crowd and multitude could not get through, and come to Chappel to their places; that it was not safe for any man to be thus adored, and doted on, unlesse they had a mind to cry up *Puritanisme*, which would in short time pull them down; that the *Crozier staff* would not support them long, if such Assemblies were encouraged: *Obsta principiis, sero medicina paratur, &c.*

Well, upon the whole an Order was agreed on in the Consistory, and sent unto the Colledge, that the Scholars and Townsmen should be confined to their proper preachers, that no stranger, neither Townsman nor Scholar, should presume on any pretence whatsoever, to come unto those Lectures, that were proper only to the Members of the Colledge. The Edict was observed punctually, and the Auditory by it much impaired. Had strangers still been suffered to attend, those Sermons had been printed as well as others: for there were divers that exactly noted, and wrote out all fair, unto the time of this restraint, but no one after that could go on with it, and so it rests. But he went on, and was assiduous to the years end, and waded through it, which was a very great help unto many of his Pupils, who made the greater benefit of those things because they were not common and in print.

About that time the Lecture at *Trinity-Church*, and the Sermons at *Saint Andrews* were prohibited, and the Scholars all confined to *Saint Maries*, which did occasion Master *Preston* to read Divinity unto his pupils on the *Lords days*, at three of the clock in the afternoon, which he also often did upon the week days; But the Townsmen and the Scholars of other Colledges, that had tasted of his spirit in the Chappel, endeavoured that he would do it where they might hear. *Buttolphs* belongs unto *Queens Colledge*, and is usually supplied by one of that House, there he is willing to make a tryal, how it would take, and resolves the next *Lords day* to preach at three of the clock after *Saint Maries* Sermons should be ended, which though but very little known, occasioned such a throng and crowd, as was incredible. Men were not cloyed with preaching then, nor waxed wanton.

There dwelt then in the Parish one Doctor *Newcombe*, a Civilian, and Commissary to the Chancellour of *Ely*, who being in the Church, and seeing



ing the crowd, commanded that evening Prayer only should be read, but no Sermon; The Minister intreated that for that time Master *Preston* might be allowed to preach; so did the Earl of *Lincoln* and others in the Church; but he was resolute, and because he would not be further importuned, went home with all his Family, and left them to determine at their perill what they would do; so upon advice it was concluded that the Sermon should go on, and Master *Preston* preached a very favoury and holy Sermon, upon 2 *Pet.* 3. 17, 18. There was so much time spent in debates about it, and messages before the Commissary left the Congregation, that it was too late to do both, and therefore they adventured for that time to forbear Common-prayer, that so the Scholars might depart, and be at Colledge-Prayers. But this instructed Doctor *Newcomb* in his complaint. The Court was then near hand, that is, at *New-market*; Thither the Commissary goes the next day, and having the Bishop of *Ely* there, and many other Clergy men, assures them that Master *Preston* was in heart, and would quickly be in practice a Non-conformist, and was so followed and adored in the University, that unlesse some speedy course were taken with him, they might cast their caps at all Conformity, and see their power troden underfoot, and told them, gentleness was not the way, for he was cunning, and would recover all if he were not seriously and throughly dealt with.

There was no Advocate for Master *Preston*, but the Doctor being first in his own cause, seemed just, *Prov.* 18. 17. *And speak to those that were willing to believe.* The Puritans began to be considerable, and they doubted he might come in time to head them. It's a great security to a man to be despised: *Contempto nullus diligentius nocet.* A Fellow that hath nothing in him, nor is not owned, may be exorbitant, as he of one in his time: *Contemptu jam liber erat.* But *David* that hath a Party following him, must have an Army to attend him. And therefore he did wisely to Professe himself to be a dead dog or a flea, 1 *Sam.* 24. 14. The King was made acquainted with this complaint, and assured that Master *Preston* had as strong an influence into the Puritans as the Principal of the *Jesuites*, which was *Aqua Viva*, had upon them, and therefore it behoved him to consider what to do. A word was enough to a wise and jealous King, who did not love to play an after Game, and therefore hears himself the Doctors information; enquires whether the Bishops and Chancellors Jurisdiction extended unto Members of a Colledge, and finally concludes to Proceed against him by the power of the University.

A Letter is framed unto Doctor *Scot*, Master of *Clare-hall*, Vice-Chancellour at that time, and to the Heads, to call before them Master *Preston*, to give a strict account of that notorious disobedience unto the Commissary; He answers mildly, that he was not guilty; refers himself unto the Auditory, that evening prayer was omitted; because the Scholars might depart in due time, seeing the time allotted for it, was spent in treating with the Commissary, not out of any disrespect unto the service, which he himself did usually attend at other times. When the Wolf complained that the Lamb had fouled the water, that he was to drink; The Lamb answered that if he had defiled it, yet that could not prejudice the Wolf who was above, and the mud would certainly be carried downward; but this answer did not fill the hungry belly of the Wolf. Master *Prestons* innocency did aggravate his crime, which was his popularity, and therefore they told him they were engaged to support by all just means the Bishops Jurisdiction: That the King had honoured him, in leaving that affront to be examined by his proper Judges, and that except he could take off the Court, they must and would proceed to a very round and serious censure.

*Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso  
Quidve dolens regina deum, tot volvere casus,  
Insignem Pietate virum, tot adire labores  
Impulerit? Tantane animis caelestibus ira?*

That a Fellow of a Colledge for Preaching of an innocent and honest Sermon, in a Church belonging to the Colledge, by the consent and in the hearing of the Incumbent, should be thus vigorously undertaken.

Among many other Gentlemen of quality, that were pupils unto Master Preston at this time, there was one Sir Capel Bedels, an Orphan, of a very fair estate in Huntingtonshire, a Daughters Sonne of old Sir Arthur Capel, who being Guardian to his Grand-child, had recommended him as he had done many of his own Sons unto his Government. It was a great trust, and Master Prestons care was answerable. And because *plus vident oculi*, he had his spies, that gave him notice of all their carriages and correspondencies; by one of these he was informed that Sir Capel haunted Doctor Newcombs house, and was familiar with his Daughter [Mistress Jane Newcomb,] a very Proper well-bred Gentlewoman; His Tutor asked if they were contracted, he answered, no, but would be very shortly, as he was told, for he was resolved to have her. Master Preston charged him to keep all secret, that Sir Capel might not think he was acquainted with it, and immediately appoints a journey unto Saffron-walden, to take the aire, and see that stately pyle at Audley-end, and takes divers of his Fellow-Commoners along, as he used to do at other times; and among others, this Sir Capel Bedels: When they had dined and viewed the house, it was propounded by one of them, that they might go that night to Haddam, and visit old Sir Arthur Capel, seeing they were thus far on their way, and it was late. Master Preston seemed to be indifferent, and so the Proposition took, and with none more then with Sir Capel, who knew his Grand-father would fill his pockets, and that would sweeten his Newcomb Mistresses next embraces, and make him welcome to her. The old Knight was glad to entertain such welcome guests, and that night there was no discourse, but of the stately Rooms, and goodly Gallery at Audley-end, and so the young men went to bed pleased, that the Colledge-bell next morning would not awaken them; but Master Preston slept not in *utramque aurem*, but awakened betimes, and acquaints Sir Arthur with all the business, adviseth him, by no means to permit the Gentlemans return unto the Colledge; for though the wound might seem quite cured, and he never so much engage forbearance, yet frequent apparitions would reintegrate: *Et nihil facilius quam amor recrudescit*. Sir Arthur was a very wise man, and had experience of the world, thanks Master Preston for his faithfulness; pretends Sir Capel wanted something, and desires his Tutor to give him leave to stay a little while untill he could be furnished, and then he should be sent, to which the Tutor easily consented, and so the rest went home; and after a while the old man tells Sir Capel he grew in bignesse, and it would be fit for him to travell before he settled, and he prevails with him to be content.

But what saies Mistresse Newcomb, who is robb'd by this means of her vowed and resolved servant, and her crafty Father that beholds so good a morsell snatched from between his teeth; do ye think he had forgotten this when Master Preston came to preach within his Jurisdiction? *Pulvere qui ledunt, sed lesi marmore scribunt*; other injuries perhaps may be forgotten, but losse of mony is not; *ploratur lachrymis amissa pecunia veris*.

Master



Master *Preston* was not altogether a stranger at the Court, however now there was no remedy; when he came to *New-market*, he found that Bishop *Andrews*, then Bishop of *Ely*, was chief, and that his Jurisdiction in the Commissary, was it that was pretended to be affronted, and therefore applied himself to him, and told him that he did not purpose to offend, but being engaged for to preach at that time, could not with honour disappoint the Auditory; if he suspected him for any thing, desired he would examine him, and satisfy himself. The Bishop told him the King was told he was an enemy to *Formes of Prayer*, and held no Prayer lawfull but conceived; and therefore being popular, his judgement and opinion might do hurt. Master *Preston* answered that it was a slander, for he thought Set *Formes* lawfull, and refused not on all occasions to be present at the Colledge Prayers, and when it was his turn, to read them. The Bishop answered, that he was glad, and would inform the King, and do him all the good he could, and bad him wait a while and then repair again to him for satisfaction in it, and so time passed on, and there was nothing done. There were some at Court that wished well to Master *Preston*, *Sed lapsuro assisteret formidant*, were loth to undertake a drooping cause; only there was one Doctor *Young*, an honest Scotchman, that was Dean of *Winchester*, and he told Master *Preston* plainly, that Bishop *Andrews* was his greatest adversary, and though he gave him good words, yet assured the King, that if Master *Preston* were not for this expelled the University, Lord Bishops would not long continue; But because Master *Preston* was accounted, and not without cause, a learned man, he was not willing to appear against him; but desired the punishment might be inflicted, where the fact was done, and that was in the University.

Master *Preston* saw now that the Bishop was a Courtier, and could give words, where deeds were not intended, and therefore goes again unto the Bishop, and tells him plainly that he or none must put a period to his attendance; and that either he would speak unto the King in his behalf, or tell him plainly that he would not; that he might know whence all this trouble flowed. The Bishop paused a while on this bold carriage, and at the last bad him come to him such a time again, and he would deal with the King in his behalf.

His courage.

So he goes unto the King, and tells him that however Master *Preston* was very dangerous, and it would be a very great security if he were handsomely expelled, yet he doubted it would not hear well, if it should be done for this offence; for he would be absolved in the opinions and minds of men, and be owned and applauded as their Martyr, and might perhaps recover, and live to be revenged; and therefore thought it would be better, for to enjoyn him to declare his judgement about *Formes of Prayer*; for that would be accounted a recantation, and however would weaken his reputation with the *Puritans*, which would be enough: for if they could divide him from his Party, they should not fear him; For he said, his carriage argued confidence in some assistance, which when they had removed, they should be strong enough at single hand. All that the Bishop spake, was as if *extripode*; an order presently was drawn, and sent to the Vice-Chancellor, that Master *Preston* should in *Buttolphs* Church declare his judgement, concerning *Formes of Prayer*, on such a Sunday, or else they should immediately proceed against him, according to their first instructions.

Master *Preston* was glad there was a way out, but sensible of the hard hand, that had been carried towards him; but now there was no remedy, and it was vain to strive against the stream. But before he could come home, the news was all about the Town, that Master *Preston* was to preach a Recantation Sermon at *Buttolphs* Church on such a day. This was good sport to the

His prudence.

brave blades, who now came crowding as fast as any, for to hear, and it was no sin now for any body to be from Prayers; and indeed there was a very great Assembly, though he did all he could to have concealed it. So he went on upon his former text, and preached a very profitable Sermon, concerning growing in grace, and directed Prayer, as a special meanes to make men grow in grace. Now that (he said) was of two sorts, either that which was iudain, extemporary, and conceived; or set, enjoined, and prescribed before, not only for the sense and scope, but also words and phrases. And whereas some thought this was to stint the spirit, he said, there was a liberty to use conceived Prayer at other times, wherein the spirit might expatiate, and enlarge it self; and also the intention of the mind, though not in extension and variety of language. The Blades that came to laugh, had no great cause to do it, for this passage was at the very close; and the Sermon all along before, was sharp and searching; both sides were silent and went home, not without some prints of good upon their spirits: *Optimus Orator censendus, non qui meruit auditorum iudicium, sed qui abstulit.* He makes the best speech that binds his Hearers, rather to think what was said, then who said it. The goodfellows were nothing so merry at the end, as at beginning of the Sermon. Indifferent Hearers praised all, and were confirmed in a good opinion of the Preacher. Good men were glad he came so well off, and was at liberty to preach again, where they might hear him: himself was troubled, lest any thing he said, should be mistaken or mis-interpreted, as he was apt to be.

But there were many eyes upon this action, and all men waited to see the issue. The Courtiers did not like it, that after all these tossings to and fro, he should thus light upon his feet, yet would not meddle for the present, but wait occasions. Those that were well-affected, were glad he was engaged against the Court and Bishops, and did presage he might be instrumental to their downfall, and every body laboured to ingage him more and more against them. The *Spanish* match was then the common talk, and great unwillingness appeared in the people generally; and Doctor *Willet* had presumed to offer Arguments unto the King against matching with Idolaters. The King was greatly vext at this adventure, and took great paines to perswade the Doctor, that a *Papist* was not an Idolater: *Sed non persuadebat etiamsi persuaserat.* The people were unsatisfied, and there being then a Parliament, a very Honourable and able Member of the House of Lords prevailed with Master *Preston* to write some Arguments against it. And though there were severe Edicts and Proclamations against scandalous Papers, and intermedling with Mysteries of State, yet he promised, it should be scattered and divulged unto fit persons, and none should know from whence, or from whom it came; accordingly when it was finished and written fair, one gave it to a Porter, whom he met in *Holborne*, and bad him leave it, according to the direction. The next day a great Lord comes unto him that had perswaded Master *Preston* unto the service, and tells him, that he had met with such a piece against the *Spanish* match, as he never saw, and protested he was convinced, that he must speak against it in the House, what ever came of it. The other asked him who made it, and where he had it: He assured him, he knew not, but it was left at his lodging, by he knew not whom. The Lord desired he might see it, and it was copied out, and spread among those of the Parliament they thought fit, but the Authour of it never known.

King *James* had something allways against his Writings and Speeches against the *Puritans*, which was ill taken, for that it was apparent, those meant thereby, were godly, conscientious persons. The House of Commons was the only mote in King *James* his Eye, the *Remora*, (as he conceived) unto his absolute Dominion, for he knew not how for to engage them, as he did the

Law-



Lawyers and Divines; but if he stopped one mouth with preferment this Parliament, there would be others open the next against him. There were some now that adventured to apologize for *Puritans*, and to say in Parliament, that honest men were wounded under that name; and to purpose, that godly Ministers might not be silenced, and thrown out of their free holds for trifles and Ceremonies. But King James would none of that stuff, breaks up the Parliament, and sets out Proclamations: *sed quid prodest iurius regionis silentium, si affectus fremant.* People love not to be enforced unto Duty: *Homines duci volunt non cogi.*

The Chaplains that attended monethly at the Court, were not ambitious of Preaching over-often, and so a Combination was agreed on for Preachers before the King, when ever he should lie within twelve miles of Cambridge: The King did not despaire of making Schollars his, and therefore used all endeavours to oblige them, especially Cambridge men, where a seed of *Puritans* had been a long time, and though the Plains about *Royston* and *New-Market* afforded better Winter-Game than elsewhere; yet Schollars he conceived might be caught sometimes, as well as Hares, and so was willing they should Preach before him. Young men he knew would Preach themselves: *Omnis oratio docet, aut rem, aut animum dicentis.* He should learn either things, or persons.

By this means it came to Master *Prestons* turn to Preach before the King at *Royston*; He was so muffled at Court in Doctor *Newcombs* business that he knew not what to do, could not decline it altogether, for that would have exposed him unto too much observation; and yet he greatly feared what might befall him in the doing of it: Therefore he changed his course with one that was to Preach a little after, and did it very privately, that if his Enemies should have designs, they might be disappointed, and so it was not much known.

When he was to Preach, it fell out that his course came upon a Tuesday, when the King did lie at *Finching-Brook*; The Court was very thin, and the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham* were both abroad, and the King himself was for an hunting match that day, and gave order that the Sermon should begin at eight of the clock. Master *Preston* had some at the Court that were solicitous as well as he, and they told him it would give very great content, if he would take some occasion in the Sermon, to shew his judgment, as he had done before about Set-Formes. Doctor *Young* Deane of *Winchester*, (of whom we spake before) did then attend, and when the King came in, and sat down in the chair, he told him who it was that Preached, and said, he hoped he would give content; I pray God he do, said the King. The Sermon is in print, upon *John 1. 16.* which he so clearly opened and applied, that the King sat all the while as quiet as could be, and never stirred nor spake to any body, but by his looks discovered he was pleased; when all was done, he came unto him as the manner was to kisse his hand; and the King asked him of what *Preston* he was descended, he answered of that in *Lancashire*; Then said the King, you have many of your name and kindred very eminent; and *Preston* the Priest, although a *Papist*, is a very learned man.

Master *Preston* preached before the King.

Great haste was made to bring in dinner; and the King was very pleasant all the time, had his eye continually upon Master *Preston*, and spake of divers passages in the Sermon with much content, especially that of the *Amirians* putting God into the same extremitie, that *Darius* was put in, *Dan. 6.* when he would have saved *Daniel*; but could not: But as soon as ever he was retired, the Marquesse *Hamilton* kneeled down, and besought him, that he might commend the Preacher to him for his Chaplain, protesting he did not so much as know him; but that he was moved by the weight and strength

of that he had delivered; told him, he spoke no pen and ink-horn language, but as one that comprehended, what he said, and that he could not but have substance and matter in him. The King acknowledged all, but said it was too early, remembered *New-market* businesse, and was reserved.

Sir *Ralph Freeman*, one of the Masters of Requests, had married a Kinswoman of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and was a Kinsman unto Master *Preston*; he makes Relation of the businesse unto the Duke, and told him, if now he would appear in favour of his Cousin *Preston*, he might oblige the *Puritans*, and lay a ground-work for his own security, if tempests should arise; assured him that Master *Preston* was ingenuous, and might be made, that the King and all the Court were taken with the Sermon, and did approve it. The Duke of *Buckingham* was a wise man, and apprehensive of what Sir *Ralph* suggested seasonably, saw those they called *Puritans* were growing, and in the Parliament were thought considerable, knew that the Kings affections might cool, and he might need friends, and took Sir *Ralphs* discourse into his most serious thoughts. An honest man, one Master *Packer*, was then his Secretary, and he set on what Sir *Ralph Freeman* had suggested, and so it came unto a resolution, that Master *Preston* should be owned; and the Duke commanded Sir *Ralph Freeman*, to go to Master *Preston* from him, and acquaint him with his good opinion of him, and desire to see him; and indeed there was such a Concurrence, and Concentring of opinions and desires among the Courtiers, that it was assured Master *Preston*, he might be Chaplain unto whom he would, and that was now the deliberation, which of these offers he should accept, and whom he would acknowledge his Patron and Protector for the time to come.

There was not so few Clergy men at Court at any time, and so no kind of opposition; yet the King himself hung back, and would do nothing hastily; he was not reconcileable unto the *Puritans*, and so desired not in that respect for to ingage him; but he desired to deprive them of Master *Preston*, and to divide him from them, and would do any thing that might drive that on; and considering how many he had won, that Master *Preston* was a young man and might be drawn on, he would not hinder nor oppose; so it was the joynt opinion of all his friends, that the best preferment was to be the Princes Chaplain, who then was grown and had an household. This therefore was represented unto Sir *Ralph Freeman*, and his opinion required, who quickly yielded and proposed it unto the Duke: both Prince and Duke had been abroad, and neither of them heard the Sermon; when therefore Master *Preston* was brought unto the Duke, he very seriously received him, and told him it was the Prince his unhappinesse and his, to be absent when he did preach, and therefore desired him that he would vouchsafe a Copy of his Sermon to him, and believe that he would be ready, to the best and utmost of his power to serve him.

There were many other Courtiers that desired Copies of the Sermon, and the Court not staying there, Master *Preston* came home to furnish Copies. He never penned Sermon word for word but wrote what came into his mind, and as it came, and that in no good hand; and so it was a businesse to provide these Copies, which yet he seriously attended till they were written fair, and then to Court he goes, where the Duke presents him to the Prince, and so he was made and admitted Chaplain to the Prince in Ordinary; for as then the Prince had not compleated the number he intended, which was six, who were accordingly to wait two moneths by the year, and preach unto the household upon the *Lords daies*, and perform such duties as were required of them.

But God was making other work for Master *Preston*; For Doctor *Tolson*, Bishop of *Salisbury* dies, and leaves a Wife and many Children unprovided for; for he had been Bishop but a little while. This Wife of his was Doctor



ctor *Davenant's* Sister; in pity therefore and commiseration of her case, it was proposed to the King by those that were his Friends, that Doctor *Davenant*, a single man, and well-deserving, might succeed his Brother in the Bishoprick, and so make some provision for his Children. The King thought very well of Doctor *Davenant*, not only for his singular abilities and labours in the University, but for his pains also, and service in the Synod of *Dort* against *Arminius*, and it was looked on as a deed of charity, and so believed he would carry it, and be the man.

But this Created Master *Preston's* cares, Doctor *Davenant* had been his constant and faithfull Friend, and given countenance upon all occasions to him and all his Pupils. But now who should succeed? and where should Master *Preston* find another shelter? The Fellows for the most part were not his Friends, envied his numbers, and great relations, and there was no man like so to befriend him. Besides, the *Margaret's* Professors place would be void also by this remove, and many able stirring Bachelors in Divinity, proposed unto him that place, and assured him the Election would be easily carried for him.

The truth is, he had no great hope to do any great good in the Election of the Master of the Colledge, and one Doctor *Mansel* being named, a very moderate good-natured man, he let that care fall, and was more anxious about the Professors place; for though sound doctrine in the University was of much use, yet *English* preaching was like to work more, and win more souls to God.

He alwaies highly valued, and frequently consulted with Master *Dod*, and he perswaded *English* preaching, as that wherein God was more immediately served, and said, there were others that might supply the University in the Professors place, that either could not, or would not labour mens Conversion. And indeed the Master of *Sidney-Colledge* Doctor *Ward*, a vast Scholar, was then in view and Nomination for the Professors place; yet Mr. *Preston* was so solicited by honest men, that he knew not what to do: Two things he thought he wanted to enable him. The one was a Latine tongue, the other a Latine stile; in both which, by reason of desuetude, he was unready. For his stile therefore, he resolves upon an exact and Logical *Analysis* of all the Epistles, which would Aquate and exercise his stile, and acquaint him with the Scripture-phrase and language; and if he were called to be Professor, might serve for Lectures in the Schooles; which work he immediately applied himself unto, and very happily compleated; a work of great pains unto him, and in it self of great worth; but being *Latine*, and written only with his own ill hand, was not thought popular enough to come abroad, but lieth in the dark.

For the exercising of his *Latine* tongue, he resolves a journey into the *Neiberlands*, where he should have much occasion of speaking *Latine*, and see those Colledges and Universities; but there was no travelling beyond Sea, without a License under the hands of Privy-Counsellors; this he procures among his Friends with all the secrecy that could be, and a great while before he meant to use it, that he might conceale it from the Colledge and University; but this his secrecy begat suspicion that there was some plot. *Velle putant quodcumque potest*: It is not safe for men to have abilities. It was resented so much the more, because no Clergy man was made acquainted with it, and the opinion was, that something was brewing against *Episcopacy*. This they were sure of, that *Amsterdam* was in the *Neiberlands*, and ever had been fatal to the *Hierarchy*. The Lord Keeper then was Bishop *William*, he sees this plague afar off; *Prov. 25. 3.* and provides a Messenger to go along unknown to Master *Preston*, that should observe and give intelligence weekly of all that passed: *Integer vultu scelerisque purus, non eget Faculis nec arcu.* A breast-plate of righteousness is a better guard than a shirt or coat of

of male. It was *David's* uprightness that did preserve him, *Psal.* 25. 21. so was it Master *Preston's*; for he knew nothing of this attendance, till after his return, but gave out in the Colledge, and among his Pupils, that he would go the next Vacation into *Kent*, to visit Sir *Richard Sande*, and drink if he saw cause, the *Tenbridge* waters, concludes to take one of his Pupils with him, a *Torkshire* Gentleman, Sir *Henry Slingsbys* Sonne and Heir; and did accordingly acquaint his Father and make Provision for it long before.

His travel in  
the Low-  
Countries.

The time came, and he goes into *Kent*, and is received in the passage boat for *Rotterdam*, in the garb and notion of a Gentleman, with his skarlet cloak and gold hatband, and all things answerable, and so goes over all the Provinces, both *Protestant* and *Papish*, where there was any thing observable, and encounters frequently with divers *Priests* and *Jesuites*, professing himself a *Protestant* Gentleman, that was willing to find out the Truth, and try all Tenents, and accordingly was courted by them very much, and solicited to be a *Papist*; and they gave him very many *papish* Books, and so he came back into *Kent*, and to the Colledge at the time appointed, unknown to any in the Colledge, but only one of his Pupils, from whom he seldom concealed any thing. He was no sooner settled in the Colledge, but a rumour flies abroad, that Master *Preston* had been beyond the Seas; He shewed them that it was incredible, and wonders at their silliness, that they would beleieve so unlikely a relation; The matter was not great; now all was past, and so it rested doubtfull and undetermined.

He had a long time been successfull in the way of Pupils, but Doctor *Davenants* leaving of the Colledge troubled him. A great Tutor, hath much occasion to use the Masters influence, for accommodation and advancement of his Pupils, which now he saw he could not promise unto himself; and it fell out much about this time, that Doctor *Dunn*, Preacher at *Lincolns-Inne* died, and some in that society proposed that Master *Preston* might be tried whether he were willing to accept that place for Tearm time: He was himself, neither careless, nor cracking of his good name: *Fame nec incuriosus, nec venditor*. But it was much grown by reason of his success in the conficts and encounters he had at Court. It was some refreshing unto honest men, that Master *Preston*, so resolute, and constant in the waies of God, was yet the Prince his Chaplain, and helped forward the desire of these men; It futed with him, to have an opportunity to exercise his Ministry in a considerable and intelligent Congregation, where he was assured, many Parliament men, and others of his best acquaintance would be his hearers; and where in Tearm time, he should be well accommodated, so he consented and undertook the Place; The Chappel then was very little, and at the first, the numbers that attended on his Ministry, besides their own society, were few, but when the Chappel was newbuilt, as now it is, the numbers were exceeding great, that were his constant hearers, and foundations laid, that will not easily be ruined.

He is cho-  
seen to *Lin-*  
*coln-Inns*.

This was some ease unto his grieved mind, for Doctor *Davenants* leaving of the Colledge and University; but filled not his great capacity and large desire of doing good; The Colledge he gave over in his thoughts, but not the University, where his Preaching was much resented, and made great impressions; and though at *Lincolns-Inne* he had Gown-men to be his Hearers, yet they were not like to propagate and spread it. A preacher in the University, doth *generare patres*, beget begetters, and transmit unto posterity, what God is pleased to reveal to him; In a word, doth what the Apostle doth enjoyn, *2 Tim.* 2. 2. and he of all men, thirsted after opportunities of doing service, and might well say with the Sponse, that he was sick of love, *Cant.* 2. 5.

Some of the Fellows of *Emanuel* Colledge were very eminent for parts and learning, yet clouded and obscured, (as they thought) by an opinion that



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that lay upon the Colledge, that they were *Puritans*, that is, not only Godly and Religious, (for so they were, and were content to be esteemed) but non-conformists, and averse to Government, for which cause there had been lately some alteration made, both in their Chappel, and manner of their diet; they thought therefore, if they could prevail with Doctor *Chaderton* their present Master, to resign, who was establish'd in it by the Founder, and named in the Statute, but was grown very old, and had out-lived many of those great relations, which he had before, they might perhaps procure that Master *Preston* might succeed him, and bring the Colledge into reputation, being a good man, and yet a Courtier, the Prince his Chaplain, and very gracious with the Duke of *Buckingham*. But this was sooner said than done, the old Doctor was exceeding wary and jealous not only of his own disparagement, but especially of the good and welfare of that brave foundation that had grown and flourished under his Government so long; for if it were but known that he were out, there were divers lay in wait to get a Mandate, and come in against their minds; a fresh example whereof they had lately seen in their next neighbours, *Christ's Colledge*, where after Master *Pemberton* was chosen, Doctor *Carew* Dean of *Exeter*, was forced out of them, and did all he could to mould a new, and alter the constitution and *genius* of the Colledge. But the Fellows answered, that this might be better hindered and prevented whilst he was alive, than at his death; for his resignation might be carried privately, but his death could not, and if all the Fellows were content, the Election might be past before the resignation were discovered; and so they promised to sound and try the judgment of the other Fellows, and then repair again unto him.

There were two things in the Colledge that (in their Opinions) greatly pinched them. The one was the Statute for attendance and continuance whilst they were Fellows, so that they had not opportunity to live in Noble mens Houses, or take Lectures to exercise their Ministry, and make themselves known unto such as had it in their power to prefer them. Another was the Statute of departing at such a standing, whether they were provided or not provided; and there was then a fresh example in Doctor *Traverse* a man of great worth, yet forced to sojourn as a Fellow-Commoner in *Christ's Colledge* untill he could be better accommodated; The Fellows therefore were easily induced to affect this change; for they thought Master *Preston* might be an instrument, by reason of his great acquaintance, either to get some mitigation of the Statute, or procure more livings to be annexed to the Colledge for their preferment.

So they returned to the old man, and told him that the Fellows were all agreed, and ready to do what he should prescribe, and it rested now in him to prevent the danger that did threaten, not only them in their particular concerns, but the growing good and welfare also of the Colledge. The poor man wist not what to do; to out-live the Mastership he thought was to out-live himself, and to go into his grave alive; yet he honoured and loved Master *Preston* very much, and could not answer that dilemma of the Colledge safety; therefore he told them he would not be wanting to the Colledge good, but it concerned them as well as himself, to provide they were not cheated, and another forced on them, whether they would or not; and therefore desired that Master *Preston* might be requested to deal with his Friends at Court, and procure some promise that there should be no Mandate granted, in case his resignation should be known; He told them likewise how unprovided he was for maintenance, when that was gone, and how unseemly it would be for him now in his Old age for to want, and therefore desired he might be taken in this particular into consideration. But Master *Preston* quickly eased the old man of all these fears, by procuring a Letter from the Duke of *Buckingham* in these words. Sir

The Duke  
of Bucking-  
ham's Letter.

Sir,  
I Have moved his Majesty, concerning Master Preston's succeeding of you, in the Mastership of Emanuel Colledge, who is not only willing, but is also graciously pleased to recommend him to the place in especial manner before any other; so that in making this way for him, you shall do a very acceptable thing to his Majesty, as also to the Prince his Master, of which I am likewise to give you notice, and to put you out of all doubt, that another may be thrust upon you; you shall not need to fear any thing, in regard that from his Majesty there will be no hinderance to his succession; and for that point of supply of Maintenance, I shall (as I promised) take care for to procure it, when fit occasion shall be offered; so taking kindly what you have done, I rest

Theobalds Sept. 20.  
1622.

Your very loving Friend,  
G. Buckingham.

He is cho-  
sen Master  
of Emanuel.

When the Doctor had received and read this Letter, he was in all things satisfied, as to the Court, but they all knew that Doctor *Traverse* lay in wait for this Preferment; for being outed by the Statute at *Emanuel* Colledge, he sojourned at *Christs* Colledge as Fellow-Commoner, and presumed either by his Friends at Court, to get a Mandate, or be chosen in the Colledge by a Party of the Fellows, whom he thought his own; therefore great care was taken to keep all secret, and though the Statute do ordain a vacancy of seven days, and notice by a Schedule passed upon the Chappel-Door, yet such was the concurrent uniform agreement of all the Fellows, that it was not discovered to any of the Schollars untill the day of Election; and because there is a Sacrament to be immediately before it, they were constrained to lock up all the Gates that none might come in or goe out till it was past; and then two of the Fellows were dispatcht to *Queens* Colledge, to acquaint Master *Preston* with what they had done, and to desire that at two of the Clock he would repair unto the Colledge to be admitted, and undertake the charge.

It was strange news at *Queens*, and all the Colledge were much affected with it, wondering extreemly that such a great transaction should be carried with so much secrecy, and that amongst Master *Prestons* twelve Disciples (as they called them) there should be never a *Judas* but all concentre in it; but there was order given presently, that all the Schollars should be ready against two of the Clock that day, to attend Master *Preston* and the Fellows to *Emanuel* Colledge, in Habits suitable unto their several quallities, which was done accordingly; and a very goodly Company attended him from *Queens* unto *Emanuel*, where they were cheerfully received and entertained according to the Custome, with a generous and costly Banquet, and then returned unto *Queens* again; but left Master *Preston*, the prop and glory of it, at *Emanuel*.

In the Plantation of *Emanuel* Colledge at the first, the godly Founder, took great care to store his Colledge with godly and able Fellows from all the other Colledges, and some were after added that were eminent; but now a Master is bestowed, God in mercy hath enabled that good society to pay their Debts, by sending not only Members; but also Heads into very many of the other Colledges, so as they may now well say, *Que regio in terris nostri non plena laboris.*

Sir *Walter Mildmay* their Noble and Religious Founder, was wont to say unto his Friends, that he had set an Acorn, that might perhaps in time become an Oak; blessed be God, our eyes have seen it, not only grown and flourishing, but fruitful, seasonable Showers, a great promotion unto a new Plantation, and earnest Prayers unto God, a special means to bring these down,



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down, of which I think no Colledge ever had more, which in these last years have returned a glorious Harvest, to God be Praise.

This News ran swiftly all the Kingdom over, and was received as men were affected. Good men were glad that honest men were not abhorred, as they had been at the Court, and presaged much of that enlargment and deliverance, which we have lived to see; the Courtiers made full account that he was theirs, and would mount up from one step to another, until he were a Prelate, especially the Duke of Buckingham, who from this time seemed sincerely to affect him, *Multum suis ad amorem, dedisse beneficium*, thought he had given earnest and could not be defrauded of the purchase. The Earl of Pembroke, and the Countesse of Bedford had a great interest in him, and he in them; and all men looked on him as upon a rising man, and respected him accordingly. As for *Lincoln-Inne*, they made account they had a special influence into this honour, as having first expressed their good Opinion of him; and there was an honest godly old man, one of the Benchers, Master Ayres, that upon hearing of the News, would needs be young again, and make an *Anagram* upon his Name, though he was uncertain how he wrote it in Latine, for he had seen it written divers wayes. Being therefore resolute, and loath to miss it, he resolves to write it both ways, as he that used to say his Prayers in Latine and English, that both might not fail, and so first he wrote it, *Johannes Prestonius* with this *Anagram*, *En flas pius in honore*: And this Distitch:

*Doctrina, ingenium, virtus tua, pramia poscunt;*

*En dedis Emanuel, flas in honore pius.*

But lest this should be mistaken, he writes it *Johannes Prestonus*: with this *Anagram*, *Se nosse, non turpia*: And this Distitch:

*Turpia non novisse, bonum; se nosse, beatum:*

*Ipsa doces alios, sed prius ipsa facis.*

The rest of that Society rejoiced, that their Lecturer was Master of Emanuel, and took occasion to express it according to their several dispositions and relations, when he came to them in the Tearn, which shortly followed. There was one thing in the Colledge-Statutes that greatly troubled him; and that was that the Masters absence from the Colledge was confined to a moneth in every quarter, and he saw not how he could attend at Court, and Preach at *Lincoln-Inne* in Tearn time, but he should transgresse; but the Fellows soon consented to an interpretation, that absolved him from the rigid sense, there being in the Statute a double liberty; first that in case of violent detention it should not hold; they resolved that not only a natural, but also a moral violence was to be understood. The other was, that in case of Colledge-Business he should not be esteemed absent. Now the Colledge was at that time in suit for a Living in the West, of good value, with one Master Ewins, a Gentleman in the Parish, who had bred up a younger Son to be a Schollar, in relation to that Living, and therefore contended for it, as it had been his own inheritance; and when he was worsted at Common-Law, prefers a Bill in Chancery, and thought by Money to carry it against the Colledge-Right. Bishop Williams the Lord-keeper then, was his great Friend, and when after many delays it came at last to hearing, would not allow the Counsel for the Colledge to speak; Master Preston being present, craved leave to speak in the cause himself, but was not only silenced, but severely reprehended for it. It was *Trinity-Tearn*, and the Plague was very hot in London, so that *Michaelmas-Tearn* was wholly adjourned, and the next Tearn was proclaimed at *Reading*, and the Records removed thither; but before that, the Lord-keeper was removed from his Throne, and Sir Thomas Coventry, one of the Colledge-Council that were not permitted before to speak, succeeded him; by whose integrity and justice, the Colledge was restored to their right, which

which ever since they have enjoyed, and so his following the Colledge business excused his absence all his time.

Being therefore now established, and greatly minding the good thereof, he observed that the Scholars kept Acts but seldom, and accordingly when they came unto it, performed it but meanly; he therefore advised with the Fellows in it, and after many consultations, it was resolved that the number of Acts should be in a manner doubled, of those under Masters of Art, which was a great advancement to learning of all sorts in the Colledge.

About this time Sir *Arthur Chichester*, afterward an *Irish* Baron, was chosen to go Embassadour into *Germany*, about the Palatinate affairs, and Master *Preston* was by the Duke of *Buckingham* and other Friends, designed to go along with him; He did not greatly fancy the employment, but would not contradict; only it was considered, that though he was the Prince his Chaplain, and Master of a Colledge, yet he was not Doctor, which they thought might sound ill abroad, and reflect upon his Master, and there was not time to go unto it, in the ordinary way of Acts and Exercises, therefore a Mandate was addressed to the Vice-Chancellour and Heads, that forasmuch as Master *Preston* was to wait upon my Lord Ambassadour, and could not in so short a time perform his Acts, he should be forthwith admitted Doctor in Divinity, that he might be ready to attend the service, which was done accordingly with all alacrity.

Being therefore thus engaged, and not knowing what might befall him in the voyage, he resolved to settle his temporal estate before he went. He was not willing to be accounted rich; would often say, *Manifestus thesaurus cito expenditur*. And therefore though he had great Incomes from his Pupils, and was not Prodigal, yet he was not Master of his money; for he had been advised to adventure in the *East-India* Company, then newly set up, and because estates there were invisible, he was the willing, but by that means wanted money; for there was paying for many years, but no returns; yet there was hope it might at last come in, and so it did without diminution of the principal, but not in his life-time. Therefore he thought it needful to make a legall disposition of his estate by *Will*, and so he did, and named a very Honourable person his Executor, who lived to enjoy that money as well as other by virtue of it. But the voyage came to nothing; for Sir *Arthur* did not go as he intended, yet this was his last *Will*, and according to it all was enjoyed, though he made additions by way of request or direction, which were accordingly performed.

It was ever his ambition not to be mercenary in his Ministry, but at liberty to preach where he might do most good, without relation or respect unto the wages; and he considered that the Master of *Emanuel* could have no Living that had cure of souls annexed, and therefore was willing to give ear unto the solicitations of the Townsmen, who greatly prest him to be their Lecturer at *Trinity-Church*; for they had applied themselves to Doctor *Andrews* Bishop of *Ely*, and propounded to him Master *Jeffries*, one of the Fellows of *Pembroke-Hall*; and he had given way, and Master *Jeffries* did preach at *Trinity* some years, but was desirous of a more settled condition, and had desired Doctor *Preston* to procure him to be Chaplain unto some Noble-man, that was like to help him to a Living, which was a very easie thing for him to do, having so much interest in many great ones; so he pitched upon *Marquesse Hamilton*, who presently admitted Master *Jeffries*, Chaplain to him, and shewed him much respect, as well for Doctor *Prestons* sake, as for his own, and long it was not before a Living fell, namely the Rectory of *Dun-mow* in *Essex*, which the Marquesse procured and bestowed upon his Chaplain Master *Jeffries*; for he had not then commenced Doctor, and by that means the Lecture at *Trinity* was shortly to be void.

The Townsmen made account that now they had what they desired, namely



ly an opportunity to settle Doctor *Preston* in the Lecture at *Trinity*; and great care was taken to increase the stipend from forty or fifty pounds *per annum* unto fourscore, that the Doctor might have twenty pounds a quarter paid him; for they thought the former inconsiderable, not knowing what principles the Doctor lived by; and when they had effected that, they employed some of the chief to propose the matter to the Doctor very solemnly; who was easily perswaded to accept their offer, without relation to the stipend; but there was one of the Fellows of *Sidney-Colledge*, Master *Middlethwite* that put in for it, and though few or none of the Contributors or Townsmen sided with him, yet he procured Letters from the Bishop of *Ely*, and engaged all his friends, both in the Court and University, that it came unto a very great contest. Doctor *Preston* who was offered any Bishoprick he would resolve on, and told at *Roxton* by the Duke of *Backingham*, that the Bishoprick of *Glocester* was then void, contends with Master *Middlethwite*, to be Lecturer at *Trinity-Church*, for a stipend of fourscore pounds *per annum*, as the upshot of all his hopes, and fruit of all his great achievements at the Court; and the contention was so great on all sides, that it could not be concluded by any mediation, but was referred to an hearing at *Roxton* before King *James*, who was really against the Doctors preaching in the University, the consequence whereof he well saw, and was informed fully of. I confesse I often wondered why Master *Middlethwite*, an eminent Scholar, and like enough to get preferment, as afterwards it's known he did, should stickle for so small an opportunity to preach, against the inclination and disposition of the Townsmen; until I understood that he was fet on by the Prelatical Heads, who told him that it was a service acceptable to the King, and he should be rewarded for it. At the time appointed it came unto an hearing, and an Argument was urged against the Doctor, namely; that it was a Lecture maintained by six-pences, a thing unseemly for a Master of a Colledge and the Prince his Chaplain; but the Duke had taken care that nothing should be ordered and concluded against the Doctors mind; for the Duke resolved not to lose him; so the meeting was dissolved and nothing done; but that night, Sir *Edward Conway*, then Secretary, invited Doctor *Preston* to supper, and after supper told him, that the King had ordered him to tell him, that if he would give over his pursuance of that Lecture, and let the Heads dispose of it, he should make his choice of any other preferment, that was more honourable and profitable for him; but the Doctors end was to do good, not to get good; The King, to make him uselesse, and divide him from the *Puritans*. The Duke was more indifferent, who laboured in him to win and gratifie the *Puritans*, whose Power in Parliament was now grown very formidable; therefore when nothing else would content him, he was confirmed Lecturer at *Trinity-Church*, the last preferment he ever had, where he preached after all his time, and did much good.

The Duke had now obliged Doctor *Preston* in the judgment and opinion of all the honest Party, and much displeased the Prelatical; and he saw apparently that King *James* approved not his siding with him, yet he was more expresse than ever in his affections to him, and freeness with him. He had indeed a very happy and rare composure of sweetness and solidity, would play and dally with the King, as if he were a woman, and yet enquire, and apprehend, and argue counsels and debates of State, as if a *Burleigh*, or a *Walsingham*: saw clearly the affections of the King were fading, which the *Puritans* (though never so much his Friends,) could not repair, and therefore eyed and adored the rising Sun, who now was grown and fit for marriage, but no Preparatives to find a Consort for him. He knew the Spanish match was but a colour, and a Treaty dandled between *Bristol* and King *James*, to

fool the Prince off, and shut his eares against the *French* proposals. This he discovers to the Prince, tels him, Kings did not love an Heir apparent, how near soever; that the daughter of *Spain* was designed to a Monastery, and kept for a reserve unto the house of *Austria*; that in *France* there was a Lady much before her; that if he pleased, he would wait upon him into *Spain* in a disguise, and take the *French* Court in their way, and see that Lady, and so discover *Bristols*, and his fathers juggling; the Prince resents and hugs this overture. They tell King *James*, the Earl of *Bristol* and the *Spanish* Ministers abused him; that it was time to bring that Treaty to some Conclusion, desire they might go into *Spain*, and play the game out.

The King saw who had ploughed with his Heifer, feared, (as he was apt to do) a check-mate; yet for the present urgeth only his affections to them both, and asketh them how he should subsist so long, without their companies? But they persisting, he signes a Warrant with his own hand for *Jack Smith*, and *Tom Smith*, with each of them a servant and their horses to go beyond-Sea.

The Duke even now was not unmindfull of Doctor *Preston*, but leaves order with the Dutchesse and Countesse of *Denbigh*, to be carefull for him; and Sir *Ralph Freeman* having a child to baptize, Doctor *Preston* is intreated for to preach, and the Dutchesse and Countesse were both Gossips, who shewed to the Doctor very great respect, and gave him hopes of doing good; and some he did, for he procured by their means, Master *Hildershams* liberty, and restitution to his place at *Ashby de la Zouch*, and gave great hopes unto good Ministers of fairer times than had been formerly; only he would relate with much regret, that he often found Doctor *Laud*, then Bishop of *Saint Davids* with them, and therefore doubted of the issue and event.

The Doctor saw by the debates about the Lecture, that he had enemies as well as friends at Court; that the Duke was mutable, as well as morall; knew that the King abhorred that journey into *Spain*, and would remember it, if able: *Dulcis inexperto, cultura potentis amici expertus metuit.* And therefore though now he were settled and assured in the University, yet would not leave his Lecture at *Lincolns-Inne*; but being still in *London* in the Term-time, about the Colledge-businesse, continued Preacher at *Lincolns-Inne*, and thought it might be a good reserve, in case the naughty Heads or Factions in the Court should fall upon him; and it was well he did, for the Prince and Duke returned the next *October*, highly offended with the *Spanish* gravity, and both they and all their train did nothing but tell stories of the *Spanish* baseness; so a Parliament was called, and the Duke cryed up by all the godly Party in the Kingdome. The *Spanish* Agent at the Court had order from his Master out of *Spain*, for to defie him and protest against him at the Counsel-Table, but seriously he could not have done him a greater courtesie, for the people universally did hate the *Spaniard*, and now the Duke became the peoples Martyr. I have seen Verses made in his defence and commendation; And Agents was presently dispatched into *France*, to treat of that Match. King *James* liked not this stuff, but the Prince was able now to go alone, and especially when he had the Duke for one of his Supporters; all things are fairly carried for Religion, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Princes and peoples Favourite. The people seemed now to have the better, and the Court-affairs for to decline and droop. Doctor *Preston* like another *Mordecai* was very great, the Prince his Master, and the Courtiers eyes upon him, because they saw he came not thither for preferment, as all men else did. *Pisoni in imperium adoprato nihil in vultu mutatum, quasi magis imperare posset, quam veller.* His honours altered nothing in him, but gave encouragement to all the godly Party, and his Sermons at *Lincolns-Inne* much wrought upon the Parliament, so that a bold Petition was contrived



ved and presented to the King at *Whitchall*, from both Houses of Parliament, April 23. 1624. against the spreading and increase of *Papery*, and the Indulgence given unto *Priests* and *Jesuites*. King *James* was in the evening of his glory; his Party in the Court under a cloud; another Sun almost in view, and the *moon* or day-star already risen, and accordingly he answered warily to their Petition, bewails his want of information, as the reall ground of this their trouble, which otherwise he had prevented; acknowledged that whilest the Treaties lasted with *Spain* and *Austria*, he was obliged to comply; but now both being broken off, he would be rigid and severe against the *Priests* and *Jesuites*; bids them find out a way for to restrain the growth of *Papery*, and he would second them; but resolves to pay the Duke of *Buckingham* for all this, and gives order to the Earl of *Bristol* to prepare an information for that end; but the Match with *France*, and other intervenient accidents obstruct it, for the present.

The Duke having told tales out of School, and broken off the Match with *Spain*, was much obliged to further and promote the *French*, which he did seriously excuse to Doctor *Preston*, upon this ground, that there was not any Protestant for to be had: and for to marry with a subject had alwaies been unlucky and fatal to the Kings of *England*; that the *French* would not be ridged in Religious observations, but the Doctor constantly opposed; only acknowledged this difference, that *Spanish Popery* was an absolute ingredient to their intended *Western Monarchy*, but *French* was not so, and so this was lesse evil.

But the *French* found out this obligation, and were untractable, unlesse the Duke would aid the King of *France* against the *Rochellers*: This was a hard Chapter for one so much obliged unto the *Puritans* and Doctor *Preston*, and he therefore declined all he could, but nothing else would serve, and he knew King *James* lay ready to take advantages; so in Conclusion, eight Ships were granted to oppose the *Rochel*-fleet, and many colours sought to cloude it, and hide it from the world, but from that time Doctor *Preston* doubted of the Saint-ship of the Duke of *Buckingham*; whom otherwise he honoured and loved very much.

But it was high time for the Duke to look about him; King *James* was not to Learn now how for to play his Game, he was an old, but not a Foolish King, Eccl. 4. 13. And therefore failed not to make Provision, and lay rods in pisse, that he might use upon occasion. Kings use for to account an ague in the Spring their *Physick*, yet *Physick* till March be past is not good, but this ague antedates the moneths, and comes in *February*. The King was then at *Theobalds*, and the Ague was made but small account of. He feared death, but was the most impatient and disordered of any living; what Rules soever the *Physicians* gave, he would observe none; which intemperance might very well occasion the growing, strength, and vigour of the disease, which howsoever more and more increased, and at last began to be considerable; Then he began to take advice and to submit to Rules, but now it was too late; for March 27. 1625. on the *Lords day* in the morning, about ten of the Clock at *Theobalds* the King dies. Doctor *Preston* then attended in his moneth, and was sometimes hastened to the Prince to comfort him, and sometimes to the Duke; and indeed it was a very mournfull morning. Death is a serious thing, and knocks alike at Palaces as at the meanest Cottage. King *James* was very much beloved of all his servants; some of the Huntsmen could not be gotten from him; the Prince and Duke were both of them retired and wept exceedingly. But Sir *Edward Convey* and some of the Lords drew up a Writing, and proclaimed *Charles Steward* King, with all his Titles; and hast was made to pack away to *London*. The Prince and Duke, and Doctor *Preston* in Coaches hast down, hasten to *White-hall*, and there he is proclaimed again with more formalities,

malities, and the Lord Mayor and the City sent to, where it was done with much solemnity, and great Rejoycing of the people; for the Prince had that exceeding happinesse to come upon the stage unprejudiced. For he had never interposed nor acted, but in the *Spanish* businesse, and that succeeded to his great advantage; so that if he list he might have been as popular as ever any were.

This fall, occasions many Alterations in the Court; The Bishops generally, and Doctor *Prestons* enemies, and all that had contended with the Duke were Crest-fallen. King *James* was like enough to have out-lived the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been very sick since his return from *Spain*, but all is altered, and the Duke does all.

But he had many things to do; The affronts received in *Madrid*; and at the Counsell-table by the Agent, were to be sent back by a puissant and mighty Navy, and Provisions made accordingly. King *James* to be interr'd; a Parliament to be summoned; the *French* Lady to be sent for, and brought into *England*, which the Duke especially intended, and spake to all the Gallants of his Retinue to attend him, and to many other of the Gentry and Nobility throughout the Kingdome. But he found it hard thus in the Morning of the Kings affairs to be abroad, there being then a Parliament, and the sicknesse much encreasing in the City, so he was constrained to employ the Earl of *Holland*, and attend himself at home. All were not gratified in this great revolution and Mutation of affairs, and the discontented Party murmured, and let flie at the Duke, and the sicknesse much encreasing, began to make a mutiny, and it was much desired that the Parliament might be prorogued till some other more healthfull and lesse dangerous time. But the Navy against the *Spaniards*, and the pressing wants of all sort that depended on the Court would not permit; so it was only adjourned to *Oxford*; yet there the sicknesse was as soon as they, and some of their Members smarted for it, but hast was made to gratifie the new King, and the Provisions for the Navy went forward, many men engaged, and the King resolved to attend that businesse, as admitting no delay.

There was one thing that invited Doctor *Preston* to a journey that year, and that was a strong suspition that the plague was in the town, in which case there is a liberty to dissolve the Colledge, without any detriment unto the Officers and Members of it. He was not willing to omit the Opportunity, because he had many invitations into the West. The Bishop of *Salisbury* he desired to Consult withall, about a Book of Master *Montaignes*, that was commended to him by the Duke of *Buckingham* to peruse and give his sence upon it. Master *Sheruil*, the Recorder of *Salisbury*, was a Bencher of *Lincolns-Inne*, and a very good friend of his; He had divers Friends at *Dorchester*, and was desirous to be sea-sick, and was still enticed forward, and at last resolved to wait upon the King and Duke, at *Plimmouth*, whether they were gone to see the Navy set sail. Whilest he was there, the *Rachel*-fleet was broken by those ships the King lent, and *Monsieur Sabeeza* came into *Falmouth* with the remainder, and thence to *Plimmouth*, with most lamentable out-cries against the Duke, who seemed to be very much affected with it, and made mighty Promises of wonderfull repairs, but Doctor *Preston* failed not to set that businesse home, he did believe the Duke was over-ruled to lend them, and sorry when he saw the sad effects.

But whilest the Duke was thus detained in the West, the Earl of *Bristol* and the Lord Keeper *Williams*, combined against him, and drew in many to their Party, among others the Earl of *Pembroke*, and divers great ones in the House of Commons, and was so encouraged and heartned in it, that the Earl of *Bristol*, May 1. 1626. presented in the House of Lords twelve Articles against the Duke of *Buckingham*, tending to prove, That the Duke had promised unto the Pope and Ministers of Spain, to make the King a Papist; and



and over-ruled him, against the judgment of the Earl of Bristol, to write unto the Pope with the title of Sanctissime Pater; That his carriage in the matters of Religion was so offensive, that he durst not to kneel before the Host as often as he met it; That he was so licentious and unchaste in his Behaviour, that the Spanish Ministers resolved not to have any thing to do with him; That when he could not bring about the Match to his own particular Advantage, he used means to obstruct it and break it off; That he had informed King James of all these things, who promised to bear him, and leave the offender unto Justice, and that not many daies before his sickness.

The Duke had now reason to look about him, and was very able to do, and first he labours to divide the Party by drawing off the Earl of Pembroke, by promising his Daughter to the Earl of Montgomeries Son, which afterward he did accomplish; Then he endeavoured to oblige the Puritans, by gratifying Doctor Preston all the ways he could, and particularly in the business of the Colledge-suit, by depriving Bishop Williams of the Seal, and giving it to Sir Thomas Coventry, who was one of the Colledge-Counsel; yea he went so far as to nominate the Doctor to the King to be Lord-Keeper, and the King was so firm to him, that the Earl of Bristol could do no good, and so withdrew his Articles.

Doctor Prestons Friends were Newters all this while, and looked on, neither engaged for him, nor against him, which was sadly represented to the Duke by the Bishops and that Party, who wondered he should dote upon a man that either could not or would not own him in his need, bad him consider whether Puritans were like to be his Friends, whose waies were two cels different, and told him plainly he could not have them both. If he adhered to those that sought their Ruine, they must adhere to such as would support them: so that the Duke was in a great strait and knew not what to do.

Doctor Preston also was importuned to put it to an issue, and if he would not leave the rotten and corrupted Clergy, then to leave him, and because there had been Informations against that Book of Master Montaignes, they propounded it might come to a Debate, and not remain as now it did, unsettled. The Doctor and the Duke were both of them unwilling to an open Breach, loved for to temporise and wait upon events. But Doctor Prestons Friends would not be satisfied, but urged a Conference, whereunto they were encouraged by some Orthodox and very learned Bishops, and at last it was concluded by two Religious Noble-Men, that a Conference there should be, the Bishop of Rochester and Doctor White then Dean of Carlile, on the one side, and the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and Doctor Preston on the other. A Day was set, a Saturday in Hilary-Term, at four of the Clock in the afternoon, the place was York-House, and Doctor Preston sent to in the morning for to attend it. The Noble-Men came unto the Bishops Lodgings, about two of the Clock, and sent for Doctor Preston to them, who gave many Reasons why he could not go, but they were resolute, and taking the Bishop with them went without him, but the Doctor considering, and fearing his absence might betray the cause, and give encouragement unto the other side, went afterward himself unto the place, and sate by as an hearer silent until all was done, but talking afterwards occasionally of falling from Grace, the Bishop shewed that a godly man might go far and yet return, by the Instance of the Prodigal, Luk. 15. but Doctor White exclaimed against any that should think the Prodigal in acts of Drunkenness and Whoredome not to be fallen from Grace, and urged that of the Apostle, Rom. 1. 32. That those that do such things are worthy of Death, that is, said he, in a state of everlasting Death, and therefore fallen from Grace; so 1 Cor. 6. 9, 10. shall not inherit the Kingdom of God; that is, are not Sons, for if Sons then Heirs, Rom. 8. 17.

But Doctor *Preston* answered, that these sins made indeed a forfeiture of all their interest into the hands of God, and he might make the seizure if he pleased, but did not unto those which were his Children, and in Covenant with him; as two Tennants, by not paying of their Rent, or keeping Covenants forfeited their Leases, yet the Lord might seize the one, and not the other, as he pleased. But the Bishop and the Dean both cried out, this was the way to all licentiousness and looseness. To which the Doctor answered, That the *Seed of God*, as the Apostle calls it, *1 John 3. 9.* remaining in the sinning Saint, or Son, and would repair him; as in water, there remains a Principle of cold, even when it boyleth over, that will undoubtedly reduce it, when the heat and fire is removed, as in *Peter, David, Sampson*, and others, was apparent; so that they could not run out into all licentiousness; For *the Spirit lusteth against the Flesh, that they cannot do the things they would, Gal. 5. 17.* and though he did not disinherit them, and blot their Names out of the Book of Life, *Phil. 4. 3.* yet he might, and would withdraw his Favour, imbitter all their Comforts, *Mat. 26. 75.* raise trouble to them from their dearest Interests, *2 Sam. 12. 11.* fill them with Anguish, *Psal. 38. 3, 4.* which in Reason will keep them from running out, seeing the evil is commensurable unto that good of pleasure or profit their sin afforded; and if need be, he can add unto it eternal Apprehensions, and make them feel the fierceness of his Anger, *Psal. 88. 6, 7.* without any hope of being eased; and after this can restrain and withhold them, as he did *Abimelech*, *Gen. 20. 6.* For if one cease to be a Son, because he commits a Sin that doth deserve eternal Death, then every Sin a Child of God commits, rends his Relation or Son-ship off; for every Sin deserves Eternal Death, *Rom. 6. 23.* and because in many things we offend all, *1 Jam. 3. 2.* we should be alwaies out of Son-ship, and have neither certainty nor comfort in our Estate, unless he could give some Ground out of Scripture, to assure what sins put us out, and what did not.

The Duke had sent to Doctor *Preston* to decline this clashing conference, and assured him he was as much his Friend as ever, and would have stopt it if he could, but the Bishops had over-ruled it, which the Doctor at the first believed, and so was backward. But when he saw the confidence of Doctor *White* and his Companion, he doubted the sincerity of that assurance, and was afterward informed, that there had been a meeting at the Countesse of *Denbies*, and the Duke had promised to leave him; This gave him resolution and encouragement against the second Conference, which was managed in a manner by him alone, against Master *Mountague* and Doctor *White*. For when the Doctor saw the Duke begun to double with him, he was less fearful to offend him, though the Duke still carried it, with all the fairness that he could, and appeared not in Person.

When the time came for the second Conference, the Doctor readily appeared, and the first thing he charged Master *Mountague* withal, was about his Doctrine of Traditions, which he affirmed he had delivered as grossly and erroneously as any Papist, *Gag. pag. 38, 39, 40.* For he justified that place in *Basil*, where he saies, *The Doctrine retained in the Church, was delivered, partly by written Instructions, partly by unwritten Traditions, having both alike force unto Piety*; which was so unlike to *Basil*, and the Opinions of those times, that it was generally believed to be put in by the Papists of later times. Master *Mountague* confessed, it was suspected by some of the preciser cut; but Doctor *Preston* told him, Bishop *Bilson* was none of them, yet he did judge it suppositious; and it must be so, or *Basil* acknowledged to be erroneous. For he instanceth in Praying towards the East, and use of Chrisme or Oyl in Baptisme; both which being Rejected by the Church of *England*, argues they held that place of *Basil* not Canonical.



Master *Mountague* answered, that *Doctrina* there used by Saint *Basil*, might signifie a thing that seemed so, and so the sense might be, that some things that seemed true, of less esteem and consequence, might be delivered by Tradition, as long as matters more substantial were taken from the Scriptures. But Doctor *Preston* shewed that *Doctrina* signified oftentimes Doctrine, and was used here by *Basil* for those Heads of Doctrine that were more Principal, and less exposed, comparing them unto those places in the Temple, whereunto the People had not access.

Master *Mountague* answered farther, that his Assertion was Hypothetical, that if a Doctrine came from the same Author, it was no great matter, whether it were by writing or word of mouth, for either had the same Authority. But Doctor *Preston* told him, *Basil* was positive, and spake directly, and him he justified, and therefore could not be Hypothetical, as he pretended.

It is a great step unto Victory for to divide. *Paul* sets the *Pharisees* against the *Saducees*, *Act*. 23. 6, 7, 8. that he might save himself. The Jesuites are so good at it, that though they have but one to be their Adversary, they will endeavour to divide him from himself, by moving Passion, or Compassion, or some Affection of his own against him. Doctor *White* had openly in the Commencement-House, maintained that Election is not *ex praevisis operibus*, and therefore Doctor *Preston* resolved to pinch Master *Mountague* in that particular, that he might bereave him of his animating Champion Doctor *White*.

There were four several Places that Doctor *Preston* had observed to make good this Charge, the first which he produced, was *Gag. pag. 179*. Some Protestants hold, that *Peter* was saved, because God would have it so, without respect unto his Faith and Obedience; and *Judas* Damned, because God would have it so, without respect unto his sin. And added, this is not the Doctrine of the Protestants, this is not the Doctrine of the Church, the Church of England hath not Taught it, doth not believe it, hath opposed it.

Now Doctor *White* was very fierce and eager to Engage, told him it was no Doctrine of the Church of England, but a private Fancy of some, that *Judas* was condemned, without respect unto his sin; *For the Wages of Sin is Death*, *Rom. 6. 23*. *The Soul that sinneth shall Die*, *Ezek. 18. 4*. But Doctor *Preston* answered, he did not charge that upon Master *Mountague*, but the former part of the Assertion, that *Peter* was not saved, without respect unto his Believing and Obedience; and so Election should not be Absolute, but grounded upon Faith and Works foreseen. Then said Dr. *White*, I have nothing against that, but leave Master *Mountague* to Answer for himself.

Doctor *Preston* was glad that he was eased of Doctor *White*, and yet resolved to make advantage of it, and therefore told Dr. *White*, if he thought Election was not *ex fine Prævisis*, he desired to know whether Saving Grace were an effect, and fruit of Election, or no? Doctor *White* acknowledged readily it was; then said Doctor *Preston*, Whosoever hath saving Grace is Elect. Now you know that an Elect Person, can never finally miscarry, or fall away; therefore whoever hath true Grace, can never fall away. The old man saw the Snare, and would have avoided it, by denying the Consequence. But the Doctor urged, that wheresoever the Effect is, there must be the Cause, but Saving Grace is an Effect of Election. This Doctor *White* would have denied, but the Hearers murmured that the Effect could not be without the Cause, as the Day is not without the presence of the Sun. Then Doctor *White* answered, that Saving Grace was an effect indeed, but a common Effect. But Doctor *Preston* urged, that it was not more common than Election; for all the Elect had Saving Grace, and

none but they; and therefore they could never fall away. But this (said he) is by the way, I will now apply my self to Master Mountague.

But when Master Mountague perceived that his Great Goliath Doctor White, forsook him, he was greatly troubled, and cavilled at the words a while, but the book, adjudging it for Doctor Preston, he said, The Church of England had not declared any thing against it. Doctor Preston alledged the seventeenth Article, but told Master Mountague, that he affirmed the Church of England did oppose it, and he desired to know where?

But after one of the Lords had whispered with Master Mountague, he confessed; that for Arminius, he had never read him, and that he had written some things negligently in that book, which he never thought should thus be scanned among friends, and therefore promised to write another book in Butter and Honey, and therein more exactly for to acquit himself.

Some of the good Lords proposed, that in stead of this Book which Mr. Mountague had promised to write, the Synod of Dort might be received and established as the doctrine of the Church of England, seeing there was nothing there determined, but what our Delegates approved. But Doctor White opposed this mainly; for (said he) the Church of England in her Catechism teacheth to believe in God the Son, who redeemed me and all mankind, which that Synod did deny.

Doctor Preston answered, That by Redemption there, was only meant the freeing of mankind from that inevitable ruine, the sin of Adam had involved them in, and making of them savable upon conditions of another Covenant, *Joh. 3. 16, 17.* so as now salvation was not impossible, as it was before the Death of Christ, but might be offered unto any man, according to the tenor of that Commission, *Mark 16. 15, 16.* Which could not be unto the Devils, for they were left in that forelorn condition, whereinto their sin and disobedience put them, *Heb. 2. 16. 2 Pet. 2. 4.* that the Jaylor was a boisterous bloody fellow, *Act. 16. 24, 27.* yet Paul makes no doubt for to tell him, *vers. 31. That if he believed on the Lord Jesus, he should be saved with his house.*

But Doctor White in no sort received this, but affirmed earnestly, that Christ died for all alike in Gods intention and Decree, for Cain as well as Abel, for Saul as much as David, for Judas as much as Peter, for the reprobate and damned in hell, as well as for the Elect and Saints in heaven.

But Dr. Preston answered, That there was a speciall Salvation afforded to Believers, *1 Tim. 4. 10.* That Christ was indeed a rancome for all, *1 Tim. 2. 6.* but the Saviour only of his body, *Eph. 5. 23.* That he redeemed all, but called, justified and glorified whom he knew before, and had predestinated to be conformed to the Image of his Son, *Rom. 8. 29, 30.* that to whom in this sense Christ was given, to them were given also all things appertaining unto life and godlinesse, *2 Pet. 1. 3.* as saith, *2 Pet. 1. 1. Phil. 1. 29. Eph. 2. 8.* Repentance, *Act. 11. 18; 2 Tim. 2. 25.* A new heart, *Ezek. 36. 26.* His Spirit, *Gal. 4. 5, 6.* So that nothing can be charged on them, but Jesus Christ hath undertaken, and is engaged to discharge them, *Rom. 8. 31, 32, 33, 34.* So that they can never perish, nor be taken out of Christs hand, *Joh. 10. 28, 29, 30.* but as they are begotten again unto a lively hope, *1 Pet. 1. 3.* so they are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, *Ver. 5.* whereas Judas was lost, *Joh. 17. 12.* and is gone to his own place, *Act. 1. 25,* and there are many nations and people of the world, that have no outward offer made unto them in the Gospel, *Psal. 147. 19, 20. Act. 16. 6, 7.* and those that have it, have not hearts given them to understand it and believe it, *Deut. 29. 2, 3, 4. Esa. 6. 9, 10. Mat. 13. 13, 14, 15.* and therefore they are lost, *2 Cor. 4. 3, 4.* and are damned, *2 Thes. 10, 11, 12.* For he shewed that in Adam all men were lost, *Rom. 5. 12.* and none recovered but



but by *Christ*; therefore such as had not *Christ's* intercession, could not recover; but *Christ* prayed not for some; *Joh. 17. 9.* and therefore such could not be saved, *Heb. 7. 25.*

Dr. *White*, acknowledged there was a difference; for though all had so much as by good improvement might serve their turn, yet the Elect had more, for God abounded towards them, *Eph. 1. 8, 9. Rom. 5. 15, 17, 20.* As all the Troop have horses, but the Officers have better. Both Travelers have staves to leap over the ditch, but the one a better and stronger than the other. The worst had grace enough to keep corruption, and the renitency of their natures down; but the Elect, such as would do it easily; for *Christ* had tasted death for every man, *Heb. 2. 9.* and died for those which yet might perish, *1 Cor. 8. 11.* and bought those, that yet brought upon themselves swift damnation, *2 Pet. 2. 1.* because they did not husband and improve the favour offered to them.

Dr. *Preston* answered, That *Christ* was in himself sufficient to save all, and might be said to be provided for that end and use, as a medicine is to cure infected persons, though it cure none actually, but those that drink it, as *Prosper. Habet in se quod omnibus prodest, sed si non bibitur non medetur.* As *1 Joh. 5. 11, 12.* but many did not thus apply *Christ*, because they had him not so offered and exhibited as others had *Mat. 11. 21. Luk. 10. 13.* for God gave some faith and repentance as we have shewed; as the Serpent that *Moses* was commanded for to make, was in it self sufficient to cure those that were bitten, *Numb. 21. 8, 9.* yet cured none, but only those that looked on it. So as *Moses* lift up the Serpent in the wilderness, So shall the Son of man be lift up, that whosoever believeth in him should not Perish, but have life everlasting, *Joh. 3. 14, 15.*

But Doctor *White* urged that place *Esa. 5. 4.* that God had done all he could, but they neglected and rejected the counsel of God against themselves, *Luk. 7. 30.*

Doctor *Preston* answered, That God had done all that they could challenge of him, for he had given them in *Adam* Power, *Ecl. 7. 29.* and proposed another way of mercy in a Mediatour, and therefore he appeals to any one that was indifferent, *Esa. 5. 3.* but this was unto *Israel*, he deals not so with other nations, *Psal. 149. 20.* Beside; he had done what he could, without reverting and rescinding his Decree, *Joh. 12. 38, 39, 40* for otherwise he could have given them the same spirit of faith, *2 Cor. 4. 13.* the like gift that he did unto others who believed on the Lord *Jesus*, *Act. 11. 17.* could have wrought in them both to will and to do according to his good pleasure, *Phil. 2. 13.* could have healed them as he promised, *Esa. 57. 18.* and as he did persecuting *Saul*, *1 Tim. 1. 6.* but God had other ends, *Rom. 9. 17.* and Attributes, *Rom. 9. 22.* which he was willing to discover, *Prov. 16. 4.*

But Doctor *White* asked how then he could require faith and repentance *Mark. 1. 15. Act. 17. 30.* which was all one, as if he should require one to give his judgment and opinion of a colour, that had his eyes shut, and then shut his eyes as fast as he could.

Doctor *Preston* answered; That he might do it to shew and discover our impotency, as we bid our little children rise, that by their own fault fell, that we may let them know their inability, and be the more beholding unto us to help them up, as *Mark. 9. 23, 24.* and because the call and command of *Christ* is the Vehiculum and Conduic-pipe of strength and power, *Act. 14. 10. Joh. 5. 8, 9.* as *Lazarus*, *Joh. 11. 43, 44.* Thus God by bidding and commanding men to take grace, doth thereby fit them and enable them to do it, as that Cripple, *Act. 3. 6, 7, 8.* was by the command enabled; so *Saul*, *Act. 22. 13.* being commanded to receive his sight, was enabled the same moment to look upon him; and so *vers. 16.* being commanded

to wash away his sins, had the blood of *Christ* provided ready for to do it. So these commands are not like those the Apostle speaks of, *Jam. 2. 16.* for here is something given; when God bids, he doth not, *Verba dare, sed rem.*

But it was further urged by the Doctor, that God had no pleasure in the death of wicked men, *Ezek. 33. 11.* but that he would rather they should repent and leave their sins, *Ezek. 18. 23.* and *vers. 32.* if therefore God were not ready to the utmost of his power to give them grace, he could not be excused from dissembling and double-dealing.

But Doctor *Preston* answered, That superiours may command unable persons for many reasons, but cannot be said for to dissemble, unless they refuse to give, when the required condition is performed. As if I bid one come unto me, and I will give him six-pence, if I refuse when he is come, I did dissemble; but if he comes not, he cannot charge me; for their not coming may be for want of will, *Joh. 5. 40.* as well as for want of power, *Joh. 6. 44.* Now if I know a Creeple will not come, though he could, I may punish him for it. It's true, God delights in nothing but himself, his joy and comfort, is terminated only in himself, not in the creature, but as some way served and represented by it; for God made all things for himself, *Prov. 16. 4.* yea for his Pleasure, *Rev. 4. 11.* That is, the exercise and illustration of some one of his attributes; as his power. *Exod. 9. 16. Rom. 9. 17.* his wrath, *Rom. 9. 22.* Never did strong man glory of his strength, more then God doth of his Sovereignty and Omnipotency, *Joh. 40. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.* Now, if it fall out, that in the illustration and exercise of these his glorious attributes and excellencies, some creatures smart, yet he delights not in their smart and sufferings, but in the demonstration of his own Omnipotency. *Ahashuerus* makes a Feast to all the States and Orders of his Kingdome, to shew the riches of his glorious Kingdome, and the Honour of his excellent Majesty: *Esth. 1. 3, 4.* This was not done without the smart and suffering of many of the creatures, yet he delights not in their sufferings, but in his own magnificence and bounty. When *Christ* was at the Feast, *Joh. 2. 1, 2.* he doth not condole the death of all those innocents that went to make it up; *Qui fruitur pana, ferus est:* but rejoyced in the good cheer, and good will of the Friend that bade him.

There were few present of Doctor *Prestons* Friends, and accordingly this conference was represented and reported with all the disadvantage that could be to him; insomuch that many Parliament men that were his Friends, were much offended at it; which occasioned him as soon as he came to *Cambridge*, to write the several passages, and send them to those friends that were unsatisfied. But it was an evidence that the Duke and Doctor *Preston* were not so great, but that he sticked to the Prelates, and would in the issue leave Doctor *Preston* and the Puritans, which much abated good mens affections to the Duke; and it was believed that he had no such footing in the Kings affections, as he did pretend unto: *Postea Maccenas speciem potius, quam vim tenuit in amicitia Principis.* They thought his greatnesse began to languish; and it was believed in the University, that there was another favourite in being, though yet obscure: for the Earl of *Suffolke* much about this time died, who had been a long time Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*, and great meanes was used to set the Duke up for to succeed him; but good men were fallen off, because of his deserting Doctor *Preston*, and others did believe his glory was departed; and so the Earl of *Berkshire*, the former Chancellors second Son, was set up against the Duke, and many visited for him that loved greatnesse, and were servants good enough unto the times; and it's believed, it had been carried for him against the Duke, if the wisdom of Doctor *Goffing*, then Vice-Chancellor, and some others in the scrutiny had not prevented it; but it was



was pronounced for the Duke; and great care was taken for the investing of him in a very solemn manner. A representative of the University is designed to attend him at York-house in their habits, and a sumptuous Feast provided for their entertainment. The Duke sat in the midst of the Table among the Doctors, where, by some body, there was an health begun unto the King. When it came to Doctor Preston for to pledge it, he was uncovered and bowed as others had done, but drank but very little, and so delivered it unto the next; but one of the Doctors took notice that he drank not all, and told him, he had seen him drink as great a Glass of Wine, and did believe he could have drunk this if he would, but that he loved to be singular. The Doctor acknowledged he was not skillfull in the Laws of drinking healths, and therefore if he had offended, he desired it might be imputed to his ignorance; but he thought the end was to shew respect unto the persons named, which was done best by the Ceremonies that preceded, as being bare, standing up, and such like; wherein (he said) he had not willingly offended; but if it were an Engine to Court-intemperance, and to engage men unto greater quantities than themselves liked, it fell short of that modesty and freedom of the Heathens, *Eph. 1. 8.* and was a sin in all, but in men of their degree and rank an abominable wickednesse.

The Duke disliked this incivility; and frowned on the Doctor that occasioned it; but it was believed it could not have been done, without assurance that the Dukes affections were Ebbing towards Doctor Preston. And no wonder; for his end being to make impressions of good upon the Court, he could not but see, if they did not succeed, they would recoil. If you manure and sow your land, if the seeds subdues it not, and conquers it, it is enabled to bring forth the stronger weeds, *Heb. 6. 7, 8.* If your Peasles be cast before swine, they will also turn again and rend you, *Mat. 7. 6.* The Duke had now seen the worth and way of Doctor Preston; he had found that he could not winne him, and make him his, he could not therefore in the way of policy, but labour and resolve to wrack and sink him. When Herod was converted by prevailing conquering Augustus, for his great assistance of Mark Anthony his adversary, and knew it would be in Augustus power to take his head off, he settled his affairs, but gave peremptory order that his beloved Mariamne should be put to death; for this only reason, because another should not enjoy so great a beauty. So the Duke would not another should enjoy the great abilities of Doctor Preston, but was resolved to break him if he could; yet in a Civil Court way.

But the Doctor was too knowing, not to see this afar off, *Prov. 22. 3.* *Qua alii levia faciunt, diu patiundo; ea sapiens, diu cogitando;* and had accordingly provided a succession of reserves, wherein to hide himself. The first and surest was his conscience, *2 Cor. 1. 12.* *This is our rejoicing, the testimony of our Conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world.* If a man be welcome into his conscience, he need not fear the stormes and blusters that he meets abroad. *In te recedas, cum cogeris in turbas esse.* When a man is forced to be where he would not, as Peter was foretold he should be, *Joh. 21. 18.* yet he may in despite of them retire into himself. Paul made it his businesse to have his Conscience alwaies up of offence, *Act. 24. 16.* and so did Doctor Preston; for though his actions, being many of them above the common size, were not alwaies understood, and very often mis-interpreted, yet he was innocent and upright alwaies in them. An undeniable argument whereof was, that he never sued for the least preferment, as we have said, but studied, and often consulted, how without breaking, he might avoid them.

And though he lived like himself, and gave relief to others, yet it was never of his own; as very many yet alive can witness. And indeed he was a man of very much Communion and sweet Society with God; prayed much in

private, and by himself, besides as Tutor with his Pupils, and after, as Master in his Family. Whatever weakness he was in, or business did occur, kept many private daies of Fasting by himself, especially before the Sacraments and *Sabbath-daies*; and accordingly enjoyed a constant clearnesse and assurance of his Justification, and interest in the blood of *Christ*; even then, when frailties and infirmities did most of all afflict and wound him. He never (that I know) was troubled or perplexed about Adoption, though very often about the imperfection of his Graces, and the unconstancy of Sanctification; so as he studied most exactly that Treatise of the Saints Infirmities, and there is nothing in all his Works that may more properly be called his.

His next retreat was to *Lincolns-Inn*; for now he said, the Duke was Chancellor, and would endeavour to ingratiate himself, and be a Benefactor; and had brought *Erpenius* Manuscripts, and did verily intend to found a Library; and so it would be easie, and in his power, to out him, of the Colledge and University. For there was a resolution in some of the Fellows, to petition the Duke without him, and to annul the Statute of continuance or Commorator in the Colledge; yet he conceived the Lawyers would pretend a kind of freedom and exemption. For he saw, when that holy blessed Doctor *Sibbs* was outed, both of Fellowship and Lecture in the University, yet by the goodnesse and prudence of Sir *Henry Yelverton*, that constant Patron unto godly Ministers, (a vertue yet running in the veins of his posterity) he was received and retained at *Graves-Inne*, unto his death; therefore he would in no sort leave his title unto, and interest in *Lincolns-Inne*, but reserved it in his power unto his dying day.

But he knew Kings had long hands, and that the Dukes were nothing shorter; and that *Lincolns-Inne*, though a great deal stronger and better built then *Graves-Inne*, yet would not hold out long, in case the Duke should seriously beleagure it; therefore he pondered of removing farther off if need were. And having weighed all retreats, resolved upon *Basil* in the Switzers Countrey, as a place which the longest handed Kings had seldome touched, even when it was a receptacle of their greatest enemies; and therefore he resolved, in case he could not be free in *England*, to settle there, and spend the residue of his surviving dayes, in writing what he was not suffered to preach, or had not published according to his mind.

He was naturally very affable and courteous unto strangers of any Countrey, and by conversing much with them, endeavoured to preserve his knowledge in the *French* and *Italian* languages. But after he had thus resolved upon *Basil*, he was very friendly to all the Germans, that were dispersed from several Universities, especially from the *Palatinate*; for whom he procured several sorts of entertainments, both in the Countrey abroad, and in the University; for which, as he had very many Gratulatory Epistles from particular persons, so one of note from the King of *Bohemia*, under his Hand and Seal.

But he knew that these were but the Foxes earths, that might successively be taken and possessed. He therefore also thought upon that *unum magnum* of the Cat, or rather of the Holy Ghost, *Prov. 18. 10.* the Name of the Lord, that is, the goodnesse, mercy, power, of the mighty God; where he was well assured, he should for ever be free enough from Kings and Dukes. Yet these did no way retard his industry in using means. Obstructions quickned industrious and active minds, but damp and Clog the dull. There is a Statesman of no mean esteem, that writes professedly against the use of Cittadels and Forts, because it makes the Souldier lesse resolved in engagements. And the *Spartans* were forbidden to wall their City, because it would encourage Cowardise. But it did not take off Doctor *Preston* from his duty. For finding that his standing at Court was undermined, he resolved upon Buttresses to underprop him in the Countrey. There



There was in the Countrey of Northampton, a Gentleman of very able parts, and clear affections to the publick good, no stranger to the Court in former times, nor to the Duke of Buckingham, with whom the Doctor used to communicate affairs, and who was then a Parliament man of much esteem; to him, the Doctor in a Letter discovers all, shews him the hopelesse posture of the Duke, how much they both were disappointed in him; layes some directions what to do, and urgeth activeness. This Letter by a sad misfortune was let fall, by him that was intrusted to convey it, about Temple-Bar, and handed from one to one, until it came to Sir Henry Spillers; who having viewed and pondered the contents, concluded it was a purchase that would ingratiate him unto the Duke, and so immediately presents it to him.

The Duke was troubled to read his Faults and Face so shrewdly intimated and presaged. His temper was exceeding good, and he could manage his affections many times, with much serenity and moderation; but now he was quite off, and could not think of any thing but a revenge. I have not known any thing so trouble and afflict the Doctor as this did, that the Duke should have his hand against him, and that he had involved so good a man to whom he wrote. But it pleased God to cut the Duke out other work; for the cry of *Rochel*, and the protestants of *France*, was so exceeding great, and so much resented by the Parliament, that the Duke resolves to vindicate his honour by relieving them. And whilst he was busie to set that Fleet out, and furnish Forces for surprising the Isle of *Rhees*, he could not undertake that work of Revenge intended against Doctor Preston. But the Doctor thought not that he had done enough, unless he proclaimed in the Pulpit what he had often tould the Duke in private; according to that Command of *Christ*, *Mat. 6. 27. What I tell you in darkness, that speak you in light; and what you hear in the ear, that preach on the house-tops.* As *Chrysostome* to his people; *Cum verum singuli audire non vultis, publice audietis.* When the *French Match* was concluded, he preached that Sermon of the Pillar and ground of Truth, against the mingling of Religions, and mixing Truth with Falshood; and shewed how imposible it was to mingle Truth with Errour, or make up one Religion of theirs and ours. For, should they leave out any Tenet of their Church, it would follow, that the Church, in that, before had erred; and so that Pillar would be overthrown, on which have hanged so many necessary Points of *Papery*. Neither could we part with any one Truth; for Religion is of a brittle Nature; break it you may, bend it you cannot. It cannot be accommodated to respects of policy and interets of States and Kingdomes; but as Elements, when mingled in a compound body, do loose their proper Formes. So Religions, when made ingredients, and compounding parts of any other, do lose their Formes, and cease to be Religions in Gods account, *2 Kings 17. 33, 34. Pillar and ground, pag. 16.*

And when the *Rochellers* were in distresse, and laid their ruine and disasters at our door; fathered their Losses and Calamities on us; he preached that Sermon of the new Life, where *Page 48.* we have these words: *We cannot stand alone; what measure we mete to others in their Distress, men shall measure the same to us in our Necessity, Luk. 6. 38. And how soon the Fire may take here also, we know not.* And *pag. 52.* *If any be an impediment, nay, if any do not do their best, I pronounce this, in the Name of the most true God, that shall make it good sooner or later, that they and their Houses shall Perish, Esth. 4. 14.* The Court was hood-wink't in all these Comminations; for by Church, they understood the Prelates and their Party, and the King thought if he adhered to them, and did their work, he was absolved. But those that read the Commentaries that have been written since in red Letters, will have occasion to believe the contrary.

And when the Duke was in the Isle of *Rhees*, in which Voyage he had engaged many of his very good Friends, and much of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, the Doctor preached that Sermon, called the Demonstration of the Deity, where page 81. ye have these words: *It is certain, that evil is intended against us, and will come upon us, except something be done for to prevent it; for there is a Covenant between God and us, and breach of Covenant causeth a Quarrel; Now the Quarrel of God shall not go unrevengeed, Lev. 26. 25. I will send a Sword upon you, which shall avenge the quarrel of my Covenant. Gods quarrels are not rash and passionate as mens are; and therefore he will not lay them aside without some true and real Satisfaction. If we will not believe his Word, yet will we not believe his Actions? Are not our Allies wasted? Are not many branches of the Church cut off already, and more in hazard? In a word, have not our enterprizes been blasted, and withered under our hands for the most part? Have not things been long going down the Hill, and are even now hastning to a Period?* This Sermon was preached to the King at *Whitchall*, on the *Lords day*, and on the *Wednesday* following, the news came of the total routing of our Army in the Isle of *Rhees*, which was such a ratification of his Prediction, but the *Sabbath* day before, as made many to believe he was a Prophet, and they called him *Micaiah*, because he seldom Prophecied good unto them. And Doctor *Neal*, then Bishop of *Winchester*, said, That he talked like one that was familiar with God Almighty. And they were the more affected with it, because the Doctor had another course to preach before his moneth was out, (for every Chaplain was to preach twice, once upon the *Lords Day* and also upon the *Tuesday*;) but the Doctor was desirous to exchange his course upon the *Tuesday*, for a *Sabbath-Day*. So Doctor *Potter* preached on the *Tuesday*, and Doctor *Preston* was to preach upon the *Lords-Day* following, and was resolved to proceed on the same Text, but to handle a point relating to the third Verse. For having shewed in this Sermon that things were not done by chance but by God, he now resolved for to shew, that God did things that men do not look for. Which being known among the Bishops, and they affrighted with that disaster at the Isle of *Rhees*, they interceded with the Clerke of the Closter, that seeing Doctor *Prestons* turn was past already, and this was Doctor *Potters*) another might be put up, and he deferred till another time, which was consented and yielded to: and so upon the *Fryday* before, a Messenger was sent unto the Doctor, to tell him, that another was provided to preach for Doctor *Potter*, and he might spare his pains. The Doctor wondered at the Providence; for he was resolved fully to have said that in that Sermon, if he had been suffered, that would in reason have deserved *Micaiahs* entertainment, 1 *Kings* 22. 27. But God was mercifull unto him, and used his enemies as instruments to save him from the danger. It would have damped some men to be thus refused. He might have said with him, *Mat. 22. 4. Behold, I have prepared my Dinner, my Oxen and my Fatlings are killed, and all things are ready.* But he considered what he had preached before, *That a Sparrow fell not to the ground without Gods will.* That his Will and Resolution for to sacrifice his all, was now accepted as *Abrahams* was; that his Sermon, whilest an *Embryo*, and only in intention, had an efficacious operation upon the Auditory. For as they had shewed and discovered their fears, so good men did their joys; and the Sermon was more talked of at Court and in the City, than any Sermon that ever he had preached before. For all men enquired what the Sermon was, that Doctor *Preston* was not suffered to preach; and many wise men were perswaded, that it did more good, then it would have done, in case it had been preached. So that in stead of being damped and dejected at the affront, he was enlivened and encouraged: *Repulsus generoso excitat iram, languida iustitiam.* I never knew him come home from the Court more satisfied, then



then he, did this one, nor more encouraged in his Ministry at Cambridge; for he was then upon those Sermons of the Attributes, that since are printed, and God was greatly with him in them.

Those Fellows at Emanuel, that had been active in making of him Master there, were much dissatisfied, because the Doctor never would consent to the annulling of that Statute, *De mora sociorum in Collegio*. For he was convinced, that the Founder had added it upon very weighty grounds; and he saw it was a meanes to make the Fellows Preach, and look abroad, and lesse intend the actings of the Master; that young Scholars were heartned in their studies, with hopes that there would be preferments ready for them. And it was ordinary among the Scholars, to observe how long some Fellows were to stay. Therefore observing these affronts at Court, they Petitioned the King, that, that Statute might be abrogated. The Duke was glad of this occasion to be revenged upon his old Friend Doctor Preston, and did embrace it with all alacrity. Commissions were dispatched for to hear and consider their Allegations, and many meetings and debates were had about it; in which it was acknowledged, it was a Statute of equal power and validity with the rest, though added three years after; and upon that, one of the Fellows that had Petitioned fell off. The Doctor used all his Friends, for to support and keep in power and effect this Statute, and found very many very forward to assist him in it; but above all, a very Noble Grand-child of the Founders yet living, did much encourage and enable the defence: for though a Courtier, and much obliged, yet adventured, and waved all his interests, rather than he would behold his Grandfathers pious and prudent care so overthrown. So a temper was at last agreed on, that it should be suspended from effects in Law, untill six livings of an hundred pounds *per annum*, should be annexed to the Colledge.

The soul is the undoubted Sovereign of the body, and hath therein *Despoticum imperium*, an absolute and uncontroled Jurisdiction; and in case of injury or over-burdening, there is no action lies. But souls should consider, soft and fare goes far: *Qui vult regnare diu, languida regnat manu*. It was Hobson that told the Scholars they would come time enough to London, if they did not ride too fast. It was incurable in this good man to over-ride himself; for the body is *pars compositi*, when it is tired, we cannot take a new one at the next stage, as we do Horses. But he thought all was one, some lived as much in seven years, as others did in seventy. *Non diu vixit, sed diu fuit* was his opinion of many men, that our life is like to iron that will consume with rust, as much as employment: *Vita sicut ferrum, exerceas, vel perit*. These were his principles, and his actings were according; the most unmercifull unto his flesh of any living. And it's true, that not time, but actions should be the Met-wand of all mens lives. *Non annos meos sed victorias numero*: Not how long I have lived, but how? yet God doth usually allow his dearest servants time to do their work in. Moses 120 years of age, *Deut. 34. 7*. David an old man before he dies, *1 Chron. 29. 28*. Paul aged, *Phil. 9*. notwithstanding all his labours and activity; but the Doctor had a shorter period put unto his daies: all mens is set, *Job. 7. 1*. his was short. It was no disparagement to good Josiah to die about the Doctors age, *2 Chron. 34. 1*. Our glorious King Edward, that scarce out-lived his minority, out-stripped notwithstanding all his longest living Predecessors in doing good: God that had set his time, hastned his service, and so he did the Doctors. His preaching and studying labours were exceeding great; but that which spent and wore him, was his care and troubles for the Churches safety and prosperity; Often he would inculcate that, *2 Cor. 11. 28. That which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches*.

When his body therefore began to be sick and languish, he was content a little to abate and take off, and thought a Countrey house in some good sickness air might help; as formerly it had done; and accordingly took one at Lin-

ton, near the hills about six miles off, which he furnished and purposed to be in all the week, and come on *Saturdays* to preach upon the *Lords dayes*; and had this course been taken time enough, much might have been. But now he feared, sollicitude would but be changed into solitude, the air of suitable converse, he doubted, would be wanting there; and being alone, he saw, would too much gratifie his melancholy. The Spring therefore approaching, he was willing to consult with some *Physicians*; and *London* being far off, he sent to *Bury* for Doctor *Despotine*. His present malady was want of rest, which now Tobacco would not help him to, as formerly it had done; and therefore he proposed letting blood. The Doctor plainly told him, that might perhaps allay his heats, and purchase sleep; but if he were within the verge of a Consumption, it would be fatal to him. He was inticed notwithstanding with the deceitfull hopes of present ease, and so was let blood, but never lived to repair that losse. For sinking more and more, he went to *London*, and took advice of those that were best acquainted with his state of health, by their advice he retired a little unto *Newington*, unto a loving Friend of his that lived there, and then to *Heyford-shire* unto a thinner and more penetrating air. The malady they all agreed was in his lungs, which were not Ulcerated neither, but obstructed and oppressed with stiff and clammy matter, that he could not void, and perspiration was that he wanted, and they supposed a penetrating air might do the cure; but that was found too searching and corrosive for the other parts, which were pervious enough and penetrable. He therefore thought upon *Northampton-shire*, his native Countrey, which would in reason be most propitious unto him. However he would leave his breath where first he found it, and thankfully return what had been serviceable now a long time to him. He had at *Preston* four miles from *Heyford*, a very dear and bosome Friend, that was ambitious of entertaining good men; old Master *Dod* was but a mile off, and being seriously invited thither, he pitcht upon it, where he enjoyed with great contentment, what air, converse of friends, and loving entertainment could afford, and at the first was much refreshed by it; but nature being spent, and no foundation being left to work upon, all his refreshing quickly flagged. He had before made use of Doctor *Ashworth*, and he was one of much experience, and knew his body well; therefore he thinks of riding over unto *Oxford* to him, which he did, and there continued about twelve daies, and consulted with such as were there of any note. Men die and perish when their time is come, as well *errore medici*, as *vi morbi*. Doctor *Ashworth* was perswaded that the Scorbute was his disease, and that the *London-Doctors* had all mistook their mark, and therefore pitcheth upon applications suitable: A great error for so experienced and grave a Doctor. Desire of restitution into a state of health, made shift to flatter him into belief it was so. The old man upon this perswasion, comes over unto *Preston* with him, steeps and strains Scurvy-grass, and gives him Drenches able to have weakned a stronger man than he was now; and having stayed and tampered with him about three weeks, and finding nothing answer his expectation, he takes his last leave of him, giving such order and direction as he thought good, and so leaves him, and returns to *Oxford*, July 9. 1628.

When this dream and fancy of the Scorbute failed, and Doctor *Ashworth* was gone, he resigned up himself to God alone, and let all care of *Physick* and the Doctors go. He had a Servant who had been laborious with him, and whom he often used as a Friend, he would say, *Servi sunt humiles amici*, which was very true of him. To him he therefore now unbosomed himself, not only touching the vanity and emptinesse of all things here below, but his own belief and expectation of a suddain change; not of my company (said he,) for I shall still converse with God and Saints, but of my



my place, and way of doing it. His *Will* was made (as we have said) some years before, but he was doubtfull, if it came to proving, it might be baffled and affronted, and therefore purposed to wave it, and make a Deed of Gift to him that was in that *Will* his Executor, with such restrictions and limitations as he thought good, all which he set down with his own hand; wherein he carefully provided for his Mother during life, and both his Brothers. His Books, and all the furniture and goods belonging to, and in his lodgings at *Emanuel-Colledge*, he gave one of his Pupils that was Fellow there, whom he alwaies greatly favoured. Some exhibitions he gave Scholars there to be disposed of from time to time, by him that was Executor. And as he truly valued, so he liberally rewarded his Servants faithfulness, who liveth yet in very good condition and reputation; of whom is verified what is said, *Prov. 27. 18. Who so keepeth the fig-tree, shall eat the fruit thereof; so he that waiteth on his Master, shall surely come to honour.* And having thus discombred himself of worldly cares, he took care for the places he now possessed, prayed for the Colledge, that it might continue a flourishing Nursery of Religion and Learning, told those about him, as *David* before his death, *1 Chron. 29. 2, 3; &c.* what he had done towards that goodly building since erected, and what care he had taken to get those Rectories in the Kings Letter mentioned, whereof we spake before; prayed God to furnish *Lincolns-Inne* from time to time with able preaching Ministers, and so the Lecture at *Cambridge*, that had cost so much trouble in the procuring. Then for his Sermons, that they might not come into the world like Vagabonds; but seeing the Father lived not, to see them sated and provided for, those would be carefull whom then he named, and is long since intimated upon occasion. In all which great things God hath so answered him, as I think no man was since *Elisha*, *2 King. 2. 9, 10.*

The night before he died, being *Saturday*, he went to bed, and lay about three hours desirous to sleep, but slept not; then said, *My dissolution is at hand, let me go to my home, & to Jesus Christ who hath bought me with his precious blood.* And so lay still as in a slumber, till about two of the clock in the morning; then drinking and resting on his servants armes, he fell into a cold and clammy sweat, which he told them was the Messenger of death; and so continued for about two hours very silent. About four of the clock, he said, I feel death coming to my heart, my pain shall now be quickly turned into joy. And so his Friends were called that were present in the house, who spake unto him, but had no answer from him as they were used to have. They kneeled all down, and a Reverend Divine there present prayed. When Prayer was ended, he looked on them, and turning away his head, gave up the ghost. It was about five a clock on the *Lords-day*, but to him an everlasting *Sabbath*. He never (by his good will) rested that day, since God was truly known unto him untill now; God gave him therefore now an everlasting Rest. No man deserved better Funeral solemnities. But Master *Dod* was much against it; and his Friends at *Cambridge*, who did highly honour him, and desired nothing more, than to have waited on his dust unto its long home, were now obliged to attend the Election of another Master, that they durst not so much as make it known, or do any thing, from which it might be gathered. So he was buried decently, but without state, in *Fawsley Church* in the County of *Northampton*. Old Master *Dod*, the Minister of that place preached, and a world of godly people came together, *July 20. 1628.* being within a little of one and forty years of age.

Doctor *Preston* just before his death, asked what day it was, and being answered, that it was *Sabbath day*; A fit day (said he) to be sacrificed on; I have accompanied Saints on earth, and now I shall accompany Angels in Heaven. Also, Mrs. *Chaderton* telling him of his preaching so profound-

ly on Gods Attributes, he answered; If it shall please God to prolong my life, I will make all so plain, that every one shall be able to understand it.

*This Life was written by my Reverend Friend, Master Thomas Ball of Northampton.*



M<sup>r</sup>. ARTHVR HILDERSAM

*The Life of Master Arthur Hildersam, who dyed  
Anno Christi 1631.*

His Paren-  
tage.



Arthur Hildersam was born at Stetchworth, near New-Market in Cambridge-shire, Octob. 6. 1563. He was Son of Thomas Hildersam of the said Town (a Gentleman of an antient Family) and Anne Poole, his second Wife, daughter to Sir Jeffery Poole, fourth Son to Sir Richard Poole, (who was Cousen Germane to King Henry the seventh) and Margaret Countesse of Salisbury, that was Daughter to George Duke of Clarence, (the second Brother to King Edward the fourth) and Isabel the eldest daughter and Co-heir of Richard the great Earl of Warwick, and Salisbury. Thus much for his Birth.

His Educa-  
tion.

For his Education; In his childhood, he was brought up in the Popish manner, taught to say his Prayers in *Latine*; both his Parents and their Kindred, especially his Mother, being zealous *Papists*. When he was to be sent abroad to School, his Fathers aim was only to send him to a good School, where many



many Gentlemens Sons were taught, but God so ordered it, (by his good providence) that his Father unawares, placed him at *Saffron Walden* School in *Essex*, with one Master *Disborough*, a godly man, and a Religious House-stant, who taking great affection to him for his wit and disposition, was very careful of him, and taught him not only that humane learning that was fitting for his years, but the grounds of the Protestant Religion. This his School-master, was the first blessed Instrument that God was pleased to make use of, to work in him a liking and relish of the Reformed Religion. He continued with him, till he was fit for the University, which was not long. For when he was but about thirteen years of age, he was placed by his Father (the good hand of God still over-ruling him) with a very godly and Religious Tutor in *Christs Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he continued till after he was Master of Arts, where he gained much love and esteem for his Piety, Learning, Ingenuity, affability and harmlesse inoffensive witty Converse.

When he had continued in *Cambridge* some two years, or thereabouts, his Father sent him up to *London*, intending to send him to *Rome*, (being confident he should neither want respect, encouragement, nor preferment, for his great Uncles [Cardinal *Poole*] sake, Brother to his Mothers Father) but he refusing to go, his Father kept him long at *London*, taking him from one *Papish* Ordinary to another, hoping that such company, would at length have prevailed with him, to have gone according his desire. But he continuing firm in his resolution, not to go to *Rome*, his Father resolved to cast him off; which soon after he did. Thus he, whom God had appointed to suffer much for him, began to bear the yoke in his youth, and in his tender years, became a Confessor in forsaking Father, Friends, all present maintenance, and probable hopes of great future preferment for *Christs* sake.

Being in this dejected and forlorn condition, God that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted him by meeting with Master *John Ireton* (then Fellow of *Christs Colledge*, after Rector of *Kegwarth* in *Leicestershire*, a man famous for Piety and Learning) in *London*, who at their meeting, said unto him; *Arthur, why art thou so long from thy Book, and losest so much time?* Alas Sir, said he, I shall go no more to *Cambridge*; and thereupon told him his condition, and the occasion of it. Be not discouraged, (saith Master *Ireton*) thou hast a Noble Kinsman, whom I will acquaint with thy case: and I doubt not but he will provide for thee. Accordingly Master *Ireton* soon after went to the Right Honourable *Henry Earl of Huntingdon*, Lord President of the North (whose Mother and Master *Hildersams* Mother, were Brothers Children) and representeth to him the sad condition of his poor Kinsman: The Noble Earl gladly embraced this opportunity of doing good; and sent for him, encouraged him, promised him maintenance, and gave order to Master *Ireton* to send him back to *Cambridge*, and to place him with a good Tutor. For (said he) I suppose his Father did place him with a Papist. But when Master *Ireton* assured him the contrary, he gave order he should go to his former Tutor, of whose love to him, and care of him, Master *Hildersam* was wont often to speak.

When Master *Hildersam* was Master of Arts, he was soon after to Common-place, [a Colledge exercise in Divinity, not different from a Sermon, but in length] he being loth to adventure upon that Exercise, intreated one of the Fellows (his special Friend) to supply his place the first time; but he, out of love, refused to gratifie him in that, and wished him to remember one Master *Sidney Zouch*, Master of Arts of that Colledge, who getting one to supply his place the first time, and hearing afterwards some of his own year perform that Exercise so well, that he deserv-

His conversion.

A special Providence.

His going to Cambridge.

His Father casts him off.

Lam. 3. 27.

2 Cor. 7. 6.

A special Providence.

His first  
Sermon.

He is cho-  
sen Fellow  
of *Christ's*  
Colledge,  
but oppo-  
sed.

His remove  
to *Ashby*.

His marri-  
age.

His first  
filencing.

His Sermon  
before the  
Judge.

Judge *An-  
derson* angry  
with him.

He mana-  
geth the Pe-  
tition for  
Reformati-  
on.

His second  
filencing.

ed of doing the like; could never after, be perswaded either to Common-  
place; or preach, though he were a very able Schollar. The first time he  
was to Common-place, he was much afraid; but observing that there sate  
a very godly man (his Friend) on the other side of the Chappel, he  
thought, that, that man Prayed for him, which much encouraged him.

He was of so good repute for his Piety and Learning, that by the ma-  
jor part of the Fellows he was chosen Fellow of that Colledge; But Do-  
ctor *Barwell* (the Master) making use of his negative voice, stopped him;  
and the matter came to the Visitors, two of which *viz.* Doctor *Perne*,  
and Doctor *Goad*, favouring his Competitor, Master *Willet*, (who was af-  
terwards Doctor *Willet*) made him Fellow. Not long after, he was cho-  
sen Divine of *Trinity-hall* in the said University; where he continued till  
*Septemb.* the 14, 1587. at which time, by the foresaid Right Honourable  
Earle, he was called to be, and placed Preacher at *Ashby de la zowce* in  
*Leicester shire*. The impropriate Tithes of the same Parish being settled up-  
on him for his life by the said Earl, and continued to him by the favour  
of the two succeeding Earls, *George*, and *Henry*, untill his death. He hath  
given publique notice to the world, of his duty and thankfulnesse to that  
noble Houle, in his Dedictory Epistle to his Lectures on *Joh. 4.*

*January 5.* 1590. He married Mistresse *Anne Barfoot* (Daughter to  
Master *Barfoot* of *Lamborn-hall* in *Essex*, who was a very loving and  
carefull Wife of him, and the like Mother of his Children,) she survived him  
about eight years. He was silenced in *June* 1590. and restored again in *January*,  
1591. He was instituted and inducted into the Vicaridge of *Ashby*, *Octob. 4.* 1593.

He preached at the Assises at *Leicester* in the time of a great dearth,  
*July 20.* 1596. a godly, learned, zealous, plain, and powerfull Sermon,  
upon those words, *1 King. 18. 17, 18. And it came to passe when Ahab  
saw Elijah, that Ahab said unto him, Art thou he that troublest Israel? And  
he answered, I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy fathers house, in  
that ye have forsaken the Commandements of the Lord, and thou hast followed,  
Baalim.* In the handling of which Text he so offended Judge *Anderson*, that  
he manifested his anger and displeasure, both by his countenance and ge-  
sture, arising to go away; But Master *Hildersam* speaking some words unto  
him with ministerial authority, he stayed till the Sermon was done. After  
Sermon, the Judge would have had the Grand-Jury to have indited him;  
but in those daies, it would have been hard to have found a Grand-Jury  
in *Leicester-shire*, that would have done that. Some further and greater  
danger Master *Hildersam* was in, by reason of that Judges displeasure for  
that Sermon; but God in mercy prevented it.

In the year 1598. there was an attachment sent out of the High-Com-  
mission for his apprehension. In the beginning of King *James* his reign,  
when many petitioned for Reformation, (which Petitions were very mo-  
dest and moderate, subscribed by above seven hundred and fifty godly able  
Preachers, in but twenty five Counties; which Petition was directed to the  
Parliament, and other Petitions to his Majesty and the Lords of the Coun-  
cil, and to the Bishops:) he with some few others of his Brethren, were  
chosen, and chiefly intrusted to mannage that important businesse, to profe-  
cute the Petitions, to sollicite the cause; and if required, to dispute it. And  
whereas there were some appointed to deal (for those that desired Re-  
formation,) in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, he, with Master *Stephen*  
*Egerton* of *London*, and Master *Edward Fleetwood* of *Lanca-shire*, deliver-  
ed to them some ten demands and requests, made by thirty Reverend  
Ministers: in the name of themselves and many others, which they  
intreated them to sollicite his Majesty for, in the behalf of the  
Church.

He was deprived and silenced by *William Chaderton*, then Bishop of  
*Lincolne*,



*Lincolne*, April 24. 1605. for refusall of subscription, and conformity; yet after some time, by the connivance and favour of *William Overton*, then Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, he preached sometimes in that Diocesse, specially at those two famous Exercises at *Burton* upon *Trent* in *Staffordshire*, and *Repton* in *Derbyshire*, which were the meanes of great good to the souls of many both Ministers and private Christians in the parts adjacent. He was the main upholder of these two Exercises for many years.

The success  
of his Mini-  
stry.

In *January* 1608. by the favour of *William Barlow*, then Bishop of *Lincolne*, he was allowed to preach again at *Ashby* aforesaid, where he began his Lectures on *John* 4. 10. *January* 31. and continued that Lecture weekly on *Tuesday*, till *Novemb.* 12. 1611. These Lectures being one hundred and eight, he published in his lifetime, 1628. having them all written by himself, before he preached them; which course he took when he began those Lectures, and continued it to his dying day, blaming himself much, that he began it no sooner, and by that neglect, both himself and others were deprived (in a great part) of the benefit of his former labours.

He is resto-  
red to *Ash-  
by*.

His Lect-  
ures on  
*John* 4.

*Novemb.* 1611. he was silenced by *Richard Neales* meanes, then Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who complaining to the King of him, the King commanded the Arch-Bishop, to write to the Bishop of *Lincolne*, to send for Master *Hildersam*, and to silence him, which was accordingly presently done. The occasion of Bishop *Neales* complaint to King *James* was this: One *Edward Wightman*, a damnable Heretick (afterward burnt at *Lichfield* for Blasphemy and Heresie,) dwelling in *Burton* upon *Trent* aforesaid, and coming sometimes to the Exercise there, the Bishop and his Friends gave out, that *Wightman* learned his Opinions (at least that of the souls sleeping) of the Puritans, and at the foresaid Exercises, and of Master *Hildersam* by name. Bishop *Neal* informing King *James* of this, the King commanded him, (when he went into the Countrey) to send for Master *Hildersam*, and to hear what he could answer *Wightman* in this matter. The Bishop accordingly sent for Master *Hildersam*, but would not hear his defence till *Wightman* came. *Wightman* being called to his second publique hearing, *Novemb.* 26. 1611. (in the hearing of more than five hundred people) charged the Bishop with sundry wrongs he had done him, naming this for one; That he had given it out, that he had learned his Opinions from Master *Hildersam*: whereas I professe (said he) he never taught, nor confirmed me in any of them; but was of all men ever most opposite unto me in them, and caused mine own Friends to reject me for them. Master *Hildersam* had long before in a private conference, in the presence of Master *Aberly*, the Minister of *Burton*, (who had intreated him to take some pains to reclaim *Wightman*;) shewed him that his Opinion of the souls sleeping, was directly repugnant to the holy Scriptures, and an Heresie long since condemned in the Church. The places of Scripture he urged against him, were these, *Luk.* 16. 22, 23, & 23. 43. *Phil.* 1. 23. Soon after, he received a Letter from *Wightman*, *March* 10. 1608. and perceiving by that, and the report of others, that he grew more and more obstinate in his errors, and laboured to draw others unto it, Master *Hildersam* took occasion in the next Exercise held at *Burton*, viz. upon *March* 15. 1608. publickly and at large to confute his error; The Text that fell out that day to be handled, Leading him directly unto it, viz. *Heb.* 9. 27. Above a moneth after the said exercise, viz. *April* 21. 1609. *Wightman* sent him another Letter, wherein he revileth him for the said speech, at the said Exercise, and took upon him, after his manner to answer it. Yet after this, viz. *November* 27. 1611. before the Bishop, he impudently avouched to Master *Hildersams* face, that at the conference forenamed, he should say, That the whole drift of the Scripture indeed, did make for the Opinion of the souls sleeping, but that the Church had otherwise judged of the matter. Master

His third  
silencing.

*Wightman*  
burnt for  
Heresie.  
Standley.

*Hildersam*

*Hilderſam* did protest, that he never spake or thought so; and offered by Oath, or any other means that should be required to avow, that he ever held this his Opinion, to be directly contrary to the Scriptures, and a most detestable *Heretic*: Master *Aberly* also, who was present at the conference, was ready to depose that Master *Hilderſam* spake no such thing at that time; but the direct contrary. So that not only the rest that were there, were fully satisfied; but the Bishop himself also openly professed, that he was assuredly perswaded, that *Wightman* had greatly wronged him in this that he had said of him. Thus was Master *Hilderſams* innocency cleared in a publique audience, during the time of *Wightmans* trial at *Lichfield*; yet he remained under the Censure of silencing, which was procured to be inflicted on him upon this occasion; and the two forenamed Exercises were put down. Concerning which, all the chief Gentlemen of worth in those parts, certified unto the Arch-Bishop *Bancroft* a little before his death, that the profit which that Country (which above most other places of the Land besides, was known to stand in great need of such means of instruction) received by them was exceeding great.

He is cited  
into the  
High-Com-  
mission  
Court.

Silenced.

Master *Hilderſam* continued silenced a long time, yet could not live peaceably from men, though he lived quietly with men. For *December 8. 1612.* Letters missive were sent out of the High-Commission Court, requiring his appearance there; accordingly he appeared. *April. 22. 1613.* at which time he was judicially admonished and enjoined, that (saving the Catechizing of his own Family only) he should not at any time hereafter Preach, Catechize, or use any part of the office, or function of a Minister, either publicly or privately, untill he should be lawfully restored and released of his said suspension.

His sick-  
ness.

In the Spring, 1614. he fell into a violent Feaver, which held him long, the malignancy of which, struck up into the Roof of his mouth, and the gristle of his nose, which endangered him much; but by the blessing of God, upon the care and skill of *Physicians* and *Chyrurgeons*, he was recovered.

His second  
summons  
into the  
High-Com-  
mission  
Court.  
His impris-  
onment.

In *Easter-term 1615.* by Letters missive he appeared in the High Commission Court again, which committed him to the *Fleet*, (for refusal of the Oath *ex Officio*.) where he continued a Prisoner divers weeks; at length he was removed by *Habeas Corpus* unto the *Kings Bench*, where he continued a great while. In both places, he endured imprisonment three moneths. Then he was delivered out of prison, upon bond, to appear the first Court day, *Term. Mich. 1615.* but by dangerous sickness (whereof *affidavit* was made in Court,) he was hindered from appearing at that time.

*September 4, 5, 6. 1616.* The Commissioners, Doctor *Lamb*, Master *Owen*, Master *Middleton*, and others, sate at *Ashby*, to examine witnesses to prove the Articles exhibited against Master *Hilderſam*, and his neighbours, Master *Dighton* and Master *Holt*, where the deponents were, many of them, professed adversaries, especially Master *Hacket*, (then Vicar of *Ashby*) who was the principal accuser and informer of the Court against them; and so his testimony ought not in Law to have been received against them. It might well have been discerned by the disposition of many of the deponents, what little credit was to be given to them; and that Master *Hilderſam* might have had the most odious and Capital Crimes deposed against him by such Witnesses, who did not only in matter of Fact affirm upon Oath, that which all the Parish knew to be notoriously false; but did also take upon them to know and deliver upon their Oath, the Reason and Ground of his pretended Practice, which (they having ever been, as all the Neighbours knew, meer strangers to him) was impossible for them to do it.

He is falsly  
accused.

The next Term the cause came to be heard and censured; but Master

*Hilder-*



Hilderſam hearing of the heavy ſentence againſt Maſter Digby, and Maſter Holt, November 21. 1616. (*viz* to return back to priſon, there to remain till they conformed themſelves; they were alſo fined a thouſand pounds a peice, pronounced excommunicate, and ordered to be ſo publickly denounced, and enjoyned to make their ſubmiſſions, *in conceptis verbis*, in three ſeveral places; & laſtly, they were condemned in expences & coſts of the ſuit) concealed himſelf, and did not appear at the day of his calling and cenſuring, but did eight daies before ſend a Copy of his answer to the ſeveral points that were depoſed againſt him, to his Advocate, Doctor Huſſey, to be ſhewed to the Court; Which Answer, in the judgement of rational, honeſt, indifferent men, was full and ſatisfactory.

To inſtance but in the proof of one Article, and his Answer thereunto: One George Reding depoſed, That upon Palm-ſunday was two years, he was one of thoſe that came up to the Communion-Table in Aſhby Church in ſeveral companies, and (though Maſter Hacket had before given warning, that he would admit none that would not receive it kneeling) reſuſed ſo to receive it, but would have received it ſtanding; and when he could not have it ſo, yet ſtood ſtill among them that kneeled, till the Communion was done. To which depoſition Maſter Hilderſams answer was, That it is Notoriously known to all the Inhabitants at Aſhby, that I was at that time ſick in my bed, and for many weeks before, and after, utterly unable to ſtir out of my Chamber; neither did I ever at any other time preſent my ſelf in that manner to the Communion-Table, neither doth Maſter Hacket, or any other deponent charge me with any ſuch matter. And this fellow that hath deviſed this againſt me, whereof there was no colour at all of truth) would in all likelihood have ſworn any thing that might have done me hurt, if he had been required to do it. Notwithſtanding this his answer to that, and his answer to all the reſt, delivered as aforeſaid to his Advocate, the Court proceeded to Cenſure him, November 28. 1616. whereby he was pronounced a man refractory and diſobedient to the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church of England. And becauſe he yet reſuſed to ſubmit himſelf, and to joyne in the adminiſtration of publique Prayer, and divine Service and Sacraments, as they are here lawfully adminiſtered; therefore he was by the Court pronounced a *Schiſmaticall* perſon, and a *Schiſmatick*, and thought well worthy of ſevere puniſhment. And in reſpect that he was the prime Ring-leader of all the *Schiſmatical* perſons in that Countrey, both of the Clergy and Laity, he was firſt fined two thouſand pounds to his Majeſties uſe, pronounced excommunicate, and ordered to be ſo publickly denounced; as alſo was ordered to be attached and committed to priſon, and ſo to be brought before the Commiſſioners, to be degraded from his Miniſtry; and was further ordered, to make his publique ſubmiſſion *conceptis verbis*, (as ſhall be preſcribed him by this Court;) and laſtly, he was condemned in charges.

When he heard of this terribly cruel ſentence, it was his wiſdom now to conceal himſelf, which accordingly he did for a long time in the City; and God ſo hid him under the ſhadow of his Wings, that his adverſaries could not meet with him.

During this time of his keeping cloſe, one Maſter John Harth, one of the Elders of the *English* Congregation, at *Leiden* in *Holland*, came with Letters of Credence from the Congregation, making offer to him of the Paſtors place, then Vacant; which he reſolved to have accepted of, had not his Wives unwillingneſſe to go over the Seas, retained him here. The aforeſaid fine of two thouſand pounds was eſtreated without abatement into the Exchequer, March 12. 1616. whence ſeveral Proceſſes were iſſued to the Sheriffs of *Leiceſterſhire*, to enquire of his eſtate; but they, by ſeveral returns, answered, They could find none. At length, the ſaid fine was begged, and granted by his Majeſty, King James, under the Great Seal, to Maſter Williams, Page to the (then) Mar-  
queſſe

His cenſure  
in the High-  
Commiſſion  
Court.

A ſpecial  
Providence.

He is ſent  
for to Ley-  
den.

His con-  
fancy.

queste of *Buckingham*; whereupon Master *Hildersam* compounded both with him, (giving him a great summe of money,) and with the Registers also of the High-Commission Court, for their part of the fine, and obtained a discharge from them both. I suppose it will be hard to find that any man was before, or scarce hath been since in that Court, so deeply fined, and heavily censured, meerly for his judgment and conscience; having done nothing either factiously, or contemptuously against that Government, and those orders of the Church, that were then established. He was indeed alwaies from his first entering into the Ministry, a resolved and conscientious Non-conformist, as appeareth by the foregoing story, and so continued to his dying day, witnesse that clause in his last Will: *I do hereby declare and protest, that I do continue and end my daies, in the very same Faith and Judgment, touching all points of Religion, as I have ever been known to hold and profess, and which I have, both by my Doctrine and Practice, and by my sufferings also, given testimony unto.* He was a great admirer, follower, and Friend of Master *Thomas Cartwright* (famous for Religion and learning) who left his papers to Master *John Dod* and him, to peruse and publish what they thought fit.

His humili-  
ty and cha-  
rity.

He oppo-  
seth the  
Brownists,  
and Inde-  
pendents.

Master Cot-  
tons testimo-  
ny of him.

Though he himself was a constant Non-Conformist, yet such was his ingenuity and Christian Charity, that he respected, esteemed, and was very familiar with those he knew to be Religious and learned, though of a nother judgment. He did alwaies oppose the separation of the *Brownists*, and the semi-separation of Master *Jacob*, with whom, as also with some Ring-leaders of the former sort, he had divers Conferences and Disputes. He is called by Doctor *Willet* (his Contemporary, and sometimes Competitor) *The Hammer of Schismatics*, whom they commonly call *Brownists*; as you have it in *J. C.* his Epistle to the Reader, before the forenamed Lectures, on *John 4.* That is, Master *John Cottons* of *New-England*, (his dear and familiar Friend,) who there expresses his high Opinion of the Author, those Lectures, and his Treatise of the Doctrine of the Lords Supper, printed 1608. annexed to a little Treatise of the like Argument, set forth by a godly learned Man (his intimate Friend) Master *William Bradshaw*, of which Treatise of Master *Hildersams*, Master *Cotton* gives this Testimony: *That it hath been of singular good use to many poor Souls for their preparation to that Ordinance. And in very deed (saith he) those questions and answers do more fully furnish a Christian to that whole spiritual Duty, than any other, in any Language (that I know) in so small a compass.* Master *Cotton* also mentioneth in the foresaid Epistle, a Letter of Master *Hildersams*, to a Gentlewoman, against separation, which, without his consent, a Separatist (Master *Francis Johnson*) printed and refuted; Which (saith Mr. *Cotton*) hath so strongly and clearly convinced the iniquity of that way, that I could not but acknowledge in it, both the Wisdome of God, and the weakness of the Separatist; His wisdom, in bringing to light such a beam of the light of his Truth, by the hand of an Adversary, against the Authors mind; and the weakness of the other, to advance the hand of his Adversary, to give himself and his Cause such a deadly Wound in open view, as neither himself nor all his Associates can be able to heal. His judgment and Testimony of the Author, and his Lectures on *John 4.* you may read in that Epistle. In a private Letter of his from *Boston*, February 3. 1629. to him; he mentioneth a Letter he received from a Dutch Minister in *London*, (one *Timotheus Van Ul-cren*) who telleth him, he had sent sundry of the Books on *John 4.* to Ministers beyond the Seas, who do read them with such great satisfaction, that the said Dutch Minister did, in the name of many others, intreat Mr. *Cotton*, to beseech Mr. *Hildersam* to put forth his Sermon on *Psal. 51.* and other his lucubrations. And accordingly Master *Cotton* in that Letter writeth thus; *Since the Sermons already on part of the Psalm, do arise to a just and full Volume, be intreated*



to hearken to the deſires of ſo many at home and abroad, and give them leave to be doing good, whileſt the reſt are preparing. You have cauſe to love the Lord your God with all your might; and therefore, ſince thoſe Sermons might be ſhewing your love to God in working his work, before their fellows, do not hold back any part of their Service to the Church, for the preſent time. This his Requeſt he Renewed, in another Letter, of July 23. 1629.

Having mentioned the Teſtimony and judgment of the Reverend Maſter Cotton, concerning Maſter Hilderſam and his labours, whom in his Reply to Maſter Roger Williams answer of his Letter, p. 117. he ſtileth him *A man of a thouſand*; I ſhall inſert another Teſtimony of a man deſervedly Famous in the Church, Doctor Preſton, then Fellow of *Queens Colledge* in Cambridge, concerning the forementioned Lectures on *John 4.* He having long deſired, at length obtained of Maſter Hilderſam the Copy of them, which he kept a long time, and peruſed, and being deſired to deliver his Opinion of them, in his Letter to the Author, November 28. 1615. ſpeaketh thus.

I will ſay to you faithfully and ingeniouſly what I think, without adding a word more than mine own heart is perſwaded of. Firſt in general, for putting them to the Preſſe, I do not only think that they are worthy of it, but ſo far as any intreaty of mine might prevail, I ſhould preſs you to it, as depriving Gods Church of a very great Benefit, if you ſhould reſuſe. In particular, beſides the profitableneſs of the matter, theſe two things I obſerve in the Reading of it: Firſt, throughout the whole carriage, there appeareth a continued ſtrength (that I may ſo call it) without any failing or deficiency, without any inequality, unevenneſs of Deformity of ſome parts with the reſt. Secondly, it is preſs and ſuccinct (though large) the things choiſe and pertinent, and thoroughly depending each on other. In brief, ſo it is, there is nothing that need be added, and nihil quod amputem. So that when I went about to take out ſome things for mine own uſe briefly, I could not almoſt tell what to leave out. To ſay all in a Word, Sir, I do think it is ſuch as will answer to your Name, and ſuch as men would look for from you. There are very few Writings, but wherein we commonly ſee ſome failings in theſe two particulars, which I mentioned. Beſides, the method I much like, as very judicious, which hath not ruled you, but you it, in a ſeaſonable changing it, as your matter lieth, ſo caſting the frame of it, that it extorteth not more than is neceſſary from you, nor cutteth off any thing that you would deliver: which one precise, uniform Method ſtrictly kept, often doth. I hope it will be a good help to Miniſters when they read it, and bring the method of Doctrine and Uſes into more credit. Theſe are Doctor Preſtons own words in his Letter. Unto this ample and laudable teſtimony given, by theſe two Worthies, this may be added, that his moſt grave and authoritative manner of preaching, did give an edge and excellency unto his Miniſtry.

Though Maſter Hilderſam, in the judgment of theſe eminent Divines at home and abroad, and moſt others that knew him, were a man of ſuch worth and ability, and whoſe labours were ſo uſeful in the Church; yet was he for a long time, by the then prevailing power in the Church, caſt aſide like a broken veſſel.

After his cenſure in the High-Commiſſion Court, he lived privately a long time, ſometimes in the City, ſometimes in the Countrey.

He was alwaies, whether ſilent or having a liberty to preach, a conſtant ſtudent. When he was in the Countrey, and had conveniency of place and weather, he uſed to walk alone every morning near an hour, to meditate. In the morning he read conſtantly a Chapter, whence he gathered ſome obſervations, and wrote them in a Book, with the reference to ſome

Dr. Preſtons teſtimony of his Lectures on *John 4.*

His ſtudy.

common-place in the margent, which he referred to his Common-place Book by numbers. The like he did out of many Books that he read; in others which he read, he referred the most observable things in them to his Common-place Book, by the pages in them. As he was much in secret Prayer, so was he fervent therein; yea frequent in holy ejaculations audibly expressed, as was observed by some godly Friends, whose occasions brought them often near to the place where he studied.

His care to profit by the Word.

He was alwaies a diligent frequenter of the publique Assemblies, whether he were in the City or Countrey; He used often even in his old age to write Sermons in the Church. He so highly prized the Ministry of the Word, that he would often say, *He never heard any godly Minister Preach, though but of weak Parts, but he got some Benefit by him.*

He sojourned in many Families, and alwaies by his godly and amiable carriage, got love and esteem of all in the house.

In all places where he did reside, or whither he came occasionally, he was alwaies helpfull in Family-Prayers, in expounding the Scriptures read, and in the repetition of the Sermons preached in the Publique Congregation; being also willing by private conference to instruct the ignorant, to satisfie the doubtfull, to settle the wavering, to comfort the dejected, and to encourage all sorts in the exercises of Religion.

His sickness

He was much in the house of Mistresse Katherine Redich of New-hall in Derbyshire, (widdow to Alexander Redich of Redich in Lancashire Esquire, his bosome Friend) his antient acquaintance, and constant dear Friend to his death, who survived him not above eight daies; the grief for his death hastening (as it was supposed) her end. In her house at Hamstead near London, August 21. 1624, he fell sick of a violent Feaver, which put him into such danger, that the Physicians doubted of his Recovery; He over-hearing some intimation of it, when he thought none were in the room, the Curtains being drawn about his bed, he was over-heard by one in the room, to speak audibly those words of Psal. 118. 17. *I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord.* At that time there was as little

His recovery.

hope of his preaching, as of his recovery. But God, in great mercy, soon after restored him both to health and liberty. The next year, viz. June 20. 1625. he was licensed by Doctor Ridley, then Vicar-general to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, to preach in the Diocesse of London, Lincoln, and Coventry, and Lichfield, under the Seal of that office. By vertue of which License he began to preach, August 3. 1625. in Ashby Church aforesaid, those eight Sermons on Psal. 35. 13. concerning, Fasting, Prayer, and Humiliation for sinne, which were published since his death, viz. 1632. according to his own Copy left under his hand, by his Son Master Samuel Hilderlam.

His Lectures at Ashby, on Psal. 35. 3.

His Lectures on Psal. 51.

September 28. 1625. he began his one hundred and fifty two Lectures on Psal. 51. published in the like nature, 1635.

He is again silenced

After the last forementioned licensing, he was silenced again, March 25. 1630. by notice given him from the Court at Leicester of the Kings instructions, for every Lecturer to read service in Surplice and Hood, and he began to preach again, Aug. 2. 1631. and so continued till December 27. 1631. which was the last Sermon that he preached.

His last sickness.

Soon after he fell sick, of his last sickness, and discerning it to increase, he sent for his forenamed Sonne dwelling at West-Felton in Shropshire, forty nine miles from Ashby; He with his Wife came to him withall convenient speed, January 13. and stayed with him till his death.

Their company and attendance at that time (as alwaies formerly,) was very contenting and comfortable. And of his Daughter-in-law (who was by himself propounded as a meet Wife for his dearest Son, and in whom he ever took much delight) he was heard, with affection to ingeminate these words, *Never man had a kinder Daughter-in-law.* His



His disease (though not discerned to be so at the first) proved the Scorbute, the which being a dull and melancholick distemper, indisposed him to speak much; yet, as he shewed wonderfull patience through his whole sickness, so he used many holy and heavenly expressions to those that attended him, or came to visit him, who (he being so much beloved and honoured in the Countrey) were not a few.

He suggested unto some dear Friends, his fears that Wolves would ere long come in amongst them, and thereupon earnestly exhorted them to continue stedfast in the Truth, which they had received. And occasion being given to mention those words, *1 Tim. 3. 5. How shall he take care of the Church of God?* Looking to his Son, he said, Oh Son, Son, that care of the Flock, is the main thing.

The most godly people in those parts, his constant Hearers (who had been either Converted to Christ, or edified and confirmed in Grace by his Ministry) being very sensible of the great loss, which not themselves only, but the whole Church of God also would sustain by his Death, (that they might not seem negligent in the use of any means within their reach, to prolong his Life and their own comfort) did resolve amongst themselves to set apart a Day, that they might solemnly in publique seek the Lord by Fasting and Prayer in his behalf, wherein they had the hearty help of Master *Simcon Ashe*, both in the morning and afternoon by Sermons, and Supplications, who did more owe himself unto Master *Hildersam*, than to any other man, having been first placed in the University, under the Tuition of Famous Master *Thomas Hooker*, Fellow of *Emanuel Colledge*, and afterwards directed and encouraged in his Ministry, by his great Care and Love.

*March 4.* being the *Lords Day*, he grew very Weak, and was prayed for in the Congregation in *Asbby Church*, both at the morning and evening Exercise. His Son Prayed with him divers times that Day, and whilst he was praying the last time, he departed, and slept in the Lord, between nine and ten of the Clock that Night, viz. *March 4. 1631.* Thus he who had diligently heretofore, kept the Holy Rest of the *Sabbath*, did in the Close of the *Sabbath*, Rest from his Labours, and having glorified God often, both in publique and private, on that day before, was at last on that day received into Glory. Master *Herring* (his dear and familiar Friend) being then at *Coven-try*, was sent for the next Day, and came and Preached the Lecture in *Asbby Church* on Tuesday, *March 6.* in the morning, (Master *Hildersam* having taken Order in his *Will*, that there should be no Funeral-Sermon at his Burial;) and then spake like himself, Holily, Discreetly, Learnedly, and Affectionately. Concerning the losse, that, that Congregation, the Countrey, and whole Church had sustained by the death of him that was lately Dead. In the afternoon of that day, his Body was born by Neighbour-Ministers to the Grave, accompanied by a great Multitude, both of Ministers and others, who expressed much Sorrow and Lamentation.

His Death.

His Burial.

He lived in *Asbby* aforesaid for the most part (yet being often forced to remove his dwelling) of forty three years, and six moneths, with great success in his Ministry, love and reverence of all sorts. He was very Charitable to the Poor himself, and in exciting of his Auditors to contribute towards their Relief. In few Country-Congregations in *England* the Collections for the Poor were so large, as they were at the Quarter-days at his Lectures.

His charity.

The losse of poor *Asbby* by his Death, was exceeding great; for he was the Peace-maker amongst Neighbours, and the Patron of the Poor; wickedness was checked, and Godliness cherished by his great Care and Wisdom. He was a Friend to every one in a good Cause, and it was his unwearied Delight to be Christianly serviceable in any kind.

He lived to a great Age, (considering that his paines in Preaching did ordinarily weaken him so much) sixty eight Years and five Moneths; yet this happiness God vouchsafed to him, which was more than ordinary, that he out-lived not his Parts, but as his Graces increased towards his end, so his Abilities of Invention, Judgment, Memory, Elocution decayed not in his age. He left a precious memory behind him; had Letters of Commendation written in the hearts of many, of which some live here, some in Glory. His Books will pfove more durable Monuments of his Name, than that his Sonne Erected for him in *Abby Church*.

And yet his Name, with the lively Picture of his Person, lives in his worthy Son, Master *Sammuel Hildersam*, whose Learning *Cambridge* knew, while he was Fellow of *Emanuel Colledge*; and whose present Ministerial Labours, and Pious Conversation at *West-Felton* in *Shropshire*, do perpetuate the Honour of his Reverend Father, whose very Memory he doth much Reverence, and whose Rich Vertues, both personal and Ministerial, he doth happily imitate. And his good help from his Fathers Papers, and other ways, hath most conduced to the drawing up of this faithful Relation, that God may be Glorified, and many Souls may be edified by this Famous Example, thus presented unto publick view.

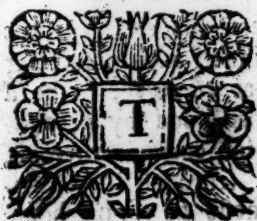
THE





D<sup>r</sup>. TAYLOR

*The Life of Doctor Thomas Taylor, sometimes Pastor  
of Aldermanbury London, who dyed  
Anno Christi 1632.*



Thomas Taylor was born at Richmond in *Torkshire*, of His Father  
worthy and godly Parents, His Father was Recorder of that Town, and a very *Gaius* or *Onesiphorus* to the  
silenced Ministers of *England*, and to the exiled Mini-  
sters of *Scotland*. He brought up divers Sons into the  
Ministry. This Son of his (as the other) was of a  
Child trained up in the holy Scriptures, which are able  
to make wise to salvation. Afterward, as age came  
on, he was well grounded in other Learning, and was sent to *Cambridge*,  
where he became Fellow of *Christs* Colledge, as one that should do the Lord  
*Christ* abundance of good service. He was there most painfull and unwea-  
riable in the study of Tongues, Arts, Sciences, all sorts of Exercises about  
them; and especially for Divinity, which was his Profession. One while he  
was *Hebrew* Reader to the Colledge. Being soon ripe, he entred into the  
Ministry at the age of one and twenty years.

In Queen *Elizabeths* time, he was called to preach at *Pauls* Crosse, and  
preached the Sermon in King *James* his time.

His Father  
tage and  
Education

His going  
to Cam-  
bridge.

His Sermon  
at Pauls  
In Crosse.

His painful-  
ness in the  
Ministry.

In the course and work of his Ministry, he spent thirty five years, with all diligence and painfulness, even to the very end, when by right he might have spared himself; living in all sincerity and godly pureness, with entire love of souls, with all watchfulness, with meekness, wonderfully quickened with zeal. He was an utter enemy of *Papery*, *Arminianisme*, *Antinomianisme*, and other *sects* which crept up in those times, as appeareth partly by his writings. Amidst all his pithy Discourses, he was also an excellent and nimble Orator; and wound up his matter with a good farewell, even when at times it was but ordinary. And from this course he would scarce suffer himself to be withdrawn at any time, to refresh his spirits by a little freedom. Yea, sometimes when he was drawn forth into the Countrey for recreation, by the solicitation of Gods people, he escaped not without his usuall burden: Or, he spent his Vacant time in preparing Books for the Presse, which were both many and very usefull, and will be to posterity; who have cause to bless God, who giveth gifts to men, and publique mindes, that they may profit farre and near, both hearers and strangers, all debtors to him. And men of understanding observed a great Seal put to his Ministry, in several places whereto he was called: Some converted, others confirmed, others comforted in the way of God: And in these times of division wherein many Professors have turned into by-waies, those that were his constant Hearers, continue in that way stedfast, and unshaken in faith and love, which is in *Christ Jesus*. Yea at *Redding* there was a Generation of young Preachers, who under his Ministry grew up in Knowledge and Holiness, and some eminency of gifts, profiting by him and his pains there; and some professe it at this day: Perhaps also in the great City of *London*, and at *Cantbridge*.

The success  
of his Mini-  
stry.

His piety  
in private.

Neither was he altogether for the publick, but pious in private; and not only in the course of his Family, but in keeping Fasts among the godly of the place, which in those daies was something a dangerous exercise. And, to make them solid Professors indeed, he put them upon a weekly way of handling Catechetick points of Divinity; that is, every week to conferre of one of the heads of Religion, according to the Catechisme subjoynd to Master *Dods* Treatise on the Commandments, still proving the Doctrines by Testimonies of Scripture. For other personall qualifications, he was a man full of love, alms-deeds, and mercifull consideration of the needy, though not with a Trumpet. And he was a man blest of God with all the blessings of wisdom, *Prov. 3. 16. Length of daies, Riches and Honour*. He had every where both godly and great Friends, and is likely still to have, among those that shall converse in his worthy works.

His sickness

His prudence there-  
in.

In that his holy and blessed course, he drew on toward his end. It was his *Charmetrical* year of 56. Having over-laboured himself with preaching in the City, he betook himself to his Countrey house at *Isleworth*, to be a little refreshed. But having inflamed and corrupted his blood by preaching, he soon fell into his mortall disease, a *Plurisie*; for curing whereof, though no meanes were wanting, yet the desired effect (through the Counsel of God) followed not. In the beginning of his sickness he set his house in order most holily, and as became so worthy a Father; and then bade farewell to all, as one throughly prepared for his departure; full of Faith and Patience, and joy in the Holy Ghost; a great help in that acute disease: Carefull of the well-fare of the Church at home, then in danger to be corrupted; grieved for the evils he knew in some mens dealings: Rejoycing greatly (in the midst of the apprehension of death) for the happy proceedings of the heroick King of *Sweden*, then Victorious in *Bavaria*. And once when he was told, he must a little help himself by cheerfulness, he fell into a most contentfull discourse, of those Noble Deliverances and Victories, and more would have spoken, if weakness had permitted. But especially his joy in God



God, and in the Conquest of *Christ*, Oh (said he) we serve a good Lord, who covers all imperfections, and gives great Wages for little work, and in mercy he hath provided for me some of the greatest. With other Holy Speeches, full of faith and joy, which his infirmity would not suffer him to utter perfectly. In which manner he languished by degrees; and at last on the *Lords day*, being the usual day of his principal Labours, he was dismissed of all, and went to keep a perpetual Sabbath in Heaven; where now he Resteth from his Labours, and his Works follow him, even a full Reward in endless Glory, Which Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, neither can enter into the Heart of Man to conceive, what things those are which God hath prepared for them that love him.

His Death.



The Life of Master Hugh Clark, who dyed  
Anno Christi 1634.



Hugh Clark was born at *Burton upon Trent*, in the County of *Stafford*, August 15. 1563. of honest Parents, who were very carefull of his education, both in Religion and Learning, and when he was fitted for the University, they sent him to *Cambridge*, where he was admitted into *Felus Colledge* under the tuition of Master *Dupont*, (afterwards Doctor *Dupont*, and Master of that Colledge) in that place he followed his study very hard, and his Proficiency was very exemplary; But after two years and an half, the Air not well agreeing with his constitution, he removed to *Oxford*, and continued there till he was Master of *Arts*. He was a good *Logician*, and a very acute Disputant. The first place that he was called to exercise his Ministry in, was about *Oundle* in *Northampton-shire*, where he met with a people, that for the generality of them, were very ignorant and ungodly, and much addicted to the Prophanation of the *Lords day*, by *Whitsun-ales*, *Morris-dancing*, &c. which finnes Master Clark in his Ministry much set himself against, endeavouring from Gods Word to convince them of the evil, and denouncing Gods judgments in case of their obstinate perseverance in such provoking courses; but they, having been alwaies trained up in such practices, and having their hearts hardened against Admonition, still persevered in their former courses; and that the rather, because they were opposed by the Word of God therein, but the judgment of God found them out for this their wickednesse. For shortly after, on a *Lords day*, the Leader of the Dance, being a lusty young man, in the midst of their prophane pastimes suddainly fell down and died. Yet these obdurate persons (though a little affected for the present) soon shook off their fears, and returned to their vomit again.

His Birth, and Breeding.

His going to Cambridge.

His remove to Oxford.

His going into Northampton-shire.

Gods judgments on Sabbath-breakers.

Master Clark the Sabbath following, took occasion from this sad dispensation of God, to shew them the greatnesse of their finnes, and how highly God used

used to be displeased with those which took liberty to prophane his holy day, withall quoting, *Ier. 17. 27. If thou wilt not hearken unto me to hallow the Sabbath-day, &c. Then will I kindle a fire in the gates thereof, and it shall devour the Pallaces of Jerusalem, and it shall not be quenched;* opening, urging, and pressing it home upon their consciences: yet still they kicked against these warnings, and the evening following, returned to their sports again. Amongst these there was a Smith that was a chief Ring-leader; But it pleased God the very next day, that two Husbandmen coming to his Shop to sharpen their plough-shares, a spark from the red-hot iron as he beat it on the anvil, flew into the thatch, which both the Smith and his neighbours saw, and stood gazing upon it, and might at first with one of their fingers have pulled it down, the thatch being low, but God took away their power of moving towards it, so that they saw it at first burn like a candle, then like a torch, and presently the whole shop was on a fire, and the men running out, both Shop, House, and all the Smiths goods were consumed in the fire, and yet a Neighbours House that stood very near it escaped.

This second remarkable judgment was again by Master Clark pressed upon their consciences, yet nothing would prevail, but as if they had made a *Covenant with death, and were at an agreement with hell*, they still persisted in their ungodly practises, and God who threatens to walk contrary to them that walk contrary to him, pursued them with one judgment after another; and amongst others, this was very remarkable: That upon the *Sabbath day*, which they had highly prophaned, by drinking, dancing, &c. in the night, when they were retired to their several homes, there was heard a great noise, and rattling of chains up and down the town, which was accompanied with such a smell and stink of fire and brimstone, that many of their guilty consciences suggested unto them, that the devil was come to fetch them away quick to hell. This so terrified and wrought upon them, that they began to give better heed to the Ministry of Gods Word; and to break off their prophane courses for the greatest part, so that there was an eminent reformation wrought amongst them; at least sixteen of those poor souls being effectually wrought upon and brought home to *Christ*; and some others that relapsed to their former waies, God pursued them with his judgments till he had brought them to beggary.

During Master Clarks abode in this place, he had experience of Gods gracious protecting him from the rage of some desperately wicked men, and amongst others, this is very remarkable: Master Clark, having on a day pressed Gods judgments against some sins, that he saw some of the people much addicted to, there came the next morning a lusty young man [a serving man] to enquire for him, as desirous to speak with him. Master Clark being made acquainted with it, sent for him up into his chamber, and knowing his vitious life, took occasion sharply to reprove him, and to tell him of the danger that he was in by reason of the same, in case he persevered in his lewd courses. This round and faithfull dealing, through Gods mercy, wrought so effectually upon him, that falling upon his knees, he intreated him to forgive him: Master Clark answered, that he should beg pardon at the hands of God, against whom he had sinned, for he knew not for his own part, wherein he had offended him; yea, said the other, *I have not only offended God by sinning thus and thus against him, but you also; for I came hither with a full resolution to stab you with this dagger here at my back, but God hath so over-awed my spirit, that I have not had Power to move an Hand, to accomplish such a VVickedness; and this Resolution of mine, proceeded from the Sermon which you preached yesterday, which so terrified my conscience, that my whole body fell into such a trembling, that I was not able to sit, whereupon I rose up, and set my back to a Pillar to stay me, yet neither would that prevail to stay my trembling, &c. But now if you please to forgive me, I shall,*

A special  
Providence.



by Gods grace, never entertain any such desperatt thoughts again. Master Clark freely forgave him, and after some wholesome and seasonable admonitions, dismissed him.

About this time, the *schism* and errors of the *Brownists* began to spread in *Northampton-shire*, and Master Clark had many bickerings and disputations with some of the chief of them, whom he mightily confuted, and through Gods grace, reclaimed some of them.

Anno 1590. He was sent for by Roger *Wigstone*, Esquire, who lived at *Woolstone* in the County of *Warwick*, by whom he was chosen to succeed Master *Lord*, an able and eminent Divine in the pastoral charge in that place, and having preached sometimes amongst them, he was freely chosen by the People also. Then having his presentation from Master *Wigstone* (who was a Gentleman of eminent Piety in those daies, and a great friend to godly Ministers.) He went to Doctor *Overton*, Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry* for his institution; But the Bishop having designed the living for one of his Chaplains, he endeavoured to perswade Master Clark to desert his title to it, promising that he would remember him when some other preferment should fall. Master Clark considering his fair and direct call to the place, and therefore hoping that God had a work for him to do there, he absolutely refused to gratifie the Bishop in his request, telling him, that he could not with a good conscience do it, and therefore importuned him for his institution. Then did the Bishop set his acutest Chaplains upon him, to examine and dispute with him, hoping thereby to get some ground of exception against him; but when that prevailed not, he framed other excuses to defer the instituting of him, one while alledging that his Register was not with him, and then that he had so many daies allowed by the Law to make enquiry after him. And hereby he made Master Clark to ride three or four journeys without attaining his desire, and this the Bishop did, that the Living might fall into the Lapse. Master Clark perceiving his drift, told him, that if he refused any longer to grant him institution, he would bring his *Quare impedit* against him, which occasioned the Bishop at last to grant it him; but withall, he sent at several times, sometimes an Apparitor, sometimes one of his Chaplains, and other subtrill persons to attend his Prayers and Sermons, to see if they could catch any advantage against him, and upon trivial occasions cited him oft to his Court, and thereby much molested him. At last the Bishop himself being at *Coventry* upon a *Sabbath* day, he, with some of his Servants came in the morning to *Woolstone*, being but four miles off, and coming into the Church, he set him down in a seat just before Master Clark, none else of the Congregation knowing him. Master Clark seeing the Bishop, abated nothing of his zeal and fervency in preaching and applying of the Word; inso-much as the Bishop being much nettled by the Sermon, shifted and shuffled up and down, as if he had sate upon thornes, an honest man by, observing it, fetched him a Cushion, first to sit on, and then another to lean on; but yet the Bishop seemed very restless.

His remove to Woolstone

He is opposed by the Bishop.

His Courage.

The Sermon and Prayer being ended, the Bishop said openly, *This is an hot fellow indeed, but I will coole him.* Master Clark hearing it, replied; My Lord, if I have not faithfully delivered the truth of God, I beseech you declare what I have said amisse, that I may make my defence here before my people. The Bishop answered as before, *You are an hot fellow indeed, but I will coole you;* and so departed. Master Clark replying, *It's good to be zealous in the work of the Lord.*

After this the Bishop picked a quarrel against him, and suspended him from preaching; whereupon Master Clark used to expound the Word; then did the Bishop suspend him from expounding; whereupon he catechized with exposition and application; then was he suspended from catechizing also. Whereupon at the usuall times, in the Church, he caused an honest man,

He is suspended, and excommunicated.

Abfolved by  
the Arch-  
bifhop.

He is accu-  
fed of trea-  
fon, and im-  
prifoned.

Sir T. Lucy.

He is acquit-  
ted.

The Bifhop  
enjoyed to  
ask him for-  
giveness.

P. Petiver.

Binley Wood

A fpecial  
Providence.

His great  
pains.

that was his neighbour, to read a Chapter, and at the end of every verfe, to ask him the meaning of it, and what instructions, and uſes might be gathered out of it. This ſo angered the Biſhop, that he proceeded to Excommunicate him. Whereupon Maſter Clark repaired to Doctor *Whitgiſt* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and from him procured his Abſolution; and as he returned homewards, about *Dunſtable* he met Biſhop *Overton* going towards *London*, to whom he ſhewed his Abſolution, and ſo went on in his Miniſtry as before. This ſo irritated the Biſhop, that he ſtill ſuborned ſome to watch him in all his publike Prayers and Sermons; about which time the perſecution growing hot againſt the Non-conformiſts, Maſter Clark in his Prayer, requested of God to forgive the Queen her ſins, though in modeſt expreſſions. This the Biſhop being informed of, and ſuppoſing that he had now gotten that advantage, which he had long waited for, he charged Mr. Clark with treaſon, and cauſed him to be committed to the common Jayle in *Warwick*, where he lay (bail being refuſed) till the Aſſiſes, and then the Biſhop cauſed him to be arraigned at the Bar, and had ſo exaſperated the Judge againſt him, that he would have had the Jury to find the Bill. But it pleaſed God to ſtir up the heart of a Noble Gentleman, a Juſtice upon the Bench, from that good report which he had heard of Maſter Clark, to ſtand up, and publiquely to tell the Judge, that before Maſter Clark ſhould have any wrong, he would kneel before the Queen for him. This ſo prevailed with the Jury, that he was acquitted.

Upon his releaſe, Maſter Clark repaired again to Arch-biſhop *Whitgiſt*, complaining to him of all this wrong which he had received from the Biſhop; The Arch-biſhop (very worthily) ſent for the Biſhop, and upon a fair and equal hearing of the buſineſſe betwixt them, he enjoyed the Biſhop to go down, and in Maſter *Clarks* Church, upon a *Sabbath* day, before the Congregation, to acknowledge the wrong which he had done him, which the Biſhop accordingly did perform, and ever after upon all occaſions was Maſter *Clarks* great Friend ſo long as he lived.

Not long after, the Devill ſtirred up new adverſaries againſt him in his own Pariſh, his Miniſtry being very quick, powerfull and ſearching, ſo that ſome wicked perſons that found themſelves to be gaulled by it, railed upon him, threatening to kill him; ſo that Maſter Clark, being a ſtrong luſty man, for a time walked not abroad without his Rapier in his hand, for his own defence. At laſt, one of theſe wicked men, whole conſcience the Miniſtry had gaulled, vowed his Death; and as Maſter Clark was coming from *Coventry*, he way-layed him in a Wood. Maſter Clark in the evening came alone homewards, with nothing but a wand in his hand; whereupon this man roſe up to him, and falling into diſcourſe with him, Maſter Clark took the opportunity to reprove him for his diſordered life, and ſo laid open Gods judgments due to him for the ſame, that he fell into a great trembling, confeſſed his intention to have killed him, and begged pardon. Yet ſtill he perſiſted in his wicked waies, and Gods judgments found him out at laſt; for though he had a very good Living, yet he fell into miſery and want, and died in *Warwick* Jayle for debt.

Maſter Clark had in his Pariſh a Chappel of Eaſe, which had two townſhips belonging to it, one of them two miles from the Pariſh Church, the Chappel it ſelf near two miles from it, and the profits of both (the tythes being impropriated) ſcarce amounting to a competent maintenance for one man. Maſter Clark was fain to ſupply them both himſelf. And indeed God had extraordinarily fitted him for it, having given him a very ſtrong,



## The Life of Master Hugh Clark.

able, and healthfull body, so that for the greatest part of his life there, which was about forty four years; he read four times a day in winter and summer between the two Churches, read the Word, and preached four times a day, administered the Sacraments, and performed all other Ministerial duties in them both. He preached upon several Texts in each of the Churches, so that divers godly persons, old and young, went betwixt the two Churches, hearing several Sermons to their great profit and comfort. Besides this, every *Holy-day* he supplied both the Churches, sometimes preached, but constantly expounded in each of them, and for the most part twice a day also; and God so blessed his labours, that he begat many Sons and Daughters unto God.

The success  
of his Mini-  
stry.

He was very carefull in the Education of his children, first to train them up in the knowledge and fear of God; for which end he would take all opportunities to whet the Word of God upon them, when he lay down, and when he rose up, and as he walked by the way, &c. and God so blest his labours, that he lived to see, to his great comfort, the work of grace wrought in the hearts of all his seven children. And next to this, his care was to train up his children in Learning, and to honest callings, often saying, that if he could leave them no other portion, yet he would give them that education; that they should be able to get their own livings, in any part of the world, where God should cast their lot.

His care in  
the Educati-  
on of his  
Children.

Towards the latter-end of his life, came forth the Book for Recreations on the *Sabbath-day*, and some young persons in the Town where he lived, being encouraged thereby, and by a *Pepish* Land-Lord which they had, would needs have a *Whirion-Ale*, and *Morris-Dance*, an heathenish sport, long before, through Gods goodnesse, banished out of that town. Master Clark laboured by his Ministry, to bear down the first rising of this motion; but these persons were so backed and encouraged by some that set them on, that they would needs prosecute their design, notwithstanding all the warnings given them by their faithfull Pastor. But God that hath said, *He that despiseth you, despiseth me*, &c. made their sin quickly to find them out in a terrible judgment that suddenly ensued; for in that very Barn, standing near a Smiths Shop, where their Revels were most kept, there was a violent fire kindled, which notwithstanding all help, quickly burnt it down, and in a strange manner flying against the wind, it went from house, to house, burning down all the houses of the chief of those which had an hand in these prophane sports.

Gods judge-  
ments on  
Sabbath-  
breakers.

Master Clark was a man (like *Apollon*) mighty in the Scriptures, and so studied in the Body of Divinity, that upon short warning, he could preach very pertinently and profitably. He had an excellent pair of lungs, and was exceeding powerfull in his Ministry, striking shame and terror into the hearts of the wicked, to whom he was a *Banerger*, and yet withall, he was a *Barnabas* to humbled, broken, bleeding souls.

His Birth

His power-  
of preaching

His old age was accompanied with a Lingring and painfull disease, which yet he bore with great patience, and as he came nearer to Heaven, so his next motion thitherward was more quick and lively. Many godly persons came to visit him in his disease, and none of them went away without some spiritual, and comfortable instructions from him. At last, having long Glorified God on earth, and finished his work, he went to receive his Wages, quietly resigning up his spirit unto God, *November 6. 1634.* having lived seventy one years, two moneths, and Nineteen dayes, and having been Pastor of *Woolston* forty four years.

His Death

His Death

This Master Hugh Clark was my Father.



John Dunsall sc.

MR. JOHN CARTER.

*The Life and death of Master John Carter, who dyed.  
Anno Christi 1634.*

## His Birth.



After John Carter was born at Wickham in Kent, near Canterbury, about the year of our Lord, 1554. He was descended but of mean Parents, yet were they Religious, and of good Report, who not being able to maintain him at the University, wholly upon their own charge; there was one Master Rose, a rich man in Canterbury, who taking notice of his Piety in those his tender years, of his ingenuity, studiousness, and proficiency in all School-Learning, even beyond the pitch of a Grammar-Scholar; and finding him hopefull, and likely to prove a precious instrument in the Church of Christ, he took him into his care, sent him to Cambridge, and contributed such sums of money to him from time to time as were needfull. He was admitted into *Clare Hall*, and was Pupil to Doctor Bing, a famous *Cervilian*, and Master of that House.

## His Education.

## He goes to Cambridge.

## His Proficiency.

## His Industry.

Presently after his first admission into that House, he was taken notice of as one of singular Learning, and ripeness for his years. Amongst the rest that were of his year he had a *Theam* given him to make upon this Subject, *Frugalitas virtutum maxima*: and when the young Students brought in their *Theams*, the Lecturer took, and read them, and when he came to Carters *Theam* he stood, and paused a while, and at last, said before them all: Here is



is the best Theam that ever I read; and gave him some money for his encouragement, and highly commended his Industry; and always after cast a favourable eye upon him, and sought opportunities to do him good.

When Master Carter had taken his degrees of Bachelor, and Master of Arts, his Tutor, Doctor Bing (one of his singular love to him for his Piety and Learning) gave him a Chamber in his own Lodgings, where he continued a year, or two, which conduced much to the compleating of him for the work of the Ministry; and all the while that he continued a Gremial in the lap, and bosom of his Mother, the University, he held constant Meetings with divers of his famous Contemporaries, and that every week, as with Doctor Chaderton, Doctor Andrews (afterwards Bishop of Ely) Master Colverwell, Master Kewstubs, and divers others, whom God raised up and fitted to send forth into his Harvest, to gather his Corn, then ripe for the Sickle, into his Barn. At their meetings they had constant Exercises; first, they began with prayer, and then applied themselves to the Study of the Scriptures; one was for the Original Languages; anothers task was for the Grammatical Interpretation; anothers for the Logical Analysis; anothers for the true sense, and meaning of the Text; another gathered the Doctrines, and thus they carried on their several imployments, till at last they went out, like Apollos, Eloquent men, and mighty in the Scriptures: and the Lord was with them; so that they brought in a very great Harvest into Gods Barn.

Gods providence.

Notes.

Master Carter would not run before he was sent, though he was so excellently qualified for the work; he durst not venture upon the exercise of the holy work of the Ministry, till he had, not only an inward, but an outward call also, viz. an Affignation, approbation, and solemn adimission by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. When he was ordained, the Bishop (who in those days was Primus Presbyter, or Praefes) seeking to oppose him, asked him this Question, Have you read the Bible through? Yes (said he) I have read the Old Testament twice through in the Hebrew, and the New Testament often through in the Greek; and if you please to examine me in any particular place, I shall endeavour to give you an account of it. Nay (said the Bishop) if it be so, I shall need to say no more to you; only some words of Commendation and encouragement he gave him, and so with other assistants, he Ordained him.

His Ordination.

Anno Christi, 1583. the Vicaridge of Bramford in Suffolke, near Ipswich, fell void, and Master Rose of Canterbury, before mentioned, procured the Presentation thereof, for Master Carter, of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, in whose Gift it was. The Salary at first was only twenty Marks per annum, but afterwards the Church raised it to twenty pound per annum, and that was the most that ever he had there, yet he accepted of it, and being settled in it, he set himself to do the work of Christ faithfully with all his might, as a workman that needed not to be ashamed.

He fixes at Bramford.

Every Lords day he preached twice very powerfully, and Chatechised the younger sort. He also preached a Lecture every Thursday, to which multitudes from Ipswich, and other adjacent places, did resort: And God gave such success to his Ministry, that by his labours many sons and daughters were from time to time begotten unto God. Many precious Christians that remain unto this day, acknowledge that their Conversion was by Master Carters Ministry.

His great Pains.

His Success.

Before his Sermons he made but a short Prayer, and that always in the same words: After Sermon he used to be large, and full, and expressed himself with great variety of phrases, and with much fervency, and always he concluded with the Lords Prayer.

His Prayers.

He was very diligent in visiting the sick, especially the poorer sort, and he never went to the house of any poor creature, but he left a Purse-Alms, as well

His Charity.

well

well as a Spiritual-Alms of good, and heavenly advice, and prayer. No poor body ever came to his door that went away empty; his wife also looking to that as carefully as himself.

Every *Saturday* throughout the whole year he gave the Milk of his Cows to the poor of the Town; and indeed he gave more to the Poor every year, then the Revenue of his slender Vicaridge came to in the whole: yet God so blessed him, that whilst he was in *Bramford*, he quickly paid Master *Rose* of *Canterbury* all the money that he had disbursed toward his Education in the University; and before he left *Bramford* he purchased about twenty pound *per annum*; Gods blessing only makes rich.

**His children** He had but two sons, and he brought them both up in Learning, and maintained them in the University in good fashion.

He was sound, and Orthodox in his judgement: An able, and Resolute Champion against all manner of *Poper*y and *Arminianism*; as also against *Anabaptism*, and *Brownism*, which did then begin to peep up, and infest the Church, to tear and rent the seamless Coat of Christ.

**His zeal.** He was always a *Non-conformist*, one of the good old *Puritans* of *England*. He never swallowed any of the Ceremonies against his Conscience: So that he was often troubled by the Bishops, but God raised him up friends that always brought him off, and maintained his Liberty. He was prudent, and of a peaceable spirit, and never Censured any that could, and did conform, if he judged them consciencious, and saw any thing of God in them.

**His non-conformity.** At his first coming to *Bramford*, he saw of the travel of his soul. He had a plentiful harvest, many souls being daily added to the Church, by his powerful Ministry, and holy life. But after he had abode many years amongst them, the people began to be glutted with heavenly *Manna*, and loathed it, so that there grew a great decay in their first love: and about the year 1615. or something before, there arose up a generation of malignant spirits, who were haters of a plain, powerful, and seatching Ministry, and of the life and power of Godliness: These were the Gentry, and chief of the Parish. These rose up against Master *Carter*, pressed him to Conformity, complained of him to the Bishop, and threatned that they would either bring him to conformity or eject him.

**His enemies** At this very juncture of time, through Gods gracious Providence, the Rectory of little *Belfed* fell to be void. A very small Village, some three miles from *Ipswich*, and a solitary place; the means indeed was better than *Bramford*, yet short of a competency, and of the deserts of so eminent a Pillar in the Church of Christ: it being but about fifty pound, and at the most not worth above sixty pound *per annum*.

**Gods providence.** The Patron (Master *Bloss*) became a Suitor to Master *Carter* to accept of it; which he refused again, and again, being resolved rather to endure persecution at *Bramford*, to grapple with all difficulties, and to die there, rather than to remove. But Gods providence over-ruled him. At *Bramford* he saw that he must be outed, and Master *Bloss* would take no denial: yea, and he found favour in the Eyes of the Bishop; so that he was instituted without subscription, or submitting to the Ceremonies: and then at last, God (as it were) taking him by the hand, and pulling him whether he would or no, he removed from *Bramford*, after he had done faithful Service in the work of the Ministry for about thirty four years in that place, and was settled at *Belfed* Parsonage, where he continued eighteen years before God caused him to rest from his Labors: and in all that time he discharged his holy Function just as he had done in *Bramford* in his younger years; though his Congregation here was but small: yet it pleased God that many Fish came within the compass of his Net from *Ipswich*, and other neighbouring Towns, where they were destitute of faithful Shepherds, so that his later Crop in Gods Harvest-field, was very considerable.

**His remove to Belfed.**



Little Belsted was a *Tusculanum* to him, where in his old age he had much Secret and sweet communion with God in the house, and, as an *Isaac*, with him in the Fields, which was a beginning of that glorious Communion which he now enjoyes with God in the *mountaines of Spices*. He being dead, yet speaks; and his works praise him in the *Gates*. For from the Press we have his Learned, and pithy Commentary on the *Sermon of Christ in the Mount*: and two short, but substantial, solid, and profitable *Catechisms*: one, *Milk for children*: the other, *Winter Evenings Communication*.

His Communion with God.

His Works.

His pains in the study of the *Revelations* were indefatigable. He wrote much in a little Room; but these Labours of his yet never saw the light. Many Ministers that privately did converse with him, lighted their candles at his.

For his carriage and deportment in his Family, it was sober, Grave, and very Religious. He there offered up the Morning and Evening Sacrifice of Prayer, and praise continually: so that his House was a little Church. Thrice a day he had the Scriptures read, and after that the *Psalm*, or Chapter, were ended, he used to ask all his children and servants what they remembered, and whatsoever Sentences they Rehearsed, he would speak something out of them that might tend to their edification. For his own, and his Wives habit, it was very plain, and homely, of the old Fashion, yet very cleanly and decent; insomuch, that all that came to his house would say, they had seen *Adam* and *Eve*, or some of the *old Patriarchs*.

His Family Duties.

His Humility.

In all his house also, there was nothing but honest plainness. He was such an one as *Jacob*, a plain, sincere, I had almost said a perfect man; I am sure a true *Nathanael*, in whom was *no guile*.

He never used any Plate in his House, but Vessels of Wood and Earth; Pewter, and Brass were the highest Mettals for his Utenfils. All the time of his house-keeping he used constantly at his Table a little wooden Salt, which with age was grown to be of a dusky black, which was much taken notice of by all Comers.

He never made Feasts, yet always had wholesome, full, and liberal Diet in his house, and all fared alike: He, and his wife, did never think that his children, and servants, and poor folk did eat enough.

His hospitality.

The righteous man (saith *Solomon*) is mercifull to his Beast: So he was carefull even for the brut Creatures, that they should be fed to the full. All his cattel were like to the first *Kine* that *Pharaoh* saw feeding in the Meddow, they were fat-fleshed, and well favoured; insomuch, as some godly people used to say merrily: If they would be a Cow, or a Horse, or a Hog, or a Dog; they would choose Master Carter for their Master.

He had a sharp wit, and was sweet, milde, affable, and pleasant in his conversation; yet were there nor any of his most facetious passages, that did not favour of holiness. His Communication and discourse was always heavenly, and his eyes were frequently lifted up towards heaven: He did not eat, or drink without praising God with his mouth, and eyes. His whole Conversation was in Heaven.

His conversation.

His secret Duties.

Besides his Family Duties, and Prayers, he prayed constantly in his Closet at his first going to his study, and before he came forth to Dinner and Supper: He prayed very loud; and mostly very long: for the extension of his voice he had a double reason; one, that by his earnest speech he might quicken, and raise up his own heart, and devotion: the other, that he might give a good example for secret prayer to his children, and servants; and he never closed any Prayer, without adding the *Lords Prayer*; and his ground for that practise was this; He judged his own best Prayers imperfect, and that of Christ most perfect and comprehensive of all our necessities.

His Prayers.

That you may be the better satisfied concerning his sense, and judgement in this matter, take this transcript out of his Printed Commentary upon *Mat.*

Of the  
Lords Prayer.

*Matt. 6. 9.* Where after he hath set forth the excellency, and perfection of Christs Prayer, he addeth, "Christ now directs us to the right performance of the Duty of Prayer. *After this manner pray ye:* Or, as Saint Luke sets it down, *When you pray, say.* Not binding us strictly to use these words always, and none other, but to use the matter, manner, and like affections: "But as for them who cannot so well enlarge their suits in other words, "or for those also who can, and do it, and yet remain still unsatisfied, as not "having done it sufficiently (and who can do it sufficiently?) the Lord Christ "hath left this most excellent help to use the very words of this Divine Prayer, as the most worthy servants of God have ever used to do: And learn "we here by the way, that an absolute necessity lyeth upon us (which ought "to be our greatest glory and comfort) to pray in these words, or in this "manner. For it is the undispensible Commandment of our Lord Christ: *After this manner pray.*

His skill in  
comforting  
afflicted  
Consciences

He had a special dexterity in comforting afflicted Consciences; resolving doubts, and answering questions; when some came to him (not long before he changed this earthly for an heavenly Mansion) and told him of the rigour of the Prelates, how it grew higher every day, how they persecuted conscientious Ministers, and Christians: Of their Innovations, and of the Book for Liberty of Sports on the Sabbath-days, tending to the fearfull profanation thereof: He used these expressions: *I have had a longing desire to see, or hear of the fall of Antichrist: But I check my self, I shall go to Heaven, and there news of it will come thick, thick, thick.*

A Prediction.

When others came to him, and pressed him with importunity to tell them his Judgement concerning the future state of the Church, saying to him, that he had travelled much in the study of the Revelations, and they were perswaded that God had revealed something more than ordinary to him. What do you think (said they) shall we have Popery once again, or no? He answered, *You shall not need to fear fire, and faggot any more: but such dreadfull divisions will be amongst Gods people and Professors, as will equalize the greatest persecutions.*

His Prayers  
successfull.

A man meeting him near his house, called to him, saying, Oh Master Carter! What shall I do? My wife is entring into her Travel, and I think she will die with very fear: Master Carter answered, *Make haste, run to your wife, and tell her, that I am going to my Closet as fast as I can to pray for her; therefore bid her not faint, but to be of good courage and comfort.* The man accordingly ran to his wife, and told her what had passed between Master Carter, and him. Presently her fears vanished, God gave her strength, and she was delivered immediately, and safely: and strait after, her Husband went to Master Carter (even before he came out of his Closet) and told him what God had done for him.

His gracious  
speeches.

Another time, a poor man met him by the way, and cryed to him piteously, saying, Master Carter! What shall become of me? I work hard, and fare hard, and yet I cannot thrive, I continue bare, and know not how in the world to live. He answered him: *Yet still you want one thing, and I will tell you what you shall do, Work hard, and Fare hard, and Pray hard, and I will warrant you shall thrive.*

There dwelled in that Parish a Tanner, that was a very godly man, and one that had much familiar society with Master Carter. This man as he was very busie in Tawing of a Hide with all his might, not so much as turning his head aside any way: Master Carter coming by accidentally, came softly behinde him, and merrily gave him a little clap on the back: the man started, and looking behinde him suddenly, blushed, and said, Sir, I am ashamed that you should find me thus: To whom Master Carter replied, *Let Christ when he comes finde me so doing: What (said the man) doing thus? Yes (said Master Carter to him) faithfully performing the Duties of my Calling.*

Being



Being at Dinner at Ipswich at one of the Magistrates Houses, divers other Ministers being at the Table also: One amongst the rest (who was old enough, and had learned enough to have taught him more humility) was very full of talk, bragged much of his parts, and skill, &c. and made a Challenge, saying, Here are many Learned men; if any of you will propound any question in Divinity, or Philosophy, I will dispute with him, resolve his doubt, and satisfie him fully. All at the Table (excepte himself) were silent for a while: then said Master Carter, (when he saw that none else would speak) to him, calling him by his name: *I will go no further than my Trencher to puzzle you: Here is a Sole: Now tell me the reason why this Fish that hath lived always in the salt water, should come out fresh?* To this, this forward Gentleman could say nothing, and so was laughed at, and shamed out of his vanity.

His acuteness.

At another time a certain man came to him, and made his moan, saying, I have lost the greatest Friend that I had in the world: I had (in a manner) all my livelyhood from him: To whom Master Carter answered: *When the Fountain is dried up in one place, God will open it in another.*

To one of his Sons he said, *Son John, God hath always brought water for me out of the hard flinty rock. Those covetous hard hearted men, who have been enemies to my person and Ministry, have many times come in, and given me countenance and maintenance.*

His eldest Son, whom he had bred up to the Ministry, and who proved a blessed Instrument in the Church of Christ, being dead, Master Carter took care of his eldest Son, sent him to Cambridge, and walking with him towards the Stable, took his last leave of him, in these words in *Latine*; *Cave, mi fili, fastidium, ignaviam, Antichristum.* My Son, beware of Pride, Sloth, and Antichrist.

His usual saying was, *a Traveller must have a Swines belly, an Asses back, and a Merchants purse:* Meaning that he must be content with any fare, bear all injuries, and provide for vast expences. We are Pilgrims and Travellers here; and we must prepare for wants, wrongs, and spoiling of our goods.

It might well be said of him, *Semper erat ubi non erat:* His heart was where his head was, and now his soul is, to wit, in Heaven.

His whole life was nothing else but a Communion day. *Old Jacob* seemed to live in him: and sure the Spirit of God breathed as much in him, in his words, and writings (holiness dropped from his Pen in every ordinary Letter that he wrote) in his actions; and *Soliloquies*, as in any mans in these latter times. He was always instilling precious precepts, exhortations, instructions, or consolations into those with whom he had occasion to converse.

His fruitfulness.

A godly woman told his Son, that she had been servant to a Religious Gentleman, to whose house Master Carter did often resort; and that she was won to Christ at first, by hearing the Heavenly speeches, and sweet principles that dropped from him as she was warming his Bed, and as she waited upon him in his Chamber.

He was always most just, and exact in his dealings. He put a Clause in his Will, for the faithfull and carefull payement of his Debts: yet when his Son John, and his Daughter Eunice, whom he made his Executors, enquired what his Debts were, he could finde nothing that he owed, excepte to the Smith for shoeing of an Horse or two.

His Justice.

His Son, when he came to look over his Library, found two or three Books (not one of them worth a Groat) upon which he had written, *This Book was borrowed of such an one: Let it be restored: or if the owner cannot be found, allow something to the poor for it, and that liberally.*

Once, being in a journey many miles from home, in changing a piece of Gold at a Shop, he took an half Crown piece instead of a shilling, neither

he nor the Shop-keeper knowing it: but as soon as he came home, he found the mistake; whereupon he could not rest satisfied, but the next day took a long journey back again on purpose to that Town, to carry back the half Crown again.

He was of a sweet, mild, and gentle nature, and of a gracious spirit. A loving, and faithfull Husband to his wife, and a tender, and indulgent Father to his children; and if he failed in any thing, it was in his carriage to his Servants; for truly he carried not himself to them as a Master to his servants, but as a familiar Friend to his Friends. He would make them to sit down with him at his Table, and would drink to them at his meals.

He, and his Wife were married together almost threescore years, and in all that time there was never heard any distastefull word to pass betwixt them. Neither indeed could it be otherwise: For he lived, and walked with her as a man of knowledge: he was to her a Prudent, Faithfull, and tender guide; and she was humble, and meek, revered, and highly esteemed him. Every word he spake was an Oracle to her, and her will ever closed with his Judgement.

**His Age.** He lived to the age of fourscore: When his youngest Son *John* was born, who was the youngest of nine, he called him the Son of his Age, and yet he lived to see him forty years old before he died himself, being forty years old when he was born.

**His Fastings.** He was much, and frequent in secret Fastings, and when he kept such a day, he told none of his house of it, save his wife only, and she would not eat any thing that day on which he fasted, but oft-times she was with him in his retiring chamber to joyn with him in prayer; yet could it not be concealed from the rest of the Family, because at night he supped not, but only had a Toste, and a draught of ordinary Beer to sustain nature.

On the *Sabbath* Days, he never had any Rooste-meat at Dinner, because he would have none thereby kept from the Publick Ordinances; the Pot was hung on with a Piece of Beef, and a pudding in it, and that was their constant Lords-Days Dinner, for well nigh sixty years together.

**His retirements.** His Church at *Belsted* stood in a very solitary place, whereof he always kept a key, and would often resort thither all alone. A Gentleman once espying him as he went towards the Church on a private day, hid himself, till Master *Carter* was past, and gone into the Church, and then he came close up to the Church wall, desiring to peep in at some window to see what he did, and to listen if he said any thing; and this Gentleman afterwards told his Son *John*, that he first prayed, then read a Chapter, and after that prayed largely, and very heavenly, as if he had been in his Family, or in the publick Congregation.

**His vigour.** He vigorously held on the constant course of his Ministry to the last. It may be said of him, as of *Caleb* and *Joshua*; he was as fit for service in Gods Harvest-field at fourscore, as he was at forty.

Indeed some abatement of bodily strength there was, as old Age did steal upon him. After his afternoon Sermon on the *Sabbath* days he would be something faint, and commonly when he came home he would call for some comfortable draught, and when he had lifted up his eyes to heaven, and taken it, he would say to them about him, *These are Crutches to shore up a ruinous house*: but in his Intellectuals, and spiritual strength there was no decay.

Old Master *Benton* of *Wramplingham* in *Norfolk*, a holy man of God, being upon occasion in *Suffolk* in those parts, could not but give a visit to his old friend, Master *Carter* of *Belsted*; and being with him, he heard him discourse with such holy gravity, and a mixture of all kinde of Learning, solidity, and wit, that he stood amazed at it, and said, Master *Carter* I see you



you are like unto the Palm and Cedar Tree, you bring forth more fruit in your Age. *I thank you (said Master Carter) you tell me what I should be.*

And now the time of his departure was at hand: Some fortnight, or three weeks before his Translation, there appeared some decays in his body, and memory, which now began to fail him. He would sometimes (but rarely) call to go to Sea, and to his better Countrey. Yet he sat up from morning till night, and commonly walked up and down the Room, and never failed to perform Prayer, and other Family exercises, so that none could discern any considerable defect either in his spiritual, or natural strength: Only in this, that when he had done, he would presently call to begin again, and say to his daughter Eunice, who was now the stay of his house, and the staff of his old age (God having taken away his dear wife about two years before) *Daughter, shall we not go to prayer?* and when she answered him, *Sir you have been at Prayer already, and you are weary, he would reply, I fear we have not done what we should do.*

It was one of his constant and ordinary Petitions in every Prayer, that God would vouchsafe him a mercifull, and easie passage out of this life, and the Lord did most graciously answer him therein.

February the 21. *Anno Christi, 1634.* being the day before the Sabbath, in the evening he called very earnestly for Paper, Ink, and two Pens: *For (saith he) by Gods grace to morrow I will preach twice: But (God knows) he was not in a fit condition for study; yet with that resolution he went to Bed, and God gave him some rest that night. In the morning upon the Sabbath day he did rise from his Bed; as he used to do, and came out of his Bed-chamber into the Hall, and after Prayer, he called for his ordinary breakfast, which he used before he went to Church (for still he held his resolution for Preaching) which was an Egg; he took it into his hand, but alas! it would not down: Whereupon he said to his daughter.*

*Eunice, I am not able to go Church, yet I pray thee, lead me to my Bed, I will lie down a little and rest me.* So he rose up out of his chair, and walked up and down, she supporting him, and when he came to the Parlour door, before he put his foot over the threshold: *Oh Eunice! saith he, What shall I do? Put your trust (saith she) in that God of whom you have had so much experience, who never yet did leave you, nor forsake You. Yes (saith he) the Lord be thanked.*

So he gathered up his strength, went to the Bedside, sat down upon it, and immediatly composed himself to lie down. He lifted up one of his Legs upon the Bed without any great difficulty, laid down his Body, and rested his Head upon the Pillow. His Daughter still stood by, expecting when she should lift his other leg upon the Bed, thinking that he had been fast asleep: and she was not mistaken, for so he was. It proved his last sleep, and before she could discern any change in him, his soul had taken its flight into heaven, even into the Arms, and embraces of his Blessed Saviour, whom he had faithfully served all his life long; being about fourscore years old.

He intended a Sabbath labour for Christ, and Christ gave him rest from his labour, even the rest of an eternal Sabbath. When his daughter began to speak to him, and to lift him, she found that his breath was departed, yet was there not any change in his countenance at all: his eyes and his mouth continuing in the same posture they used to be in his sweetest sleeps.

Thus the Lord gave unto his faithful Servant the desire of his soul, and a return of his Prayers, such an easie passage, as that his death could not be discerned from a sweet natural sleep.

Not many days before his death he called his daughter, and said to her,

Daughter, Remember my love to my Son John: I shall see him no more in this life: and remember me to the rest of my children, and Family, and deliver this message to them all from me: Stand fast in the faith, and love one another. This was the last message that ever he sent to them.

He ended his life with a *Doxology*, breathing out his last, with these words, *The Lord be thanked.*

When he had thus yielded up his Spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father, his daughter *Eunice* dispatched away a Messenger to his Son *John* at *Norwich*: for so had her Father given order before he died, that his body should not be put into a *Coffin* till his Son *John* came: and God carried him through the journey in hard weather, so that through Gods good providence, he arrived at *Belford* early on the *Tuesday*, and going into the house of mourning, he found the Body of his deceased Father still lying upon the Bed: they uncovered his Face, and sweetly he lay, and with a smiling countenance, and no difference appearing to the eye between his countenance alive and dead, only that he was wont to rejoyce, and to bless his Son at their meeting, and now he was silent. His son fell upon his face and kissed him, and lift up his voice and wept, and so took his last leave of him till they should meet in a better world.

#### His Funeral.

*February* the 4th. in the afternoon, *Anno Christi*, 1634. was he Interred, at which time there was a great confluence of people from all the parts thereabout, Ministers, and others, all taking up the words of *Joash* King of *Israel*: *Oh my Father! my Father! the chariots of Israel, and the Horsemen thereof!*

Good Master *Samuel Ward*, that famous Divine, and the glory of *Ipswich*, came to the Funeral, brought with him a mourning Gown, and offered very respectfully to have preached his Funeral Sermon, now that such a Congregation was gathered together, and upon such an occasion.

But his Son, and daughter durst not give way unto it: for so their Father had often charged them in his life time, and that upon his blessing, that there should be no Sermon at his burial: For (said he) *it may give occasion to speak some good of me that I deserve not, and so false things may be uttered in the Pulpit.*

Master *Ward* rested satisfied with this, and accordingly did forbear: But the next *Friday* at *Ipswich*, he turned his whole Lecture into a Funeral Sermon for Master *Carter*, in which he honoured him, and lamented the Churches loss, to the great satisfaction of the whole Auditory. *Gloria fugientes sequitur.*

Glory is like your shadow! follow it, and it will flie away from you; but flie from it, and it will follow you.

#### His Humility.

And so it proved with Master *Carter*. He was most eminent for Humility: Humble he was in his habit, and humble in all his deportment: For though his Gifts called him before great men, yet his most ordinary converse was with those of an inferiour rank, in whom he saw most of the power of godliness. So that he might truly say with *David*, *Psal.* 119. 63. *I am a companion of all them that fear thee, and of them that keep thy precepts.*

#### His Works.

He wrote very much, but he left nothing behinde him save what is Printed, and his Exposition upon the *Revelations*; and a Petition to King *James* for the taking away burdensome Ceremonies out of the Church. Nothing else but a few broken Papers, which he regarded not. Probably he burnt the rest, when he saw his appointed time draw neer, meerly out of a Low opinion of himself, and his own gifts.

He avoided all things that might tend to outward Pomp, and ostentation: He would have no Funeral Sermon: He left order in his *Will* not to be buried in the Church, but in the Church-yard; where he, and his wife, that glorious pair, lie interred together without so much, or rather so little as a poor Grave-stone over them.

He



He had learned of Christ to be meek and lowly in heart: He was humble in his Life, and humble in his Death, and now the Lord hath highly exalted him.

He kept a constant *Diary*, or day book, in which every day he set down Gods extraordinary dispensations, his own actions, and whatsoever memorable things he heard, or read that day.

His Diary.

He cast up his Accounts with God every day: and his sins were blotted out before he came to his last reckoning; his day of refreshing came, and he rests from his labours.

*Plus vivitur exemplis quam preceptis*, saith *Seneca*; Examples of the dead, are Sermons for the living:

He was a true child of *Abraham*, and the blessing of *Abraham* fell upon him. *I will blesse them* (saith the Lord to him) *that bless thee, and I will curse them that curse thee*. Some years after his death, his Son *John* being at *Bramford*, there was an ancient Gentleman, that had lived there long, and was Master Carters old Friend, who spake thus unto him, Master Carter, *I have now lived to see the downfall of all your Fathers opposites, and enemies; there is not one of them, but their Families are scattered, and come to ruine. Let all the enemies of Gods faithfull Messengers hear and fear, and do no more so wickedly.*

Now.

It may be truly said of him, and his faithful Yoke-fellow, as it is written of *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*, *they were both righteous before God, walking in all the Commandments, and Ordinances of the Lord blameless*; and truly the world will, and can testifie, that neither of them did ever do that thing that was evil, or unjust, or scandalous, or uncomely, even their enemies themselves being Judges, they were as to men, without blemish: their life was a sweet savour, and they went out of this life as a fragrant perfume.

This Life was drawn up by Master *John Carter, Junior*, now also with the Lord, one who degenerated not from the steps of his Learned, and holy Father, and by him was sent to me some years since, together with this ensuing Epistle: which I have the rather inserted to provoke, and stir up others, who can in this way, revive the memories of the Dead Saints, to do it, which will be a more lasting Monument to them, and far more beneficial, and advantageous to the Church of God, than any sumptuous, and costly Funerals, or Grave-stones whatsoever.

TO

To his Reverend Brother, and fellow-Labourer in the  
Lords Vineyard, Master Samuel Clark, Pastor of  
Bennet Fink, London.

Worthy Sir,

**T**hat which Naomi spake to Ruth concerning Boaz, He hath not left off his  
kindnesse to the living, and to the Dead, It is fully verified of your  
self: You cease not to shew kindnesse to the Living, and to the Dead. To  
the Living, by your Preaching, and Ministry, you make Saints daily.  
To the Dead Saints you shew kindnesse, by perpetuating their Names,  
to their honours, and the good of many: And herein you are a greater gainer: you  
shine your self by making others shine. Amongst the rest of those that honour you I am  
one, though I never saw your face, otherwise then in the Frontispiece of your Lear-  
ned Books.

In the first part of your Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, we had information,  
that you did resolve to add a second Part; and so put in the Lives of such god-  
ly Divines, and others, as were eminent in these latter times, if you were fur-  
nished with faithfull Informations. Hereupon, divers did set upon me with very  
great importunity, to write the Life of my dear Father, and to send it up to you.  
Truly worthy Sir! I was desirous of the thing, but durst not undertake the work:  
I was sensible of mine own weakness, and also that his Sayings and Doings had so  
far slipped the memories of this Generation, that I should have brought to light  
such an imperfect thing, as rather would have been a blemish to so eminent a  
Saint, then any Honour. Hereupon I laid aside all thoughts of meddling, or  
attempting such a thing. I know that he is glorious in heaven, and on earth  
too, so far as his name is spread.

Now, good Sir, let me be bold to give a short account of my self. Some few  
days since I went about to make a new Diary for my self, I was desirous in the  
first place, to set down some passages of my Father, for mine own satisfaction,  
and use. I began so, and before I was aware, it amounted to so much, as I  
thought better that that should be published, than nothing at all: and at last my  
Spirit grew restless, I could not satisfie myself, till I had digested it into some or-  
der, and made it publick. And now, Sir, here it is; I present it to your judici-  
ous view; accept it in good part from a meer stranger.

My humble request to you, Worthy Sir, is this, that, though I slipped the last  
opportunity, yet if you shall set forth any more Lives; or if you shall have a new  
Impression of any of the former, that you would extract so much of my precious  
Fathers Life, as you shall judge fit, and place it where you please in your Ecclesia-  
stical History. Your Monuments will be lasting in after Ages, when my poor  
Pamphlet will be worn out with time. Pardon my boldness: The Lord lengthen  
out your days, for the good of his Church, and the honour of his Saints.

Your most observant friend and brother,  
that truly Honoureth you,

JOHN CARTER.





expected some rare and excellent Notion from him, as Doctor *Gouge* (his frequent Hearer) told me.

Master of  
*Katherine*  
Hall.

About the year 1625. or 26. he was chosen Master of *Katherine Hall* in *Cambridge*, the Government whereof he continued till his dying day; and indeed like a faithfull Governour, he was alwaies very solicitous and carefull to procure and advance the good of that little House. For he procured good means and maintenance by his interest in many worthy Persons, for the enlargement of the Colledge, and was a means and Instrument, to establish learned and Religious Fellows there; insomuch as in his time, it proved a very famous Society for Piety and Learning, both in Fellows and Scholars.

Preacher at  
*Graies-Inne*.

But before this, viz. about the year 1618. he was chosen Preacher to *Graies-Inne*, one of the Learnedest Societies in *England*, where his Ministry found such generall approbation and acceptance, that besides the Learned Lawyers of the House, many Noble Personages, and many of the Gentry and Citizens resorted to hear him, and many till this day, blesse God for the Benefit which they received by him.

The suc-  
cess of his  
Ministry.

His pru-  
dence in his  
Ministry.

His Learning was mixed with much humility, whereby he alwaies esteemed lowly of himself, and was ready to undervalue his own labours, though others judged them to breath spirit and life, to be strong of Heaven, speaking with authority and power to mens Consciences. His care in the course of his Ministry was to lay a good foundation in the heads and hearts of his Hearers. And though he were a wise Master-builder, and that in one of the eminentest Auditories for Learning and Piety that was in the Land, as was said before; yet according to the grace which was given to him (which was indeed like that of *Elisha*, in regard of the other Prophets, 2 *King*. 1. 9. the elder Brothers priviledge, a double portion) he was still taking all occasions to preach of the Fundamentals to them, and amongst the rest, of the Incarnation of the Son of God, one of the chief Fundamentals of our Faith, one of the chief of those wonders in the Mercy-seat, which the Cherubims gaze at, which the Angels desire to pry into, 1 *Pet*. 1. 12. And preaching at several times, and by occasion, of so many several texts of Scripture concerning this Subject, there is scarce any one of those incomparable benefits which accrew to us thereby, nor any of those holy impressions, which the meditation hereof ought to work in our hearts, which was not by him sweetly unfolded, as may appear by those Sermons now in Print. And therefore (saith a Reverend Divine) the noted humility of the Author I lesse wonder at, finding how often his thoughts dwelt upon the humiliation of *Christ*.

Master  
*Dods* testi-  
mony of his  
Sermon on  
*Cant* 5.

As for his Sermons upon *Cant*. 5. Reverend and holy Master *Dod* upon the perusal of the Manuscript, was so taken with them, that he professed that he found them so full of heavenly Treasure, and containing such lively expressions of the unvaluable riches of the love of *Christ* towards all his poor servants that sue and seek unto him for it, that by his great importunity he prevailed with Doctor *Sibbs*, otherwise much undervaluing his own meditations, to commit the same to the Presse; to which Master *Dod* gave this attestation.

"I (saith he) judge it altogether unmeet, that such precious matter should be concealed from the publick use. I judge these Sermons a very profitable and excellent help, both to the understanding of that dark and most Divine Scripture, as also to kindle in the heart, all heavenly affections towards *Jesus Christ*; The whole frame whereof, is carried with such Wisdom, Gravity, Piety, Judgment and Experience, that it commends itself to all that are godly wise: and I doubt not but they shall find their temptations answered, their fainting spirits revived, their understandings enlightened, and their graces confirmed; so that they shall have cause to praise God, for the worthy Authors godly and painful labours.

Indeed



Indeed he was thoroughly studied in the holy Scriptures, which made him a man of God, *perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work*; and as became a faithfull Steward of the manifold graces of God, he endeavoured to reach to others the whole counsell of God, and to store them with the knowledge of Gods will, in all wisdom, and spiritual understanding.

He was a man that enjoyed much communion with God, *walking in all the Laws of God blamelesse*; and like *John the Baptist*, was a *burning and shining light*, waiting and spending himself to enlighten others. He was upon all occasions very charitable, drawing forth, not only his Purse in relieving, but his very bowels in commiserating the wants and necessities of the poor Members of *Christ*. He used sometimes in the summer-time, to go abroad to the houses of some worthy Personages, where he was an Instrument of much good, not only by his private labours, put by his prudent counsell and advice, that upon every occasion he was ready to Minister unto them. And thus having done his work on earth, he went to receive his wages in heaven, peaceably and comfortably resigning up his spirit unto God, *Anno Christi 1631.* and of his age 58.

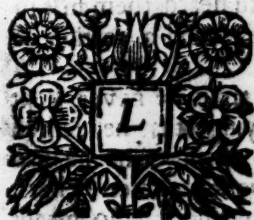
His piety.

His charity

His death.



The Life of Doctor Chaderton who dyed  
Anno Christi 1640.



Aurence Chaderton, was born of an ancient Family at Chatterton in Lancashire, about the year 1546. and his Parents being both *Papists*, they trained him up in that Religion, yet bred him to Learning; and when he came to some maturity of years, his Father sent him to the Inns of Court: But he being not pleased with that kind of life, through the motion of Gods holy Spirit, who had a work for him to do in another

His Parents

Calling and place, left the Inns of Court, and went to Cambridge about the twentyeth year of his age, and the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth. And getting some acquaintance in *Christs Colledge*, it pleased God that the Master and Fellows took such a liking to him for his ingenuity and industry, that they admitted him into a poor Scholars place.

His removal to Cambridge.

Then did he write to his Father, to acquaint him with his present condition, and to request some means of maintenance from him: But his Father disliking his change of place and studies, but especially of Religion, sent him a Poke with a groat in it, to go a begging withall, further signifying to him, that he was resolved to disinherit him, which he also did: Yet did the Lord Lord support his spirit, to preferre an heavenly before an earthly.

His Father casts him off

He is chosen Fellow.

earthly Inheritance; and seeing that he had nothing else to trust to, he fell close to his studies; and through Gods blessing upon the same, he so eminently profited in all sorts of Learning, that *Anno Christi* 1567. being but yet Batchelour of Arts, he was chosen Fellow of *Christis Colledge*. *Anno Christi* 1578. he commenced Batchelour of Divinity; and the same year, *October* the 26. he preached a Sermon at *Pauls Crosse*, which he also Printed.

He was chosen Lecturer at Saint Clements Church in Cambridge, which place he supplied about the space of sixteen years, and by his Holy, Learned, and judicious Sermons, did very much good, and was succeeded therein by Master *Michael Bentley* Fellow of *Christis Colledge*, a godly, plain, and profitable Preacher.

Chosen the first Master of Emanuel.

He was a man famous for Gravity, Learning, and Religion; so that when Sir *Walter Mildmay* (Counsellor of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, Chancellor, and under-Treasurer of the Exchequer) Founded *Emanuel Colledge*, *Anno Christi* 1584. he made choice of this man for the first Master: and when Master *Chaderton* shewed himself not willing to undertake that great charge, Sir *Walter* replied, saying, *If you will not be the Master, I will not be the Founder of it.*

In the beginning of King *James* his Reign, he was one of the four Divines for the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, chosen by the Ministers that desired a Reformation in the Church-Government; and for his Learning and sufficiency, was the same year chosen to be one of the Translators of the Bible.

He commenced Doctor.

*Anno Christi* 1612. when the Prince Elector *Palatine* came to visit Cambridge, he would needs have Master *Chaderton* commence Doctor of Divinity, which accordingly he did.

His care for the Colledge.

He deserved very well of *Emanuel Colledge*, for whereas the Founder gave allowance, for the maintenance of three Fellows only, together with the Advowson of *Stranground Rectory* in *Huntingtonshire*, near *Peterborough*, Doctor *Chaderton* procured by his Friends and acquaintance, allowance for twelve Fellows, and above forty Scholars of the House, besides the Advowsons of *Auler* and *Northend-berry Rectories*; as also of the Vicaridge of *Dulverton* in *Somersetshire*, *Piddle Hinton* in *Dorsetshire*, and *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*, of the Noble *Henry Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, which Noble man was a great friend to godly Ministers.

His care of young students.

After he was Master of *Emanuel*, his manner was, not to suffer any young Scholars to go into the Countrey to Preach, till he had heard them first in the Colledge-Chappel. All his younger days he used to expound a portion of Scripture twice a week in his Family.

His care of Servants.

He was married fifty three years, and yet in all that time he never kept any of his Servants from Church to dresse his meat, saying, that he desired as much to have his servants know God as himself. If at any time he had a Servant upon triall, though they could do as much work as three others, yet if they were given to lying, or any other vice, he would by no means suffer them to dwell in his house.

He resigned his place.

Towards his latter end *Arminianisme* began to sprout up apace in the University, and he being fearfull that an *Arminian* might come to succeed him in his place after his death, resolved if he could procure a godly and worthy man, to resign his place to him in his life time, which accordingly he did to famous Doctor *Preston*, whom he yet survived, and saw after him Doctor *Sancroft*, and after him Doctor *Hollsworth* to succeed in his Mastership.

He was of a very charitable disposition, insomuch as if he heard of any godly Minister that was in want, he would send them forty or fifty shillings at a time.

Though



Though he lived till he was very old, yet his sight remained very good, as may appear by this example:

A little before his death, an old Servant of his came to see him, and found him reading in a Book, so that at the first he took no notice of her; but when she came nearer, lifting up his head, he spake to her, asking her what a Clock it was: She told him Eleven. I have (said he) here got a Book that I have been reading of ever since eight a Clock, for I like it very well; and yet all that time he had read without Spectacles.

He lived eighteen years after the Resignation of his Mastership, and in November, Anno Christi 1640. resigned up his spirit unto God, being about the age of ninety four years, and was buried in Saint Andrews Church; Doctor Richard Holsworth, the then Master of Emanuel, preached his Funeral Sermon, and gave him a large and deserved Commendation.

His Death.



The Life of Master John Ball, who died  
October 20. 1640.



John Ball was born about the year 1585. at Cassington, an obscure village, (a mile from Hanborough) in Oxfordshire: He being set to School at Tarnton, was found so apt to learn, that the School-master prevailed with his Parents, (though of low estate) to continue him Scholar there, till he was fitted for the University.

His birth and education.

Gods Providence, by means of friends, made way for his placing in Brazen-nose Colledge in Oxford, where he improved very much in the knowledge of the Arts, and he proved a quick disputant. When he was Batchelour of Arts, (wanting meanes for his maintenance to continue longer in the University) he accepted a motion made for his removal into the Countrey, and was placed in the Lady Cholmleys house in Cheshire, as Tutor to her Children, where many other Children also were taught by him. And though he came Raw and ungrounded in Religion (as himself was wont to expresse it) from Oxford, yet within a short time there appeared (with the increase of his Scholastic abilities) the breakings forth of the power of Godliness in his Conversation, unto them who were most Religious and judicious there, who thereupon took him into their society for mutual edification in the wayes of Gods fear. Whereas there was a great scarcity of godly painfull Preachers in that corner of the Countrey, in those times, he did much frequent the Ministry of Reverend Master John Ford, whereby he was not a little edified.

His going to Oxford.

His remove into Cheshire.

His improvement of his parts.

He had few Books, and therefore perused the more seriously such as he had under-hand. Calvins life published by Beza, and his Commentary upon the Psalms, made deep impressions upon his spirit. Growing into acquaintance with the most godly people in those parts, who much lamented the evils of the times, he often associated with them, in keeping private daies of Fasting and Prayer. Himself with some other honest Christians, were often convened

His frequent Fasts, and Prayers.

His con-  
fancy.

His Non-  
conformity.

He is or-  
dained Mi-  
nister.

His call to  
*Whitmore*.

His mar-  
riage.

His dili-  
gent studies

ned to *Chester*, and much troubled there, for keeping a Fast on *Ascension-day*, their fault being aggravated by the Bishop and his Officers, because they fasted upon that holy day. As he took not up, any opinion or practice, till he had well weighed it: So was he not much moved by any trouble which assaulted him in his way. When others judged him ripe for the Ministry, he was not hasty in adventuring upon that Calling, because he was sensible of the weight thereof, and also desirous to satisfy his conscience concerning the way of entrance by Episcopal subscription. And upon the serious studying of the points in controversy, betwixt the Bishops and Non-conformists, he was dissatisfied to yield unto that subscription which was then strictly commanded.

Some conflicts he had with the then Bishop of *Chester*, about Non-conformity; but though he looked upon a Bishop in those times as a formidable creature, yet he came off unshaken. Having resolved (upon the encouragement given by judicious Divines) to enter into the Ministry, when God should make a fair way for his admission, without subscription, by the intercession of Friends, he with Master *Julines Herring*, (who afterwards was famous for the work of the Lord in *Salop*;) were made Ministers by an *Irish* Bishop, (being occasionally in *London*;) with freedom from the formentioned snare. About the year 1610. he was called to be Minister at *Whitmore*, (a small village near unto *New-Castle* in *Staffordshire*) where he was entertained into the house of *Edward Mainwaring* Esquire, a pious and much esteemed Gentleman.

Here he married a godly Wife, whom God had provided as an help meet for him (he himself being alwaies a meer Scholar, neither much minding nor intermeddling in worldly affairs, beyond the bounds of his Calling,) by whom he had six Sons and one Daughter. Six of his Children were born unto him while he continued in Master *Mainwaring's* Family, where he found much love, and did much service; for every evening he expounded a portion of Scripture, which was read in course, and many mornings also was helpfull in Catechizing of the Family. Hither many Ministers and others had often recourse unto him for counsell, where they were alwaies friendly entertained; and the Lord blessed that Family very much, which doth still shew much kindnesse unto the Children of this good man. Afterwards he removed with his own Family unto an house which Master *Mainwaring* had built for him, where he had his seventh and last child born to him, and where he dwelt till his death.

He was a great lover of Learning, and therefore laid out in the first years of his Ministry, all the money which he could spare, from necessary expences, in buying good Books, with which he was so well acquainted (having both a quick understanding and strong memory) that he could readily give an account of all passages most remarkable in them. He had so well studied *Bel-  
larmines* controversies, that it is scarcely credible what Relation he could make *ex tempore* of them from point to point; and shew from particular to particular, where the fallacy and the weaknesse of his Arguments did appear. And the like might be truly attested in reference unto the *Arminian* disputes, and the other Church-Controversies both in former and latter times. It was his custom to read over a Book, when once he undertook it, and no man could be more cautious in entertaining opinions without much mature consideration, having well weighed all arguments produced on both sides, both for and against them; and wherein his apprehensions were different from his Brethren, he did wisely forbear to vent them in such sort, as might occasion any division or offence.

*Oh how well had it been with England, if all other men had managed their Studies and practices according to this pattern! for then, so many sparks (cried up as new lights) had not been kindled amongst us, which being blown abroad by pride and ignorance, do threaten to set the whole world on fire. But to proceed*



ceed in the Narrative of this worthy mans life. He was so enriched with knowledge both in *Practical* and *Polemical* Divinity; He was so able to interpret and reconcile difficult Scriptures; He had such dexterity in dealing with afflicted consciences, and he was so well furnished with Ministerial gifts for Preaching, Prayer, and the administration of both Sacraments, that it was not easie to discover wherein he most excelled. His ability to counsell and comfort dejected, tempted Christians, was occasioned, (as himself would acknowledge,) by his conversing with Mistrresse *Sarah Mainwaring*, (Wife to the Gentleman in whose house he continued many years, as was before mentioned) who was much exercised in that kind, and was an unparallel'd Gentlewoman for holy tendernesse and exactnesse in Religion.

His skill in comforting afflicted consciences.

Willing he was to trade every Talent with which God had trusted him, as opportunity was offered; and he was a man most unwearied in all waies of service.

His indefatigableness.

As he took extraordinary pains in publique, so did he also in private, especially on the *Lords-day*. For having by way of Preparation upon the *Saturday* in the afternoon, spent about two houres in his house, in praying and expounding some Scripture, (to which exercise divers did resort) on the *Sabbath-Morning*, he expounded a portion of Scripture in his Family, (whereof many neighbours were partakers): Then he preached twice in publique, read divers Chapters, and Catechized also in the afternoon, spending much time therein, (especially in the summer season) after the evening Sermon, he went unto Master *Mainwarings* house (being near at hand,) where he repeated both his Sermons, and prayed; likewise after Supper he had another exercise in his own Family, equivalent to a Sermon, unto which divers well-affected of the neighbour-hood did repair. These his great labours were the more wonderfull, in that they were so excellent and solid, as many Ministers and Scholars yet living know, who did often frequent them. He taught a School also (both from a desire to do good, and that he might provide the more comfortable subsistence for his Family,) having not only the children of poor neighbours, (for he refused none who were willing to learn, but of persons of better quality sent unto him; some whereof were tabled in his own house, and the rest placed in the neighbour-hood. Every morning of the six daies in the week, he instructed his own Children and Scholars in the Principles of Religion, whereby many young ones (of whom some are now Ministers) were well seasoned and settled in the grounds of godlinesse. Every night likewise he opened and applyed some portion of the Scripture, for the edification of his Family.

His unwearied pains on the Sabbath.

And besides his frequent preaching at Lectures, at *Madeley* especially; where he was the principal upholder of a weekly Sermon, and a monethly Fast, and his helpfulnesse in holy Fasting and Prayer elsewhere, (when desired) it was his custom to set apart daies (when freed from attendance upon his School) for the solemn seeking of God, with his godly neighbours, as the necessities of the times did require.

His frequent Fasting, and Prayer.

He was most ready to communicate his learning, graces, experiences, yea, his *All*, for the profit of such who conversed with him: The remembrance whereof, is very smarting upon the hearts of some of his surviving Friends, because they made not a fuller improvement of him for their own advantage.

His readiness to do good.

In the latter part of his time, he had some scholars, whom he instructed in *Academical* Learning, reading Lectures to them in *Logick* and *Philosophy*, and hearing them to dispute, which often they did during his dinner-time: And while he was at supper, other scholars read a piece of *Greek*, or *Latine*, (so exceeding diligent was he in Husbanding the shreds of time, as he called them) the residue of the day, till very late, he spent in his private study.

And

His temperance, and meeknesse.

His frugality.

His charity.

And as he was incomparably abstemious and moderate in the use of meate, drink, sleep, and apparel, so he had an admirable command over his passions. For those who most conversed with him, never saw inordinate outbreaches of anger, or other affections in his conversation. This Character was given by a Friend who was much with him, (*viz.*) *That as Master Dod did turn earth into heaven, by a spiritual improvement of all earthly affairs, so Master Ball did reconcile earth and heaven, because worldly occasions were no distractions unto him in his journey thither.* He lived upon a small maintenance, (*viz.*) twenty pounds *per annum*, for serving the cure at *Whitmore*, and the keeping of one Cow, both summer and winter, by *Master Mainwaring* aforesaid, with what he got by teaching School. Yet he would often say, that he thought never man passed through this world with lesse care. God indeed stirred up some Friends, (who knew his great worth and mean outward condition) to be helpfull unto him, towards whom he was alwaies really respectfull, requiting their love by his daily Prayers, and his readinesse upon all occasions to do service unto them and theirs. Through Gods singular blessing upon his yearly incomes, he lived very comfortably, was given to hospitality, and also unto liberality to the poor, (considering his estate) and left a good competency unto his Wife and Children. Yea, such was this holy mans gratitude and contentment, that he would say, *I have enough, and enough, and enough.* Whereas he went once every year into *Oxford-shire*, to expresse his dutifull respect unto his aged Parents, he made choice of that time for his journey, that he might enjoy the Benefit of *Oxford-Act.* And as his love to learned disputations was large, so by strength of memory, he could give a punctuall account of all the most considerable Arguments urged, and Answers returned, upon the severall Questions discussed.

And still this Journey was made profitable unto his Christian Friends (near to whose dwellings he travelled) by conference, his assistance in private Fasts and other exercises of Religion.

His humility

It would be too tedious and tiring unto the Reader, if relation should be made of all those memorable passages in this Reverend mans life, (which his Friends surviving, do well remember) which did proclaim the high degree of holinesse, with which God adorned and Crowned all his other great abilities, therefore some few of them only shall be reported. His constant carriage towards all who conversed with him, did speak out his deep humility. For alwaies he was apt to prefer others before himself, and he was never observed, by any reproachfull speeches, or behaviour, to cast the least contempt or discouragement upon the meanest Christian.

His esteem of the weight of the Ministry

He was all his life-long, very apprehensive and sensible of the weightinesse of the Ministers Calling, saying, *That no man should dream of ease in that Function;* and would often much bewail before the Lord in Prayer, his own inconsiderate entrance upon it. A Friend being weary of teaching School, and acquainting him with his purpose to enter into the Ministry, Master Ball told him, *That he would find it a far heavier task to teach men than boys.* And a Fellow-Minister telling him of his danger to be silenced by the Bishop, he returned this answer, *If he should deal so with me, I would put off my hat and thank him.*

His humility

Having experimentally poysed the weight of the Ministers work, he would say unto his Non-conforming Brethren, (when Prelatical persecution threatened to drive him out of *England*;) *If we be necessitated to transplant our selves, you shall preach, and I will teach School.* And alwaies when other Ministers were in company, he would endeavour earnestly to put them upon the performance of Family-duties, as judging them to be better able than himself.

Such



Such who knew this mans learning of all kinds, and rich ministerial gifts, will admire (upon the consideration of these passages) at the forwardnesse of illiterate *Mecanicks* in these times, to intrude upon the Ministers Office. And whereas the blessed Apostle himself cryed out, *Who is sufficient for these things!* we may do more than guesse what spirit animateth those men, whose praïses speak thus, *Who is insufficient for these things!*

He did lay to heart the want of labourious learning amongst godly Ministers, because so many neglected to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the controversies of the times; and he thought that positive Divinity, mighty of study, be best gained by the study of controverſie, when the main Principles were ing controverſie. first well drunk in. He would say, that a subtil *Jesuite* would make wilde verſes. work in many places of *England*, because neither the people nor their Ministers had sufficient in-sight into the points of difference betwixt us and the *Papists*. Now what other errors (no whit lesse dangerous,) have for the same reasons been entertained of late years, (as he foresaw and feared) it is too notorious.

Although he himself was much pleased with sober, profitable disputations, yet he would shrink with trouble upon the appearance of their audacity, who dared to question Fundamentals in Religion, or to speak slightly of the matters of God. Once observing a man in the heat of conference, carried beyond the bounds of modest inquiry after the Truth, he used these words with holy admiration; *And whither will the love of arguing carry a man!*

He compared many Professors of late times, unto young Travellers, who so soon as they are mounted, begin to gallop, and do out-ride their fellows; but they either fall short, or come late (if not lame) home.

And he called the waies of separation a *Labyrinth*, wherein men tire themselves and grow giddy, as in a maze; but when all is done, there is no way of separation, but that whereby they entered. The danger of Separation.

He, made it his businesse to raise and maintain high and honourable thoughts of God at all times, as himself would alwaies speak of the titles of the Almighty, with much gravity and reverence, endeavouring to draw forth holy thankfulnesse in all conditions of life. Here two or three things shall be touched upon, to give a tast of this good mans gracious spirit. His high esteem of God.

He with a Neighbour Minister, having occasion to meet at a place, where they had only bread and cheefe to their dinner, the Master of the house expressing trouble, that he had no better provision for so good unexpected guests: Hereupon he said, that it would cost a man many years labors, to be truly and thoroughly thankfull unto God for one piece of bread and cheefe, proceeding to discover, most divinely, the many mercies which were to be acknowledged, in that meal and meeting. His gratitude for mercies.

And whereas at that time *Rochel* was besieged, and the inhabitants were in great distresse through want of food, he moved a serious consideration, how much bread and cheefe with peace and fellowship, would be valued at *Rochel*: yea, he seriously made his demand, whether their obligations in the present place and meeting, were not much greater, because they in their instant enjoyments, had not experienced *Rochels* fears and sorrows.

At another time a dear Friend Relating his great danger by a fall off his horse, in a journey, and saying, that he never had received such a deliverance. Master Ball answered, *Ten hundred times, (viz.) so often as you have ridden and not fallen;* because the preventing of perils, is to be prized as much as our Rescuing out of them.

At a Marriage feast, where Christian Friends were civilly rejoycing in the good occasion of their meeting, the many good blessings provided for their comfort, and in their mutual society, this speech came from him with much

His high esteem of Jesus Christ. much gravity; *One thought of Jesus Christ reaching the heart, is more to be valued, then all Creature-contentments whatsoever, though they should be enjoyed in their fulnesse for a thousand years without interruption.*

His prudence.

That he might keep Gods servants of the lowest parts, alwaies high in his own estimation, he would wisely weigh their peculiar serviceablenesse in some kind or other, though they were inferiours in sundry excellencies. Hereupon when one admiring worthy Master Dods holy conversation, said, *Oh how well would it be if all Ministers were like unto him;* Master Ball answered, The Church would be quite undone if all others were like him. For though no man more honoured Master Dod, (which not many years before his death he witnessed, by listening unto his fatherly counsell bare-headed, with his hat in his hand) yet he knew, that other men, much inferiour in graces, had some special way of advantage to the cause and the people of God.

His distaste of frowardnesse.

He was a zealous opposite to passionate frowardnesse, observing the lamentable fruits thereof, in many persons and Relations, and he had an extraordinary dexterity to calm them who were boisterous. He would thus advise them, *Put judgment into Office; for Affections are good followers, but bad guides. Look well to your hearts, for Passion is the effect of pride.* And he would say unto them, *You had need to get a strong bit and bridle; for you ride an unruly horse.* Observing one bitterly to bewail the death of a dear Friend, he said, *Rather labour to get good by it.*

The means of cure.

He was wont to humble passionate Professors, who in their heat would speak unadvisedly, by this position, which he would undertake to prove, (*viz*) *That a moral Heathen who never heard of Christ, might possibly by watchfulnesse secure himself from uttering one froward word all his life long;* And therefore it was a great shame for Christians to be worse, who had more grace and greater helps to suppress sin. This was one parcell of good counsell, which he commonly bestowed in all cases, *Inform Judgement; Set Faith on work; Be of good courage.* As he used to be large in his Prayers in behalf of the Church of God, (according to the peculiar concernments thereof) both at home and abroad, so was he particular in minding his special Friends before the Lord, and the spirituall wel-fare of his children was so much upon his heart, that he daily desired to lodge them in Gods bosome, yea, he seldom gave thanks either before or after meat, (especially towards the end of his life) without some touch of tendency towards his children, in reference unto whom this was one constant Petition, *That they might never seek great things for themselves in this world.* And his own practice from his youth, proved the sincerity of his heart in this suit, because he never looked after, nor would entertain any motion of removing for wealth or worldly promotion, though his charge was great, and his eminency, both in ministerial and scholastical gifts, with the power of godlinesse, which did shine in his whole conversation, gained him many Friends, and rendered him in their account, a man more meet for a place of publique note and resort, than the village where he dwelt.

His love to the Church, and to his Children.

His contentednesse.

When the Prelatical opposition against the Non-conformists was hot and high, he spake thus unto a Neighbour-Brother, *Be confident, that although all who are now known-Nonconformists were dead and gone: yet God would rather raise some out of our Ashes to protest against Episcopacy, and the Ceremonies, then suffer that cause to fall unto the ground.* He would say, *The Fathers wanted some of our lights, but we want more of their hearts.*

His care to keep the Sacraments from pollution.

He was exemplarily carefull to preserve Gods Ordinances from pollution and contempt, and therefore did alwaies take great pains with his people, to prepare them for the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. In his Sermons he was wont to tell his Auditours, that their persecuting, impoverishing, imprisoning, and thrusting daggers into their Ministers bodies, would not be more grievous, then



then their unworthy communicating at the Lords Table, and their unanswerable walking unto the Ordinances of graces dispenced amongst them. And when Parents presented their children in the Congregation to be baptized, he would very affectionately lay open their duty, pressing Sacramental engagements home to their hearts, with strong Arguments and authority Ministerial; Though no man was known by his Friends, who more did relished the Corruptions in Church-Government, and in Administrations of holy Worship, yet he hath sufficiently published unto the world his great dislike of the way of separation from our Church Assemblies upon such pretences. Thus he spake unto a Friend who had moved him to maintain our Church-Communion against the Separatists, *How little am I beholding unto you, who drew me from more Profitable Studies, to peruse those senseless speculations?*

His dislike  
of separat-  
on.

He much lamented in his Prayers before God, the first breakings out of Independency in England, both in respect of the present offence, and the wofull consequences thereof, whereof he was much afraid: yea, he did very often tell his Friends (both in the time of his health and last sicknesse) that if God should give opportunity and hopes of Church Reformation, that we might be eased of our present grievances, the Brethren of the new separation, would be found the greatest obstrucers thereof.

His judge-  
ment about  
independen-  
cy.

His Remembrance of the History of former Separations (with which he was fully acquainted) and his prudential fore-sight of the diducts which would necessarily follow from their Principles, (*viz.* Anabaptisme, &c.) together with his wise insight into the dispositions of some persons who then appeared therein; these were the grounds of his foretelling the confusions, the spreading of pernicious Errours, and hinderances of Reformation, which we since have sadly suffered under. These Reasons of his Prediction (which is noised abroad) are expressed, lest any should imagine him to have inclined to regard injections and impulsions of spirit, which some cry up as propheticall. His dislike whereof may be evidenced by this one instance, (*viz.*) Being asked by one who much pretended unto immediate inspirations besides Scripture, whether he at any time had experience thereof in his own Heart, his answer was this: *No, I blesse God; and if I should ever have such phantasies, I hope God would give me grace to resist them.*

His judge-  
ment about  
Revelations

When there was discourse concerning the new, (or rather the renewed) Errours, which were broached, he would ordinarily say, *A good Treatise of the sufficiency of the Scriptures would put an end unto these matters.* His exceeding love to study, and his great modesty caused unwillingnesse to go far from home, or to appear publique in any kind. And if the extraordinary importunity of some much esteemed Friends, had not conquered this avernesse, he would (in probability) never have printed any thing in his own name, or have come into the company of persons of chief place and quality; yet God was pleased in both these waies to make him serviceable. For besides the profit which many have received from his printed Books, he was happily instrumentall by conference to preserve some men of chief esteem, (in regard of their Piety, Parts, and places of command) in the Countries where they lived; from warping towards the waies of new separation, upon the solicitation of such who were busie sticklers therein.

His humility  
and mode-  
sty.

Upon the calling of the Parliament in the year 1640. some hopes being conceived that he might be an instrument of publique benefit to the Church, by dealing with some Parliament-men, that (if further Reformation of things wofully out of order, could not be procured,) men unconformable to the Ceremonies might not be thrust out, and kept out of the Ministry in that regard. He thereupon took a journey unto London, with his Neighbour and endeared Brother Master Langley, but receiving small encouragement to his hopes and endeavours in that kind, he returned home with sorrow upon his

heart, complaining of the many *symptomes* of Gods displeasure, which he saw ready to break out against poor *England*, and resolved to do what service he could in any other way.

His intended works. And being convinced that his labours might be profitable to the Church, both in the present and succeeding ages, he was resolved to lay forth himself for publique service in any kind, as his good Friends should advise; and in pursuance hereof he designed these three works. *viz.* 1. *A Treatise of the Church.* 2. *An Exposition of obscure Scriptures out of all the original Languages.* 3. *A more full Systeme of Divinity by the enlarging of his Catechism.* For all which he had much good provision under hand, when the

Lord saw cause to put an end to his labours. And here, all those must silence their hearts, (who knowing him, may be apt to judge his removal at this time to be unseasonable) with these words, (which were much in his mouth when God checked hopes by crosse-Providences) *The Lord is wisest: God is most wise.* Many conflicts he had with men of greatest strength,

His great abilities. (as was imagined) to maintain the new pathes, into which divers had stepped aside. But the truth is, never was any of them able to stand up under his Arguments. Though God was pleased to take him away (whom some in scorn called *The Presbyterians Champion*) yet he hath raised up other Worthies, who do strenuously gain-say those extravagancies.

His last sick sicknesse. When his nature was enfeebled by constant study, and great long-continued labours, he passed the time of his languishing sicknesse with a sweet, humble, divine, peaceable spirit. He preached in publique so long as bodily ability could bear it; and he continued to pray in his Family till strength failed. Now his addresses to God were most holy and heavenly, as *Swan-like Songs, the sweetest at last.* Though he spake not very much during his bodily decays, yet the words which he used were *solid and savoury.*

His Faith. Being asked what he thought of himself, whether he should now die or recover? he answered, *I do not trouble my self about that matter.* He often bewailed the infirmities of his life, and in special (now as at former times) his inconsiderate entring upon the weighty Calling of the Ministry; but he manifested withall an holy child-like confidence in *Christ*, still strengthening his heart, after his humble mourning for sinne, with this consideration, that the *Scripture mentioneth weaknesses in the choicest Saints, which were neither totall hinderances to the exercise of their faith in Christ, nor to their salvation through grace.* This question being propounded to him, what he now thought concerning his labours (part whereof were then printed) against the present separation in *England*? He answered, that though he had been weary of those controversies, which hindered his going on in more profitable studies, yet he did not repent of that which he had done, only he desired God to pardon the defects, which had cleaved unto that and his other services. When any mention was made before him of his great labours to do good, he would say, (and this was a speech which he much used) *If the Lord were not a God pardoning sinnes, I was in a miserable condition.*

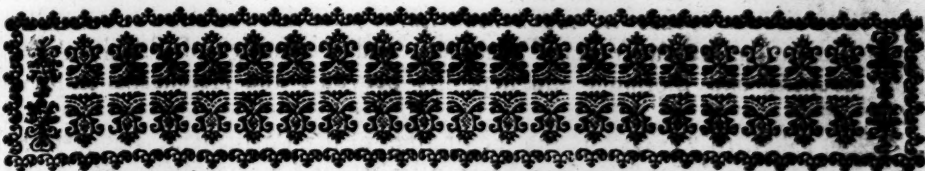
His humility. And however he did say with tears, that he had too much respect amongst men, and that many judged that to be in him, which was not, (such was his humility;) yet Friends expressing ardent desires of his health, for service sake, he told them, that he could have been content to have lived longer, (if the Lord had been pleased) that he might have been further usefull in his place, and have borne his share in sufferings with his Brethren. For he expected a very sharp storm, though he hoped it would be but short. And he called it, *The last combate which we should have with Antichrist.* When towards his end, he was asked, how he did? he would thus answer



answer with a cheerfull countenance, *Going to heaven space.* And as his conversation had for many years been in heaven, the Lord, (who had ripened him for immediate Communion with himself) took him unto himself, *Octob. 20. 1640.* and of his age about 55. The materials of this Narrative, (concerning the pious, fruitfull life of that faithful Servant of *Christ*, Mr. *John Ball*,) were received from these Ministers of the Gospel, and men of known integrity, (*viz.* Master *John Taylor* of *Checkley* in *Stafford-shire*, (who was his Countrey-man, and of his most ancient acquaintance.) Master *Thomas Langley* of *Middlewich* in *Cheshire*,) who besides his former intimatenesse, continued under his Ministry above five years, he being taken off from the exercise of his own Ministry by Episcopal power,) Master *Simoon Ashe* of *St. Austins London* (who for the space of many years had been his bosome Friend,) and from Master *George Crosse* of *Clifton* in *Stafford-shire*, (who daily conversed with him for sundry moneths, both before, and in the time of his last sicknesse,) who all of them do acknowledge themselves obliged to God, for the spiritual good, gained by this their dearly respected, and much honoured Friend and Brother, who since his death, have been very sensible of their great losse by his removall. But they and all others must learn to live upon *Divine-immutable-All-sufficiency*, when creatures do fail.

His death.

*Now the Just shall live by his Faith.*



*The Life of Doctor Potter, who died Anno Christi 1642.*



*Arnaby Potter* was born in *Westmerland*, Anno Christi 1578. within the Baronry of *Kendal*, and brought up at School there, till he was fitted for the University; Thence he was sent to *Queens Colledge* in *Oxford*, where he was chosen, first a Scholar of the House, then a Fellow, and afterward Provost. Whilest he was Fellow, he was a very carefull Tutor to many worthy Gentlemens sons, whom he trained up in Learning, but especially in true Religion. He was a very humble and meek man, a man of few words, a sweet Preacher,

His birth and education.

His preferments at Oxford

His humbleness.

and a favourer of strict Professors of Religion. It was the fashion and custom of the Fellows after dinner, to sit or stand a while at the Hall door, and discourse usually of divers points of Religion, or of good Writers, and sometimes of other trivial matters. This man, on a certain time, when he heard them talk of many trivial things, said nothing, but observed what they said; and when they had done talking, he thus bespake them: Now, my Masters, will you hear all your extravagant discourses? for I have strictly observed and marked what you said, and he told them every whit, and they admired him for his memory.

His holiness.

His Lectures at Abington, and Totness. It was his custom first to write one part of his Sermon, and to commit it to memory presently, and then another, so that he could preach with much facility, and upon a little warning. He was for a while Lecturer at Abington, and at Totness in Devon-shire, where he was much respected. Then he proceeded Doctor in Divinity, and was preferred by Sir Edward Giles to a Pastoral Charge, which Knight was a worthy Gentleman in his Countrey, and often chosen a Parliament man for Devon.

He is chosen Provost of Queens Colledge. Doctor Potter married the Lady Giles her daughter, when he was Doctor but of a years standing. Not long after, Doctor Aray, a worthy Provost of Queens Colledge died; whereupon he was chosen to succeed him in the Provostship, with the unanimous consent of the Fellows, when he was far from the University, and never dreamed of any such preferment.

He is chosen Bishop of Carlisle. He was also Chaplain in ordinary to Prince Charles, and accounted at the Court the penitential Preacher. When he had been Provost about the space of ten years, he resigned his place, and went to his Pastoral charge in the Countrey, and there resided; yet he had not been there long, but King Charles his Master, cast a favourable aspect upon him, and seeing he had not rewarded him for his long and faithfull service, he chose him to be Bishop of Carlisle; and though many sued for the place, yet he said peremptorily that none but Potter should have it; and surely his gracious Master honoured not him so much as he did himself and that age, in the freedom of his noble and unexpected choice.

His painfulness. That which Nazianzen said of Basil, may be fitly and properly said of this Bishop; He was promoted, he did not steal or shuffle himself into the chair, he did not invade it, the honour sought and followed him. When he was Bishop, he was a constant Preacher, and Performer of Family duty, both evening and morning, and kept his Servants and Attendants in good order.

His Sermon at the beginning of the Parliament. Being called to London, in the beginning of the Parliament, he made at Westminster a worthy and zealous Sermon, wherein he inveighed against the corruptions that were crept into the Church, especially in respect of Ceremonies so eagerly prest by sundry Bishops, as bowing to the Altar, and such like innovations. His Sermon was well approved of by the best; but he seeing the tumults that were then raised in London about the Parliament House, and hearing that he himself was censured as Popish, because a Bishop, he took it grievously to heart, sickned, and died there, about the great Climactericall years of his age.

A favourer of godly Ministers. He was a great favourer of zealous Professors, and Lecturers, and therefore he was accounted by many a Puritanical Bishop; and indeed, some at the Court in King James his time, said, That Organs would blow him out of the Church.

Mr. Thomas Richardson now Pastor of Newbold Pace in Warwickshire. He was well skilled in the Hebrew tongue, and for his further Progress therein, disdained not to learn of one of the Fellows, even when he was Provost.

An enemy to the book of sports. He utterly disliked the Book of sports for Recreation on the Sabbath day, and told a Minister with whom he was acquainted, that if it were sent down to his Diocese, he would sleight it and urge none of his Jurisdiction to read it.

He was of a weak constitution of body, melancholick and lean, as being a hard Student, and therefore to recreate his spirits he loved vocal musick, and to this end, he sent divers times for such Scholars in the Colledge as could sing well, and he would bear a part with them in his lodgings after supper, where they made most excellent melody. He was the last Bishop that died as a Member of the Parliament, and was Bishop of Carlisle some fourteen years.





*The Life of Master Richard Sedgwick who died  
Anno Christi 1643.*



**R**ichard Sedgwick was born at East Deereham, in the County of Norfolk, Anno Christi 1574. His birth and education. His Father was a Clothier; but by reason of a great losse by fire, fell in to decay. He had an Uncle living in York-shire, who was very rich, and of large yearly revenues having no Children; whereupon he took this Richard in his tender years home to himself, and put him to School, with an intent to make him his heir; but God had laid up a better portion for him. His Uncle and his Family were prophane, having the power of godlinesse, and wedded to games and sports; yet even in such a Family God visited him in mercy, and awakened his soul by working in him hearty desires after himself. While the rest of the Family were at their games and dancings, he would be in a corner mourning. His Uncle at first thought his retirednesse to have been bookishnesse, and therefore rebuked him gently, and called upon him to take more liberty; but at last perceiving the truth of the thing, began to hate him, and to deal roughly with him, and not being able to bring him to his will, cast him out of his Family, saying, that a Puritane should never inherit his land. His conversion.

Before this, his Father died, and his Mother being industrious and sparing, out of the little means she had left her, maintained him at Peter-house in Cambridge, where he profited greatly in all kind of learning. He began the exercise of his Ministry in Kent; where he being called to preach in the Cathedral at Canterbury, in his Sermon touching the corruption of the Prebends, and their Cathedral service, he so far displeased them, as that by threats they brought him to condescend, through weaknesse, to promise to recant, and a day for this was appointed. He is rejected by his Uncle. His going to Cambridge. Humane infirmity.

Upon his return home, and his second thoughts, he became very sad, and in his perplexity took his Bible and opened it, and at the first, lighted on that encouraging Word of God to *Jeremiah*, Jer. 1. 7, 8. *Whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak; be not afraid of their faces, for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord.* By this he was so strengthened, that he resolved to stand to what he had formerly delivered, whatsoever dangers did attend him. At the time appointed, he preached again in the Cathedral, having a very large Auditory; both of the Countrey and City, in which Sermon he confirmed what he had before delivered, earnestly pressing the Prebends to reform the abuses amongst them. By this they were so offended, that they complained of him to the Bishop, and so persecuted him, that he was forced to forsake his place, and to retire himself into private, and was entertained for a time by Sir Edward Bois the elder, a man eminent for Piety in those daies. A special providence. His recovery. He is persecuted.

During

By Sir Edward Anslow.

His great pains.  
His faithful-  
ness.

His Preaching at Battersey.

His self-denial.

His marriage.

He is again persecuted.

His Courage

He is chosen by the Merchants.

He erects discipline in the Church.  
Conversion.

During this his retirement, he came upon occasion to *London*, and by the means of Master *Egerton*, Pastor at *Black-fryers*, was received into the Family of Sir *Edward Anslow*, who lived in the City during the winter, and in Summer at *Crawly* in *Surrey*, a place destitute of a Preaching Ministry. In this Family his encouragement was great, but his labours abundant. Every day his usual course was to pray in the morning at six a clock with the Husbandmen, and at ten to pray with the rest of the Family, and expound a Chapter, in which course he went through the four first Books of *Moses*. His course at night was after Prayer, to catechize the Family by turns, wherein he used no respect of Persons, the meanest not being left out, and the chiefest not forborn. On the *Lords-day*, during his abode at *Crawly*, he preached twice constantly, and after publique exercises, called the whole Family in private to render an account of what was delivered in publique. In the winter, when the greatest part of the Family was at *London*, under an able Ministry, he was ready to help others, and by Providence, was called to improve his talent at *Battersey* in *Surrey*. Master *Wybourne*, a Reverend Divine, who constantly Preached in that place, having by a fall broke his legge, and being disabled thereby to continue his labours, desired his assistance. At this place the people were so affected with his Ministry, that they requested him to continue to preach among them, promising to strain themselves to provide him maintenance.

He had a fair call and opportunity (denying himself) to answer it, for Sir *Edward Anslow*, about this time had an estate befallen him in *Hertsfordshire*, whither he resolved to go to dwell, in which place was an able and godly Minister; Master *Sedgwick* seeing that by continuing in this Family, he should not have occasion of exercising his publique Ministry, relinquished fifty pounds annuity during his life, assured to him by this worthy Knight, and accepted of this call to Preach at *Battersey*.

Before his departure out of this Family, he married a Wife of an honest and Religious stock in the City of *London*. He had not long exercised his gifts at *Battersey*, bringing glory to God, but the devil again raised up persecution against him. One Master *King*, Church-warden of the place, was offended at him, because he freely reprov'd sinne, and boldly spake against the corruptions that were then in the Church; By this man he was presented into the *Commissaries* Court, and by his means cited to appear to answer certain Articles. This was about the latter end of Queen *Elizabeths* reign, not long before the coming in of King *James*. Upon this citation he resolved to appear, and come to *London*, and being at the door of the *Commissaries* house Master *Egerton* his faithfull and Reverend Friend, by Providence passing by, came to him, and having saluted him, told him he had heard of the opposition made against him at *Battersey*, and asked him if he would accept of a Call to go beyond the Seas, his answer was (having returned thanks for his kindnesse) that he could not as yet resolve him, forasmuch as he stood accused at present, and was resolved what-ever came of it, to defend those Truths that he had publicquely delivered; but yet professing a willingness to follow Providence, whither-soever the Lord should call him. Appearing before the Commissary, he met with courteous usage, and was friendly dismissed; for at this time those men feared a change to be brought in by King *James*.

Not long after this he was called by the Merchant-adventurers to be Minister to their company beyond Sea, whither, breaking through all discouragements, he went. During his abode beyond the Sea at *Stoade*, and *Hamborough* (which was about the space of eleven years and an half) he by the advice of the godly learned, erected and established Discipline in that Church. God did greatly blesse his Ministry, and he begat among that little company, many Sons and Daughters unto God. He had Communion with the *Nether-land-Dutch Church* at *Stoade*, and at *Alienon* near *Hamborough*.



rough, and with the godly that came out of *England*, admitting them, being desirous to come to the Lords Table.

In his Ministry he was very searching, many coming and confessing those things which he had never heard of, till it came out of their own mouths. The efficacy of his Ministry.

In his carriage he was affable and courteous, yet grave and awfull, so that many durst not for fear do those things that otherwise they were disposed to. The Merchants here found the benefit by the orderly carriage of their Factors there. Yet here the Devil was not quiet, for one of the prime Merchants taking exceptions against his impartial dealing in his Ministry, and the order in the Church, threatened by such a day, naming it, to have him over into *England*; but before that day came, himself was summoned by death to another place. Gods judgement on a persecutor.

He was very charitable himself, allowing something yearly towards the maintenance of the suspended Ministers here, and greatly furthered charity in others. By his direction and encouragement *Mastes Jones*, a rich Batchelour, and one of the Elders of his Church, bequeathed many thousands of pounds to pious uses, which to this day speaks his praise. His charity.

He was eminent in self-denial, for being made Executour by the said Master *Jones* of his last Will and Testament, whereby he might have gained much to himself, he never rested till he had caused him to alter his Will, and to place others in his room. His self-denial.

Upon the dissolving of that company of Merchants he came over into *England*, and being disappointed of a place in *London*, intended for him by Master *Jones*, he went to *Monmouth* in *Wales*, and for some time held the Lecture settled there. Afterward a Chappel being erected at *Wapping*, he was called to that place, and became the first Minister there. Here he abode to his death, being holy and exemplary in his life and conversation, and abundant in labours, preaching constantly thrice a week, and catechizing on the Lords-day besides. His return into England. His Lecture in Wales. His call to Wapping.

The tenderesse of his fatherly care and love of this people, he expressed all the time of his living with them, but especially in the time of the great sicknesse, when, remaining with them, he preached constantly every Lords-day, and the Fast-dayer, notwithstanding all the danger that he was in, the infection in that place being much spread, and very violent. The Providence of God over him at that time was very remarkable. For although all the Families round about him were infected, and his house adjoynd to the place of Burial, yet neither himself nor any of his Family were any waies smitten with it. His painfulness. A special Providence.

Many were his labours in private, being much sought unto both for counsel and for comfort. What successe God gave unto his Ministry, was evident by the many souls won and built up by him. He was very studious, and wrote much, yet was always averse from publishing any thing, though often requested; saying, that the many Books that were daily set forth, hindered the study and reading of the Holy Scriptures. Once, he committed to the Presse a Catechism fitted for his own Congregation, and before his death, had finished a large Tractate of the body of Divinity, which still lies by. His humility.

He sought the good of all, and was a precious favour unto some, in whose hearts to this day his memory flourishes. He foresaw the ensuing distractions with a grieved heart, and raised himself up to comfort, by contemplating the approaching time wherein *Christ* and his truth, and his ways, shall have the preheminance. His judgement concerning some hath proved true, asserting often that their principles would not (if they continued in them) suffer them to sit down on this side *Anabaptism*. He was a Friend of truth and peace, and an Instrument of refreshing the bowels of the poor; many strangers

His death.

gers for his sake giving in largely towards their relief. Having finished his course, being spent with labours, he quietly and comfortably ended his days, and according to his last words, went unto his God *Anno Christi 1643.* and of his age 69. having continued his Ministry at *Wapping* six and twenty years.



*The Life of Master Julines Herring, who dyed  
Anno Christi 1644.*

His Birth.



*Julines Herring* was born in *Flamber-mayre* Parish in *Montgomery-shire*, 1582. His Father within three years after returned with his Wife and Family into *Coventry*, where his Ancestors had been chief officers of the City, in their course almost for the space of two hundred years, and where he himself also was Sheriff and Mayor, living and dying in good estimation there.

His education.

This *Julines* his Son, having had his first education in *Shrop-shire*, with Master *Perkin*, Minister at *More-Chappel*, his Mothers near *Kinsman*, (where he learned the Principles of Religion) was brought home unto *Coventry*, where he was trained up in Learning, under Reverend Master *Tovey*, who then was Head School-master there. While he was a school-boy, he was noted for his diligence in reading the holy Scriptures, delighting in those Chapters especially, which treat of Faith in *Christ*, and of Repentance from sin to God. And even then in his child-hood, he, with two or three of his School-fellows, were so religiously disposed, that on play-days they would pray together, and repeat the heads of their Catechisme, with the Sermons which they heard upon the last *Lords-day*, before they went unto their Lusory exercises. Thus this *Timothy* grew acquainted with God and his Word, and the ways of Religion while he was a Child.

His love of the Scriptures.

His remove to Cambridge.

Being very well fitted for the University, he was sent unto *Cambridge*, about the fifteenth year of his age, and admitted into *Sidney Colledge*, where he was studious, and a good Proficient in *Academical Learning*. When he was Master of Arts, coming home to his Father, he Preached often in *Coventry*, with very good approbation amongst those, who were best affected towards the ways of Godlineffe. Here he had special encouragements in the study of Divinity, from Master *Humphrey Fen*, famous for his Ministry and Non-conformity at *Coventry*, (who in the Preface to his last Will and Testament, made so full and so open a Protestation against the Hierarchy and Ceremonies, that the Prelatical Party would not suffer it to be put among the Records of the Court, when the Will was tendered to be proved) and his conscience was unsatisfied to enter into the Ministry by Episcopal subscription, but through a good Providence, he, with Master *Fohn Ball*, were made Ministers by an *Irish* Bishop without that subscription. The first place of his settled Ministry was *Cawk* in *Derby-shire*, (a small village) whither he was called by means of his much honoured good Friend, Master *Arthur Hilderfam*, and where he had good encouragements from Master *Bainbridge*, a Gentleman there.

His call to Cawk.



thereof good estate and estimation for Religion. In this place, (which was six miles from *Derby*, and three from *Asby de la Zouch*,) his peace and liberty was the better preserved, because it was a peculiar, and so not subject unto Episcopal visitation. Here God was pleased to set a broad Seal to his Ministry, making him an happy Instrument to build up many, who were brought to *Christ* by Master *Hilderfams* labours, and also to turn many others from darknesse to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

At this time there was great scarciry of good Preachers in those parts, whereupon people from twenty towns and villages flocked unto *Cawk-Chappel*, (as Doves to the windows) every *Sabbath-day*, where more congregated, (especially in summer and in afternoons,) then the Chappel could contain; yet standing at the windows without, they might hear the Sermons Preached, and Scriptures read, because Master *Herrings* voice was clear and strong. Hither great companies came in the morning, with joyfull expectation of wholesome soul-provisions; here they continued all day with cheerfulness, (some bringing their victuals from home with them, and others going to a three-peny ordinary, provided purposely for the refreshing of strangers) and they went from hence in the evening in companies, repeating the Sermons, and singing *Psalms* in their return home. Here amongst many others, Master *Simeon Ashe* received some of his first impressions, and bent towards Religion, whom Master *Herring* loved from his child-hood, and who lived in his heart and Prayers unto his Death.

And this is a matter considerable, that few (if any) in those parts, who were hopefully brought unto God, by the Ministry of Master *Hilderfam* and Master *Herring*, have been turned aside into the by-paths of error and separation in these broken dividing times, but they continue sound in their judgements, and holy in their conversations, well remembering the principles whereof they were well instructed and grounded by those two Worthies, their Fathers in *Christ*.

When he had continued at *Cawk* about the space of eight years, he was forced from thence for Non-conformity by the Prelatical power, being informed against by ill-affected men, who maligned the great service which he did, and envied the great respect which he had in those parts. Before he removed from thence, the Lord provided for him a most gracious yoke-fellow, who was no discouragement, but an encouragement rather unto him always, both in his services and sufferings for *Christ* and his cause. His Wife was the third Daughter of Master *Gellibrand*, (sometimes Preacher to the *English* company at *Flushing* in *Holland*) and Grand-child to that man of God Master *John Oxenbridge*, (Minister of *Southam* in *Warwick-shire*, and afterwards of *Bablick* in *Coventry*, where he died) and as she came out of a godly stock, so she hath expressed, and still doth expresse the power of godliness, in every condition and relation of her life, to Gods honour. By her he had thirteen Children; and as they were happily, mutually helpfull in the ways of holiness, so it was their joynt care to educate their posterity in the nurture and fear of the Lord. They were taught the Principles of Religion from their child-hood, and their tender good Mother (according to their Fathers appointment) caused them to learn the *Proverbs* of *Solomon* by heart. Neither was this gracious care in vain; for the blossomes and fruits of grace, sweetly appear in their lives, to the comfort of their Parents, and Christian Friends. And here this one thing is notable and imitable in this worthy man, in reference to his Children, (*viz.*) That ever before he gave them correction, he endeavoured to convince them of their sin against God, and sought by tears and prayers for Gods blessing upon that means for their good.

When the course of his Ministry was interrupted at *Cawk*, and there was no hope of his peaceable continuance there, God (by means of Master *William Rowley*, a wise religious man, and his faithfull Friend) was pleased to o-

The education of her children.

His call to pen a door for the more publique exercise of his Ministry in *Shrewsbury*. Here he Preached at *Alkmare's Church*, every *Tuesday* morning, and upon the *Sabbath* also, (so long as liberty was allowed) which Sermon was at one a clock, that neither the Ministers of the town might be offended, nor other Congregations emptyed, by the peoples flocking unto his Ministry.

The Sermon which he Preached on the *Lords-day*, he Repeated it the same night before Supper, at the houses of Master *Edward Jones*, Master *George Wright*, and Master *William Rowley* by course; and whereas some spies were usally sent thither, (crowding in with the company) to pick quarrels, he behaved himself so prudently, and prayed always so affectionately for the King and present Government, that his adversaries gave this testimony of him, (*viz.*) *Though he be scrupulous in matter of Ceremony, yet he is a loyal subject unto the King, and a true Friend unto the State.*

Satans Malice.

Beside the great good service which was now done in *Salop*, by his Ministry, and private conferences with Christians: In reference unto him many other Ministers had the more frequent recourse unto the town, (Master *Pierſon*, Master *Nicols*, &c.) who were put upon Preaching once or oftner, before they departed thence, whereby knowledge was much increased, and the power of Godlineſſe much cherished and promoted. But Satan maligning those opportunities of service unto *Christ*, some envious ill-affected persons, (amongst whom Master *Peter Study* was the chief) were stirred up, to lay in complaints against him as a Non-conformist: For such was his Prudence, Sweetneſſe, and Peaceableneſſe of Spirit, that other Objections could not with any colour of Truth be made against him there. Hereupon Doctor *Morton* (then the Bishop of that Diocesse,) referred him unto two neighbour Ministers for satisfaction; and in pursuance of this order, Mr. *Herring* gave in his scruples in writing, and also replied, upon their answer. The consequence of this paper-dispute was a Certificate to the Bishop from the Ministers, that they believed Master *Herring* from conscientious grounds, in his own apprehensions, remained unsatisfied, and the Bishop himself told Master *Herrings* Friends, that he was satisfied in his integrity. But such were those times, that he was suspended from the use of his Ministry, though by mediation of Friends, the suspension was divers times taken off, and then brought on again by Persons of contrary minds and ways. Thus he continued in *Salop* for the space of seventeen years, sometimes enjoying, and sometime wanting liberty for the exercise of his Ministry in publique. But when the Pulpit door was shut against him, he was the more frequent in keeping private Fasts, and in expounding the Scripture three times a day in his own Family; by which exercise some of the neighbours were edified also.

His suspension.

Alwaies upon the *Lords day*, (where he was at home or abroad) he frequented the Ordinances of God administred in publique, professing thereby (as himself said) that his practice should declare his judgement against separation from the Congregations in *England*, though there were corruptions in them. When some seeds of separation were scattered in *Salop* (by *Daniel Chidley* and his Wife,) their growth was check'd by his appearing against them. He had many bowels towards them who were misled in this kind, as was expressed by the many prayers with tears, which he poured forth before God in their behalf. And having upon this occasion, studied that point the more thoroughly, he would often say, *It is a sinne of an high nature, to un-Church a Nation at once, and that this would become the spring of many other fearfull errours; for separation will eat like a Gangrene into the heart of Godlineſſe. And he did pray, that they who would un-Church others, might not be un-Christianed themselves.* When the Plague was in *Salop*, he gave himself unto prayer for the town, and in particular for the persons infected; and many from the Pest-houses returned thanks unto him, for the spiritual comfort received by his Prayers.

His judgement against separation.

He



He took great delight in his studies (having a very good Library) and was often willing to misse a meal, that he might the more satisfie himself in conversing with his Books. He was seldome hungry, (as himself was wont to say) while he was in his study, and those who best knew him, could easily render the reason thereof; for as he was afraid of doing Gods work negligently, so it was his meat and drink to converse with his God, and to do the will of his heavenly Father. And yet such were his compassions towards afflicted consciences, that he gave charge unto his whole Family, to send none such away till they had spoken with him: yea, unto them, his manner was to give full liberty of speech, that they might not go away without some clearing and satisfaction. His experience, humility and sweetnesse of disposition was such, that seldome any one who was troubled in spirit departed from him without some relief and comfort; whereto may be added his great faithfulness towards them in perplexed cases, who opened their hearts into his bosome for spiritual satisfaction.

His Study-  
ousnesse.

When he was not allowed liberty to preach in publique at home, he was willing to bestow his pains abroad; and every where he in his Ministry proved himself a solid well-studied Divine, *A Workman who needed not to be ashamed.* It may truly be affirmed concerning him, that when he was in journeys, he imitated the Lord Christ his Master, *Who went about doing good.* For in the Families whither he came, (if there was not opportunity of more publique employment, wherein he might appear with safety in those Prelatical times,) he was alwaies ready by Prayer and Exposition of Scripture, to be serviceable unto the souls of such who desired to improve him. He was a man of an ingenuous and cheerfull spirit, yet very grave and inoffensive; yea, the lightfomeness of his behaviour being accompanied with holiness and humility, did make his serious services the more acceptable, and more taking upon the hearts of those who conversed with him.

His painful-  
nesse.

Amongst many other rare gifts, with which God had enriched him, this did shine forth brightly unto all them, who were acquainted with his way, in performing Family duties, whether in his own house, or elsewhere, (*viz.*) *That he would alwaies most aptly and affectionately enlarge himself upon the Sermon lately heard, or the Chapter read, by confession, complaint, petition, thanksgiving, &c. unto the great advantage of them, who joyned with him in that exercise.* He was indeed a man made up of love and meeknesse, for the discovery whereof, take two instances, which will tell the Reader, that he was Dove-like, without gall. The one is this; Doctor Lambe having broken his legge by a fall, was brought into the same Inne in Northampton-shire, where Master Herring had taken up his lodging, being in a journey; and that night he prayed very affectionately for him, though Doctor Lambe was a notorious violent Persecutor of Non-conformists, both Ministers and people; yea though he had been a bitter opposite against Master Herring particularly. He being asked the reason why he expressed so much respect towards so unworthy a man, returned this answer; *The greater enemy he is to the Church, the more need he hath of Prayers.* And then wished those who were with him, *To prove themselves Christs Disciples by loving their enemies, and by praying for their Persecutors.* The other instance is this, (*viz.*) understanding the Arch-bishop said unto some of his Friends (Petitioners for the liberty of his Ministry) *I will pickle up that Herring of Shrewsbury;* He used these words, *If he will abuse his power, let it teach Christians the more to use their Prayers.* And he then prayed, that the Non-conformists enemies might by observation, know that they have a good God to trust unto, when trampled upon by ill-despised men.

His Hu-  
mility,  
and Charity

He was a constant mighty Wrestler with the Almighty in Prayers for England, that the Gospel might not be removed, but that the Kingdom of Christ, might be here advanced more and more. He much feared that bad

His fer-  
vent Pray-  
ers.

times would overtake this Nation; and at a conference about the affairs of England, he used these words: *Gods rod (I much fear) will be homebred Warre in State, and Errours and Heresies in the Church, with Gods visiblle departure from us.*

His remove  
to Wren-  
bury.

A charac-  
ter of Mr.  
Nicholls.

When all hope of regaining the liberty of his Ministry in *Shrewsbury* was quite gone, and therefore his continuance there, in many regards, was judged inexpedient; he removed with his Wife, and such of his Family, who were not disposed of elsewhere, unto *Wrenbury* in *Cheshire*, where he sojourned with his Wives dear Sister Mistresse *Nicolls*, a godly woman, the Widdow of worthy Master *Robert Nicolls*, who had been very famous in those parts, both for his labours and great abilities; of whom this true character may be given: *He was a man who had a clear head, and a tender heart, who led an holy life, and abounded in the work of the Lord.* Here Master *Herring* lived privately and comfortably, under the Ministry of his good Friend Master *William Peartree*, doing what service he could by comforting afflicted consciences, and confirming the hearts of Gods people in the Faith of the Gospel, as opportunities were offered. Before any further progresse be made, in making known his call unto *Amsterdam*, here may seasonably be inserted, the description given by a Reverend Neighbour Minister, which is as followeth.

Mr. Her-  
rings Cha-  
racter.

Whereas you desire my opinion in writing, concerning that Reverend and Religious man of God, Master *Herring* deceased; The truth is, I fear my Pen may rather darken his Honour, than my Pensil can draw out his Character; yet as the Martyr counted it a great mercy to be cast into prison, if it were but to see the face of that blessed Angel of God, Master *Bradford*; so I have look't on it as no small happinesse, that the Lord in his Providence did cast me into these parts, to see the face, and hear the voice of Master *Herring*, that blessed Angel of a Church in *Salop*. And I blesse God, that I had some intimate acquaintance with him, and knew his Doctrine, manner of life, &c. as *Timothy* did *Pauls*, 2 *Epist.* 3. 10. And I should wrong him, if I should withhold this just testimony. He was one of whom the world was not worthy, a Messenger, one of a thousand, a faithfull Minister of *Jesus Christ*; A *Boanerges* (a sonne of thunder) to brawny-hearted sinners; A *Barnabas* (a sonne of consolation) to broken-hearted sinners. As sweet a grace he had in Elocution, as ever I heard man in the Pulpit, whose gift of utterance did set a fair glosse on all his holy Sermons; Another *Apollos*, eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures; and you know the common saying, *Bonus textualis bonus Theologus*. His Sermons preached in the Congregation, were printed in his conversation; In Doctrine, shewing incorruptness, gravity, sincerity, (for he was a pious and learned Divine) and in life, shewing himself a Pattern of good works; free from visible blame, (saving humane unavoidable infirmities,) none could say (justly) black was his eye. He was indued with an admirable gift of Prayer, and was frequently employed in daies of private humiliation, even then, when meetings in that kind were branded with the odious names of Conventicles; yet the perils (to which he rendred himself obnoxious,) could not stave him off, from opening his window (with *Daniel*) toward Jerusalem. He was very fruitfull in conference, discreet in carriage, and cheerfull and couragious in his sufferings, of which this good old Non-conformist had his share. And when every door was barr'd, and no hope left to enjoy his publique liberty, he left the land of his Nativity, and (on a clear call) went into the *Netherlands*, where (after some years spent in the work of the Lord) this bright star did set, to the no little sorrow of his dear Christian Friends, &c.

This faithfull Servant of *Christ* had many invitations into *New-England*, but received not satisfaction in his spirit, to transplant himself thither.

After-



Afterwards in the latter end of the year 1636. he was propounded by some Friends unto Master *Rulice*, ( who was sent from the English Reformed Church in *Amsterdam* unto *London*, to provide a Minister to succeed Master *John Paget* ) as a man most meet to undertake that place. For the case there was this, ( viz. ) Master *John Paget* ( whose works praise him in the gate ) being through old age, rendred unable to uphold his wonted work in that Reformed Congregation, was eased of his Pastoral attendance there, ( though the Lords of the City, according to their commendable custom, continued his competent maintenance till his death, ) therefore Master *Rulice* his Colleague, was employed to find out an Assistant.

His Call to  
*Amsterdam*.

This motion made known to Master *Herring*, was the rather hearkened unto, because his suspension from preaching was a burthen to his active spirit, and he espied no ground of hope that he should ever be suffered by the Prelates to enjoy his much-desired liberty in *England* any more. Hereupon coming up to *London*, after much seeking of God, and serious consulting with godly Brethren, he was perswaded that this call came from God, and therefore might not be gain-said.

The Reason  
of his Re-  
move.

Now having resolved ( in the pursuance of this Providence ) to leave *England*, amongst other difficulties to be encountred, he was much affected with a double conflict, the one relating unto his Manuscripts, the other unto his near and much endeared Friends. He had many papers and letters ( which he much prized ) containing both the spiritual breathings of gracious hearts, and matters of great concernment: and those he durst not adventure to take with him ( fearing a search, ) nor yet did he judge it safe to leave them, because he knew not into what hands they might come; therefore upon advice he burnt many writings, though both then and afterwards he did with tears think of that *Letter martyrdome*, ( for so he called it, ) wherein many of the best thoughts of his dearest Friends were committed to the flames. If this was so grievous, then let the Reader guesse, with what grief of heart this thought was entertained, that now he must leave thousands of his precious Friends, without any hope of seeing their faces any more in the land of the living.

His Letter  
Martyrdom

And truly his labours and his lovely conversation had gained him multitudes of Friends, in every Countrey and corner where he was known; for no man was more generally and intirely affected, by all sorts, who feared God, then good Master *Herring*. Although it be not possible to give a particular account of the Gentry and Ministry, ( most eminent for Religion ) who highly prized and heartily loved him, yet the vertuous Lady *Margaret Bromley*, ( who then dwelt at *Sheriff Hales* in *Shropshire* ) deserves an honourable remembrance, because she was a constant and unparallel'd favourer of all good Ministers and People, being both tender-hearted and open-handed towards such who suffered under Prelatical pressures, and otherwise; and at her house, the most famous Ministers in all neighbour Countries, had hearty welcomes, with manifold sweet opportunities of service unto God, and of mutuall edification. Besides the frequent soul-helps which the Parishoners of the Congregation, to which she was related, had upon sabbath days for her sake; there were few *Holy-days*, ( daies of Vacancy from worldly busineses, ) in the year, wherein they had not one Sermon at the least, preached by some able Minister of *Jesus Christ*; amongst whom, Master *Pierston*, Master *Ball*, Master *Herring*, and Master *Nicolls*, ( before mentioned, who dyed at this good Ladies house, ) were of chief worth.

The Lady  
*Bromleys*  
Love to  
Christs Mi-  
nisters.

Oh! what pathetical Blessings, with Exhortations, Encouragements, and Prayers, did this worthy man of God bestow upon this, and the Families, of other choice Friends, before he took his last farewell of his dear native Country! This Narrative would swell too big, if report should be made of generals only in reference unto them, who were naturally, nearly related unto

unto

unto himself and his gracious Consort, besides such who were very dear unto them both, in the Spirit of *Jesus Christ*. Some who beheld the last greetings betwixt him and Reverend Master Ball of *Whitmore*, professe that they stick too deep in their breasts to be forgotten: For after they had spent together well nigh one day and one night in conference, they did (like *Jonathan* and *David*) frequently fall upon one another with mutual embracings, they parted and closed again a third and a fourth time, and when Master Herring was on horse-back, and Master Ball on foot, they went together, often shaking hands over the hedges; and upon the finall Salutation they comforted each other with this consideration, *That though they should never see one another again on earth, yet they should meet in Heaven*. And Master Herring was so deeply affected with those passages, that he said to some of his company, *Two or three more such partings would hinder my journey beyond Seas*; and yet adding withall, *Master Ball hath conquered my passions*. In his passage out of *England*, he with warm affections and heavenly benedictions, took his leave of his own and his Wives Sisters, with their Husbands, whose dwellings were in divers Countries. Those two eminently worthy Reverend Divines, Master *Oliver Bowles* of *Sutton* in *Bedford-shire*, and Master *Barry* of *Cotsmore* in *Rutland*, (who had married two of his Wives gracious Sisters) as they had Brotherly respect in his bosome, so they had special visits in his journey towards *Holland*. He was necessitated secretly to take shipping at *Tarmouth*, (whither his Brother-in-law Master *Bowles* did accompany him,) because the then Arch-bishop had given order, that no Scholar nor Minister should passe, without License from the Councel-table. Now whereas in his journey he had often prayed, that God would yet further clear his call into *Holland*, by two special Providences, viz. 1. *That he might not be examined whether he was a Minister*, (for he professed that he durst not deny his holy calling.) 2. *That God would strengthen him at Sea, and grant him a comfortable voyage*. He had answers of singular grace returned in both. He landed at *Rotterdam* September 20. 1637. and went aside from company so soon as with conveniency he could, to blesse the Lord for his safe arrival, and for all other favours vouchsafed unto him, who had never before been upon the Sea. The next day he went in a Waggon to *Amsterdam*, and was met on the way, by his dear Colleague, with the Elders and Deacons of the Church, and many of the *English* Merchants, who expressed much joy for his safe coming unto them. By them he was accompanied to the house of his good Friend, Master *Whittaker*, where he continued till his removal unto his own house, upon the coming over of his Family into *Holland*.

His Arrival  
in Holland.

His entertain-  
ment  
there.

His first  
Sermon.

His first Sermon was upon *Psal. 24. 1. The earth is the Lords, &c.* wherein he much insisted upon this consideration, *That Gods Children still tread upon their Fathers ground, whithersoever his Providence doth remove them*; and he preached with such satisfaction unto the hearts of his hearers, that thereby way was made for his future acceptance and service. The week following he was presented first unto the Honourable Lords, the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, (who kindly accepted him, and gave him a gratuity towards the charges of his journey,) and afterwards to the Reverend *Classis*, where he was lovingly received into that Society, and thanks were given unto God for bringing him safe unto them. Whereas it was his custom to pray every night before he went into his bed, the night before a fasting day, (appointed by the States, to seek direction in their Counsels, and successe upon their Armies now before *Breda*) he spake thus to his Son who attended him, *My heart is more fit for a thanksgiving day, and it would be so unto me, if God would bring over my dearest Christian* (for that was his Wives name) *thy tender Mother with her company. Come let us pray for him*. And the next morning when he was ready to go to the Congregation,



gation, he heard that his dear Wife was come unto *Amsterdam*, by which Providence his spirit being raised unto holy astonishment and admiration, he uttered these words; *Oh what a God do I serve! How exceeding mercifull is my God unto me?* What his prudent and pious conversation was, and what high estimation he had in *Amsterdam*, may be understood by the testimony of Master *Rulice*, written by his own hand, *March 2. 1650.* which is as followeth.

Return of prayers.

*How acceptable and dear Master Herring, (my once Reverend Colleague) was to us all, Church, Classis, Magistrates, yea to all who knew him, it is publicly known. How faithfully he employed those excellent gifts, which God in a large measure bestowed upon him, in publique, in private, in his Sermons, in his Advices, in Consistory and Classes, &c. what need I mention, for all well know? For his private conversation, what sweetnesse and inoffensiveness, yea exemplary godlinesse did not he shew upon all occasions?*

*His sicknesse was lingering, his death like a sleep. As in his life, so in his sicknesse, and to his last breath; he shewed that his heart was truly stored with patience, faith, love to God and his People, heavenly-mindednesse, zeal to the honour of God, and with intire love to his Wife and Children.*

*But I must break off; I hope that Reverend man, who undertakes to publish the life and death of my most dear Brother and Colleague, will so set it out, that it may be a spur to provoke the living to follow such a worthy Pattern, and be a means of quickning many, not only to walk faithfully in the way to heaven, but also in that great function of the Ministry. Thus farre Master Rulice.*

The strangenesse of Independent Brethren of *England*, when they came over into *Holland*, was a great trouble unto this reall Saint: and his constant Prayers were, that they might neither be deceived themselves, nor do any hurt unto the Government of the Reformed Churches. He often said, that those men had need of much caution, because the devil in the times of purest Reformation, would be a more subtil Angel of light than he was in *Luthers* dayes.

His fear of Independency.

When his Son returned into *England*, he warned him to take heed of joyning with any party, against the *Presbyterial* Government of the Reformed Churches; *For I am sure (said he) it is the Government of Jesus Christ.*

When the *Scots* first came into *England*, it was his constant and affectionate Prayer, that they might be instruments of much good, but of no blood nor division between the two Nations.

He was one of Gods special Remembrancers, in behalf of *England*, begging fervently that the Lords and Commons in Parliament, might be preserved from the two destructive Rocks of pride and self-interests. He poured out his soul before the Almighty, that he would appear for the Non-conformists cause in *England*, and set up the *Presbyterial* Government according to the Scripture Rules. He often professed himself to be no enemy unto the Persons of Bishops, but an opposite to their Pride and Prelaticall Rule. When news came unto him of the Battel at *Edge-hill*, thus he spake with tears: *Oh Lord, wilt thou write Englands Reformation in red Letters of her own blood; yet preserve thine own People, and maintain thine own cause for Jesus Christs sake.* He greatly bewailed the obstructing of Church reformation in *England* by them, who professed themselves zealous for Reformation, and it was no small offence unto him, to hear of the Letters which came from some Independents at *London* into *Holland*, wherein fallhoods were reported, to the reproach of some *Presbyterians*, his known godly Friends in *England*.

His death.

He was a true *Nathaniel* indeed, in whose spirit there was no guile; and therefore all falshood and unworthy juglings were an abomination to his heart. There was an holy harmoniousnesse in his whole conversation; his life was a well-spun thread, from the beginning to the end, and tended much to the honour of his Profession and particular Calling. Although he walked exactly with God, and maintained the comfort of constant peace with him, yet Satan was suffered to give him one furious assault the night before he dyed, as was perceived by those who were then with him; for rising upon his knees, with his hands lifted up, he spake these words: *He is overcome, overcome, through the strength of my Lord and only Saviour Jesus, unto whom I am now going to keep a Sabbath in glory.* And next morning, *March 28. 1644.* being the *Sabbath day*, (about the time when he was wont to go unto the Ministerial work in the publique Congregation,) and the sixty two year of his life, he was taken from his labours into rest, unto the spirits of just men made perfect in Heaven, where he shall sing *Hallelujahs* for evermore.



*The Life of Master John Dod, who died  
Anno Christi 1645.*

His birth  
and educa-  
tion.His first go-  
ing to Cam-  
bridge.His con-  
version.

*John Dod* was born in *Cheshire*, at a town called *Shotlidge*, bordering on *Wales*, not far from *Malpus*. His Parents had a convenient estate, worth a hundred marks a year, which went to the eldest Brother. This *John* was the youngest of seventeen, and much beloved of his Parents. He was sent to School to *West-Chester*, and when he was about fourteen years old, he was disposed of to *Jesus-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where (though he had little acquaintance, yet) the Lord prospering his studies, he was chosen first Scholar, and after Fellow; In that Colledge he there remained near sixteen years. The manner of his Conversion was thus.

The Steward, or Boucher of the Colledge, accused him to the Master, for the non-payment of a considerable sum of money due for one of his Pupils, which Master *Dod* had truly paid, but he forgot to set it down. Hereupon there was a vehement contest betwixt them about this businesse, and the vexation of mind that he should be accounted a defrauder, did so trouble Master *Dod*, that he fell into a Fever, and was dangerously sick; yet all this while he was but in a natural estate. For, though he had some good skill in the *Theorick* part of Divinity, yet he was without any application; and his affliction was this, that he should be blamed for that, which he from the Law and light of nature hated. All his sorrow as yet was but worldly sorrow; and as himself sayes, he neither did, nor could tell how to pray. At length the

Lord



Lord put into his heart that Scripture, *Rom. 7. The Law is spiritual, but I am carnal, and sold under sin*, and presently his sins came upon him like armed men, and the tyde of his thoughts was turned, and he left musing how he was wronged, and seriously considered how he had offended God; and he betook himself to great humiliation, and earnestly besought the Lord for pardon and peace in *Jesus Christ*. Yet for some time he could find no comfort, but going on to seek the Lord, there follows after much humiliation, much consolation, and the Lord sealed to him, that his sins were washed away with the blood of *Christ*. Then did he desire his accuser to come to him, and told him, that though he had accounted him to be his great enemy, yet now he acknowledged him to be his good Friend, for that he was a means to bring him unto God. And afterwards it so fell out (by Gods good Providence) that it came to this mans remembrance that Master *Dod* had paid him the money, and he was very sorrowfull for the wrong which he had done him, and did him all the right he could for the healing of his name; and Master *Dod* said, that he had not a more faithfull Friend in all the Colledge, during his abode there, than this man proved.

When he was some years standing Master of Art, he was appointed to oppose in the *Philosophy* Act at the Commencement, which he did with great approbation, insomuch as it was desired, that he should dispute again the next Commencement, but that he avoided. When he preached his first Sermon in the University, he had bestowed much pains about it, binding himself to words and phrases; but in his Sermon he was at a *Non-plus*, whereupon he resolved afterwards never to pen his Sermon *verbatim*, but his usuall manner was to write only the *Analisis* of his Text, the proofs of Scripture for the Doctrines, with the Reasons and Uses, and so leaving the rest to meditation, in which course he never found defect. And whereas Doctor *Folk*, Doctor *Chaderton*, Doctor *Whitaker*, and some others had their frequent meeting to expound the Scriptures, and therein they chose the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, they were pleased from their loving respect to Master *Dod* to take in him amongst them.

His disputation at the Commencement.

Note.

While he continued Fellow of *Jesus* Colledge, by the importunity of He preached some godly people of *Ely*, he went weekly, and preached amongst them in a Lecture at that City, where the Lord gave a great blessing to his Ministry. His removal from *Cambridge* to *Hanwel* in *Oxfordshire*, was thus occasioned; Master *Cope* (afterwards Sir *Anthony Cope*) a man of eminent note, who was much wrought upon by Master *Dods* Ministry, sent a Letter to Doctor *Chaderton*, to provide him a Minister for *Hanwel*, which was then vacant. Doctor *Chaderton* moved Master *Dod* to go to the place, and after he had been a while, and preached severall Sermons, by the desire and consent of the people, and by the approbation of the neighbour Ministers who had heard him, he was settled as their Pastor. While he was at *Hanwel* he preached twice every Sabbath, Catechizing also in the afternoon, and kept a Lecture on the *Wednesday* constantly, and besides this, he was one of the five Ministers who held up the Lecture at *Banbury*. He gave himself much to Fasting and Prayer, and as his seed-time was painfull, so his Harvest was gainfull, hundreds of souls being converted by his Ministry. He was given to Hospitality, delighting therein, keeping a constant Table on the Sabbath, and on the *Wednesdays* Lecture; upon which dayes he had not under eight or twelve persons commonly dining with him, and he spent the time amongst them in spiritual exhortations and conference.

His removal to Hanwel.

His great pains there.

His frequency in fasting and prayer.

His hospitality.

He was about thirty years old when he came to *Hanwel*, and continued there above twenty years, where he had twelve Children by his dear Wife, formerly *Anne Bound*, Daughter-in-law to the worthy Servant of *Jesus Christ*, Master *Greenham* of *Draughton* near *Cambridge*, and Daughter to Doctor *Bound*, she was one that truly feared God, and after her decease (by the perswasion

swasion of some Friends) he took to Wife Mistresse *Cleiton*, who then lived at *Stratford Bowe*; she also was a godly woman, and he was contracted to her by Master *Egerton* of *Black-Fryers*, and married by his ancient and loving Friend Doctor *Gouge*.

His second marriage.  
The great successe of his Ministry

But to return back again to *Hanwel*; It pleased the Lord to give a great blessing to his Ministry in that place; yet he had much trouble from the envy of some Ministers that lived about him, who though they seldome preached themselves, yet they would not suffer that their people should go from them, and hence he was frequently questioned in the Bishops Courts. And besides this (though some of *Hanwel* were very courteous and kind, yet) there were some others who were glad to get from him what they could, and to keep from him what they could, thinking that that which he had was too much.

Upon a time Master *Dod* took a journey to *Draughton*, to bemoan himself to his Father-in-law Master *Greenham*, by reason of his crosses and hard usage, Master *Greenham* heard him what he could say, and when he had done answered him thus: *Son, Son, when affliction lieth heavy, sin lieth light.* This deserves the rather to be remembered, because Master *Dod* used often to blesse God for it, saying also, that if Master *Greenham* had bemoaned him, which he expected, he had done him hurt; and he forgot not this speech in his old age, but made excellent use of it for himself and others.

His deprivation.

He was suspended from his Ministry at *Hanwel* by Doctor *Bridges*, Bishop of *Oxford*. And (suspecting what would follow) the Sabbath before he went to the Visitation, he gave his Hearers a farewell Sermon out of that Text, *I will smite the Shepherd, and the Sheep shall be scattered*; The people did attend unto him with sad countenances, and weeping eyes. Being thus driven from *Hanwel*, he preached at *Fenny-Compton* in *Warwickshire*, where he had but small means, but he was desirous to be doing good. From thence he had a fair call unto *Cannons-Ashby* in *Northamptonshire*, where he lived quietly divers years, preached over the whole Prophecie of *Daniel*, with some other Scriptures, having much kindnesse from Sir *Erasmus Dryden*, (in whom there was a rare Mixture of Piety and Learning) and good affection from Master *Cope*. He was silenced from preaching at *Ashby*, upon a complaint made against him by Bishop *Neal*, to King *James*, who commanded Arch-Bishop *Abbot* to silence him. Then he ceased for some time to preach publicly, yet in regard of his heavenly gift in conference, he might have been said daily to preach privately; He was in his Element when he was discoursing of heavenly things. And God in goodnesse so ordered it, that when he was restrained from publique preaching, yet himself conceived, that at that time his life was no lesse profitable, than it had been in former times.

His preaching at Fenny-Compton.

His removal to Cannons-Ashby. He is again silenced.

He had an excellent gift in conference.

He had much employment in comforting such as were wounded in their spirits, being sent for, not only nigh at hand, but also into remote Countries.

His comforting of afflicted consciences.

There was a Gentlewoman who had a great worldly estate, and a loving Husband, but she was so sadly assaulted with Tentations, that she often attempted to make away her self. Master *Dod* was sent for to come to her, and the Lord so blessed his Counsels, Exhortations, and Prayers, that she did not only recover out of her anguish of spirit, but she was afterwards taken notice of for her singular Piety; and the Lord so ordered, that this affliction was not only the means of her Conversion, but also of her Husbands, so that both of them were a great mercy in the Countrey where they lived, promoting Religion according to their power, entertaining and cherishing godly people: She lived divers years quieted in her heart, and was rich in good works; and when she lay on her death-bed, Master *Dod* was sent for to her again, who spake of heaven, and to fit her for that glory; she told him, that she felt the comforts of God, and that she could as hardly at that time forbear

to be unspeakable.



bear singing, as formerly in child-bearing she could forbear crying, and shortly after she died.

There was a Gentleman related to a noble Family, so perplexed in his mind, that he hath been known in hard frosts to go barefooted, that the pain of his feet might divert his thoughts. Master Dod was sent for to him, who was his spiritual *Physician* to heal him. Note.

It would belong to insist on all particulars of this nature, the Lord having made him a happy Instrument for the good of many.

When he had spent some years in this kind of service, by the care and industry of Master *Richard Knightley* of *Preston* (a worthy Patriot,) after the death of King *James*, his liberty was procured for preaching again publicly, and then he was settled at *Fausley*, where he preached twice every *Lords day*. There he went over the Gospel of *John*, the Epistle to the *Colossians*, and other Scriptures. He is placed at Fausley.

He was much given to Hospitality at *Fausley*, as he had formerly been at *Hanwel*, so that there was scarce any *Sabbath* in the year, in which he did not dine both poor and rich, commonly three or four poor persons, besides those that came from other places to hear him. He had so large an heart, that upon occasion, he hath given to some three shillings, to some ten shillings, to some twenty shillings; and when the poor came to buy butter or cheese, he would command his maid to take no money of them. His hospitality. His charity.

At *Fausley* he had quietnesse from the Courts, as also at *Asbby*; for in neither of those places was there any Church-wardens. He was beholding at *Fausley*, to the Right Worshipfull Family of the *Knightleys*, were his bones were laid.

He used to bear crosses with much patience and meeknesse, being wont to say, that *Sanctified afflictions were great promotions*, quoting that of the Apostle *Peter*, 1 Pet. i. 7. *Triumphantia crucis, &c.* is much more precious than gold, which he conceived to signifie the affliction that tryeth faith, and that the word should be rendred *exploratorium*, rather than *exploratio*. The benefits of afflictions.

He alwaies expected troubles, and prepared himself for them, and put this difference between the affliction, for which we are provided and others, that the one are but blows on the Harnesse, but the other are blows on the flesh. Troubles to be expected

Upon a time when an affliction was upon him, which went to his very heart, and in the expectation whereof he wept; yet when he saw that it was the Will of God that it should be so, he said to one whom he loved, *I will go and blesse God, for I believe this shall be for my good.*

He gave himself much to Fasting and Prayer, and when he fasted, his custom was to abstain from the dinner of the day before, to the Supper of the day after. His diseases till he was above threescore, were only Feavers, and these for the most part high and violent. In the sixty third year of his age, he had a Feaver in which there was small hope of life. Doctor *Oxenbridge* was his *Physician*, who waiting for the breathing out of the disease by sweating, (in which at last he had his desire) he came to Master Dod, and in the presence of divers, said unto him, *Now I have hope of your recovery*: To which Master Dod answered, *You think to comfort me by this; but you make my heart sad; It is as if you should tell one who had been sore weather-beaten on the sea, and conceiving he was arrived at the Haven, where his soul longed to be, that he must come back again to be tossed with new winds and waves.* In his greatest health and prosperity, he would speak how he desired to be dissolved. Upon a time, a Gentleman blamed him for it, saying, he liked not servants who would have their wages before they had done their work; but he seemed to be constant in this desire, alledging these reasons amongst others, that God had given him a settled assurance of Heaven, and a sight of the excellency of Heaven, and that the earth was but a prison, and Heaven the Palace, and there was perfect holinesse and happinesse. His frequency in Fasting, and Prayer. His diseases. His desire of death. The reason of his desire.

His taking  
occasions to  
do good.

How he  
prevented  
swearing.

His delight  
in the Law  
of God.

His merci-  
fulness.

His love,  
and charity.

Dr. Prestons  
love to him.

He com-  
forts Mr.  
Throgmorton.

His weaned-  
ness from  
the world.

He took all occasions to do good ; when he was in company, by godly speeches, seasoning those which came to him, that unlesse it were their own fault, they might be the better for him. Being invited to a great feast where there were sundry Gentlemen, and some of them began to swear, he stopt them by discoursing of the greatnesse of that sin ; and that he might not burden their Memories, he quoted three Chapters, every one was the first : as the first of *Zachary*, the first of *Matthew*, and the first of *James*, and he opened those Scriptures in such sort that they were all hushed, and did not again offend in that kind while he was present amongst them.

The word of God was his great delight, his meditation was of it in the night, and his discourse in the day. When those that were with him were speaking of earthly things, he would find out some way to bring in heavenly. When he could not sleep in the night, he would say, that the meditation of the Word was sweeter to him than sleep. When he had preached twice on the *Sabbath*, and was aweary, yet to those that came to him, he would go on afresh in holy Discourses ; and the comforts which he found in his soul, made him sometimes forget his body, that he hath been speaking till he was ready to faint.

His eminency was in frequency, aptnesse, fresnesse, and largenesse of godly discourse ; in which respect it may be said of him, that in the Countrey where he lived, none were known who therein were equal to him. But he was *Micans inter omnes, velut inter ignes luna minores.*

He was very mercifull himself, and to move Parents that were rich to mercy, he would say thus, *You are caring and contriving to lay up for your children, but lay up for your selves a good foundation against the time to come, being rich in good works ; you will lay up treasure in the earth, which is an unsafe place ; lay up treasures in Heaven, that is the sure and safe place.*

He loved and honoured those that feared God, though in point of Subscription and Ceremonies they were not of his judgment ; and as he sowed, so he reaped. He was full of love of himself, and greatly beloved of others.

Doctor *Preston*, whom good men loved for his excellent Piety and Learning, was a faithfull friend of Master *Dods*, and often entertained him at his chamber, and esteemed much of him for his spiritualnesse in conference and conversation, and for his ability to open Scripture, and to comfort troubled spirits. When the Doctors Consumption was upon him, which put an end to his life, he came to Master *Richard Knightsleys* at *Preston* in *Northamptonshire*, which was but a mile from *Fausley*, where Master *Dod* had his abode, and desired him to speak to him of death and heaven, and heard him with patience and thankfulness. Master *Dod* prayed by him when he lay a dying, and preached his Funeral Sermon.

Also Master *Throgmorton*, a pious and painfull Preacher of the Word ; an approved good man, dying the same year of a Consumption, came to *Ashey* not far from *Fausley*, to have the help of Master *Dods* comforts and counsels. He was oppressed with Melancholy, and a little before he gave up his soul to Christ, he asked Master *Dod*, *What will ye say of him that is going out of the world, and can find no comfort ?* To whom he answered ; *What will you say of our Saviour Christ, who when he was going out of the world found no comfort, but cryed out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?* This speech refreshed Master *Throgmorton*, and within a little space of time after this, he went to his heavenly inheritance.

Master *Dod*, as he was of a weaned disposition from the world himself, so he laboured to wean others. He put this difference between rich Christians and poor, that for poor Christians their Father kept the purse, but the rich Christians keep the purse in their own hands. But it might oftner fall out, and did ; therefore the purse was better in the Fathers hand than in the Christians. He was wont to compare wicked men to waves of the Sea, those which



which were of a great estate, were great waves; those which were of small estate, were small waves, but all were restless as waves. What wicked men are like.

To a Friend of his that was raised from a meaner estate to wordly greatness, he sent word, that this was but as if he should go out of a Boat into a Barge or Ship; but there ought to be a serious and godly remembrance, that while we are in this world, we are upon the Sea.

He often repeated this, that nothing could hurt us but our own sins; and they should not hurt us, if we truly repented of them; and nothing could do us good but Gods favour, and that we should be sure of, if we unfeignedly sought it. Speaking of *Dauids* penning the 51 Psalm, after his Murther and Adultery, he put this glosse upon it, That hearty and true repentance shall have cause to praise the Lord for his pardoning mercy. Note.

He said, Afflictions were Gods Potions, which we might sweeten by Faith and faithfull Prayer, but we for the most part made them bitter, putting into Gods Cup the ill ingredients of our own impatience and unbelief. He gave this reason why many of Gods people lived uncomfortably, for that they shut their ear against what God said, where they should open it; and they opened their ear to what their Carnal reason, and Satan, and the world said, where they should shut it. But (said he) the Psalmist was wiser, *Psal. 85. 8.* He would hear none of them all; *I will heare what the Lord God will speak.* Afflictions. Gods potions.

His preaching was searching; and when some did suppose that he had Informers and Spies; because he came so close to them, he answered; that the Word of God was searching, and that if he was shut up in a dark Vault, where none could come at him, yet allow him but a Bible and a Candle, and he should preach as he did. The power of his Ministry.

He had an excellent gift in similitudes, which did flow freely and frequently from him, as all those knew, who either heard him preach publicly, or discourse privately. He called death, the friend of grace, though it were the enemy of nature; and whereas the Word, and Sacraments, and Prayer, do but weaken sin, death kills it. Speaking of Prayer; he said, a man was never in a hard condition, unlesse he had a hard heart, and could not pray. His excellency for similitudes. Benefits of death. Benefit of Prayer.

Having preached out of that Text, *O woman, great is thy Faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt;* he invited some women to dinner, and told them it was a usuall saying, *Let a woman have her will, and then she would be quiet.* Now the way for a woman to have her will, is to have a strong Faith, and to pray as that woman in the Gospel did. Benefit of Faith.

Upon a time when he had preached long, so that it was somewhat late before he went to dinner, he said, you shall have some Gentlemen will follow hounds from seven in the morning, till four or five in the afternoon, because they love the cry of dogs, which to me was unpleasant hearing; so if we love the Word, we should be content though the Minister stood above his hour. And he added, methinks it is much better to hear a Minister preach, than a Kennell of hounds to bark. Speaking of Recreation, he said, he marvelled what the Vocation of many was, who were so eager for Recreation. And if we should come into a house, and see many Physick-boxes and Glasses, we would conclude some body is sick; so when we see Hounds, and Hawks, and Cards, and Dice, we may fear that there is some sick soul in that Family. We should not be weary of hearing.

He told some Friends, that if he were to passe sentence who was a rich man, he would not look into his purse or Chest to see how much gold he had laid up, but look into his heart what promises were treasured up there. For we count him rich that is rich in bonds, and the pleading of the Promises in Prayer, is suing of the bonds. Promises great riches.

Speak

His humility. Speaking to a Minister who was to go to a place where there was but small means, he told him, that his care should be to preach, and do God service, and then God would provide for him. When he preached at *Fausley*, and was much resorted unto, as it was with him in other places, he told a godly man of his acquaintance, that if the Countrey knew so much by him, as he knew by himself, they would not have him in so much admiration.

Love better then Law. Speaking about going to Law, his Opinion was, that it was better to buy Love then Law. For one might have a great deal of love for a little, whereas he could have but a little Law for a great deal. He would frequently say, That was well, which ended everlastingly well; and that was ill, which ended everlastingly ill: And that a man was never undone till he was in hell.

The benefit of turning to God betimes. This was a speech which he often used, that if it were Lawfull so envy any, he would envy those that turned to God in youth, whereby they escaped much sin and sorrow, and were like unto *Jacob*, that stole the blessing betimes.

A special Providence. This was a remarkable passage of Providence, that upon a time when it was late at night, it came into his mind, that he must see a Friend of his, some two Miles off; he had businesse, and would have put it off, but his thoughts were restless; whereupon he went, and when he came to the place, all the Family were in bed, but only his Friend, who was, esteemed truly godly, but at that time was overwhelmed with Tentations; the occasion whereof was, some cruelty offered to his Children. Master *Dod* knew nothing, either of the Tentation or occasion of it: But knocking at the door, his Friend opened the door to him, to whom he said, I am come to you, I know not why my self, but I was restless in my spirit untill I had done it. To whom his Friend answered, You know not why you came, but God knew why he sent you; and withall, pulled out a halter, wherewith he had intended self-murder at that time, which by Gods goodnesse, was by this means prevented.

Speaking of losing for *Christ*, he testified from his own experience, that for the losse of one Carnal Brother, he had two hundred spiritual Brethren.

His Faith. Before he was married, he could not maintain himself, and thereupon he was thinking, how he should maintain a Wife and Children, his living not being great; but looking out of his study window, he saw a Hen and Chickens scratching for their living, and he considered thus with himself, The Hen did but live before, and had nothing to spare, and now she hath as much with that great Family.

When he saw a Christian to look sad, he would use that speech which *Johndab* did to *Amnon*, *Art not thou a Kings Son?* He would say to those that complained of losses and Crosses, that which *Eliphaz* did to *Job*, *Do the consolations of God seem small to you?* God hath taken away your children, your goods, but he hath not taken away himself, nor *Christ*, nor his Spirit, nor Heaven, nor eternal life.

How afflictions may be lessened. He used to instruct Christians how they should never have a great affliction, nor long, and that was, by looking upon things which were not seen, which are eternal, 2 *Cor.* 4. 17, 18. What can be great to him that counts the world nothing? And what can be long to him that thinks his life but a span-long?

Meeknesse. To perswade them that are Christians, not to return Railing for Railing, he would say; that if a dog bark at a sheep, a sheep will not bark at a dog.

Comfort in dangers. In these times of War, at the first beginning of them, when many well-affected people came to him, being affrighted with the Caviliers, he encouraged them, using this speech, that if a house were full of rods, what need the Child fear, when none of them could move without their Fathers hand; and the

Lord



Lord was a loving Father, state and life, and all was in his disposing. When afterwards the Soldiers came to his house, and threatened to knock him on the head, he answered with confidence, that if they did, they should send him to Heaven, where he longed to be, but they could do nothing except God gave leave. They broke open his Chests and Cupboards, and plundered him of his goods; but he said to a Friend of his, that he would not do them that honour to say they had taken ought from him, but it was the Lord, alledging that of *Job*, who when he was spoiled by the *Chaldeans* and the *Sabians*, yet he did not so much as name the Instruments, but, *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the Name of the Lord.*

His Faith

At length they came to him, when through weaknesse he was unable not only to stirre out of his chamber, but also out of his bed, they cut the Curtains of his bed, and pulled away the Pillowbeers from under his head, asking him whether he could speak *Latine*, in all which losses, which were great, he never uttered one word of impatience. In his sicknesse, when extream pain was upon him, as soon as the fit was over, he would say to his maid-servant, that attended him, O think well of God for it, for it is most justly and wisely done, whatsoever he sendeth or doth. When his servants came to visit him in the morning, he would say, have ye been with God to blesse him for your sleep this night? He might have made your bed your grave.

Soldiers cruelty.

His patience.

He would often say in his sicknesse, *I am not afraid to look death in the face; I can say, death, where is thy sting? Death cannot hurt me.* He spake how death was a sweet sleep to a Christian, adding, that if Parents should tell little children, who had played all the day, that they must go to bed, they would be ready to cry; but a labouring man is glad when night comes, that he might go to rest. So wicked men, death is unwelcome unto them; but a Child of God, who hath laboured and suffered, is glad when death cometh, that he may rest from his labours.

Death not feared.

When he had been long speaking to those who came to him, and used to ask him questions, and hath been perswaded to spare himself, he would say, hear but this one thing more, it may be I shall never speak to you again; but if it should be so, *Blessed is the servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing.* Hearken to a few words more; God hath heard all the words we have spoken, and considered with what hearts and affections we have spoken them.

He used to compare rebukes uttered in passion to scalding potions, which the Patient could not take down. And his opinion was, that if we would do good unto others, we should labour for meeknesse of wisdom, whereby we shall be enabled to use soft words and hard arguments.

Passionate rebukes unprofitable.

He allowed to Husbands and Wives only one contention; which was this, who should love one another best; and advised them, that when either of them were in passion, they should not answer passions with passions, but with compassions.

What contention should be amongst married persons His manner of preaching.

He was very plain and familiar both in preaching and conference, yet very spiritual, and performed all with much gravity.

The chief things he sought God for, in his frequent secret fastings and prayers, (as himself said) were the knowledge of the Scriptures, and a blessing upon his Ministry, in both which God answered him abundantly.

The Scope of his Prayers.

As for the Scriptures, God had so enlightened him, that he was able to give account of the drift and scope of the Spirit of God in the greatest part of them, with great clearnesse, and to open them in such sort as proved very effectual, for the bringing of Scripture-light into simple mens understandings, who were not able to reach the obscure and scholastick interpretations of many.

His Exposition of Scripture.

He

His manner was to compare Scripture with Scripture, seldom naming the dissenters; and put sparingly different readings, but making out the truth positively, or by necessary consequence.

His custom  
in preaching

In preaching, he usually took some portion of Scripture in order before him, opening a verse or two, or more at a time, first clearing the drift and connection, then giving the sense and interpretation briefly, but very plainly, not leaving the text untill he had made it plain to the meanest capacity; then raising those Doctrines that were most agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Spirit of God in that text, clearing and exemplifying his points excellently out of the Word, opening his proofs, (not multiplying particulars for oppressing memory,) not dwelling so long as to make all truth run through a few texts. He spake most largely and very home in application, mightily convincing and diving into mens hearts and consciences, and leaving them little or nothing to object against it.

What  
preaching is  
unprofitable.

He took great care to speak to the meanest capacity, and to feed the Lambs, saying, he must stoop to the lowest capacity, and if he could reach them, others might help themselves. He could not endure that Ministers should use hard and unusuall *English*. He said, that most Ministers in *England* usually shoot over the heads of their hearers.

He did not strive to speak all that might be said to a point, nor to shew variety, or please curiosity, but to speak to the heart. He would say, that there were many tricks and devices that some men used in preaching, but they seldom did good. The pure Gospel, and that preaching which the world counts foolishnesse, was that that works most kindly.

True humi-  
liation.

He was very Evangelicall, striving first to make men see their lost condition clearly, and to be convinced of it, saying, Sense of misery was a good step to the remedy. And then largely, and excellently opening the Promises, and the grace of God in *Christ* according to the Gospel, looking at that as the most effectual preaching. Some (saies he) labour still to keep men under terrors, and load them with threatnings, &c. lest they should not be humbled enough; but the Gospel works true humiliation, not the Law; it arises from sense of sin, and misery joyned with hope of mercy. The damned have terror and sense of misery enough, but that did not humble them.

His preach-  
ing by signes

He desired to speak distinctly, not giving the childrens bread to dogs, but to discover hypocrisie, and sincerity by lively characters and signes, but yet with great tenderesse to Babes in *Christ*, striving to discover a Babe from an Hypocrite.

He was excellent for practical Divinity and living by Faith, as to spirituals and temporals, and self-denial; And very consolatory, rendring Religion the most sweet and comfortable life, notwithstanding sufferings.

He used to presse much after the seeking of spiritual illumination, in hearing and reading, &c. and divine assistance in religious duties, not contenting our selves with the use of parts and accomplishments, or grace received, but to look higher, saying, *David* that could preach excellently, and had *Nathan* and *Gad* the Prophets also to preach, yet cryes out for teaching; thereby shewing, that all that teaching would not do, unlesse God teach also. And *David* cryes, *Open mine eyes*; he had the light without, but he must have light within, viz. sight, else he could not see the wonders of the Law, though he had the Law.

Christians  
should be  
cheerfull.

He used to presse much to meeknesse, and a sweet disposition to affability, charity and cheerfulness, not to be rigid, sour, tart, nor sad, lest the world should think that we served an hard Master.

Being



Being above eighty years old, his pains were very great, yet not painfull to him. He preached almost all day long on the *Lords day*, yet said, it was no great matter to pay money when one had it, all the labour was to get it. He opened a Chapter, and prayed in his Family, after preached twice in publique, and in the *interim* discoursed all dinner while, but eat very little. He brought in many with him to dinner, besides his four or six constant Widows; if his Wife began to doubt of her provision at sight of so many, he would say, *Better want meat than good company*, but there is something in the house, though cold. This is not a day to feast the bodies but souls. At first sitting down, he would bid them help themselves and one another, and see that none want. Let me (said he) bid you but once, for I would not speak a vain word to day. After both Sermons, the house would be filled; and he being sate in his chair, used to say, if any have a good question, or a hard place of Scripture to open, let them say on; and when he was faint, he would call for a small glasse of Wine and Beer mixt, and then to it a gain till night.

His inde-  
fatigable-  
ness.

He was excellent in preaching occasionally from the creatures, as he walk- ed or rode.

The benefit  
of plain  
preaching.

His Ministry was so spiritual, and yet so plain, that poor simple people that never knew what Religion meant, when they had gone to hear him, could not choose but talk of his Sermon. It mightily affected poor creatures to hear the Mysteries of God, (by his excellent skill that way) brought down to their own language and dialect.

He was so holy and spiritual both in life and doctrine, that he silenced even desperate and devillish opposers of Religion. It was a discredit for any to speak evil of him, because it must needs expresse much malice, and all men most generally (in his latter time at least) honoured him.

His holy  
life.

He was very successfull in making peace, though between desperate and almost implacable Adversaries, and some of them wicked, mightily convincing them with Gospel-arguments, to the overcoming and quieting of their spirits.

His peace-  
making.

He would answer any questions propounded, that were but fit for a Di- vine to speak to; Yet shewing his approbation or dislike of the question ac- cording to the honesty and spiritualnesse, or curiosity and lightnesse of it.

His acute-  
nesse.

When mean inferiour People came to speak with him, if he was walking in the Church, where he used most to study, that he might have room to walk in; (being troubled with the stone) or elsewhere; If he thought them bashfull, he would meet them, and say, Would you speak with me? And when he found them unable to state their question, he would help them out with it, taking care to find the sore: But would answer and deal so com- passionately and tenderly, as not to discourage the poorest soul from coming again to him.

His humil-  
ty.

If any questioned him about Ceremonies, about which many then suffered, he was very wary in dealing, (not shy in speaking his judgment) but care- full of advising them according to their strength. He would bid them take heed of being led meerly by the imitation of any body, or other mens ar- guments, but look to their Scripture-light, and see what arguments, they had to bear them out; And whether they could suffer alone in that case if they should survive their patterns. He would not have them make a bu- sinesse about lesser things, and then fall off from what they began to pro- fesse.

His mod-  
esty.

Being to advise a young man in his choice of a yoke-fellow, he bad him look principally after Godlinesse. Men talk of a portion, grace is the best portion. *The wise woman buildeth up the house, viz. The godly, &c. Not the rich.*

What Wife  
should be  
chosen.

Some use to say, There is a portion and civility, and we will hope for grace; But, saith he, rather make sure grace, and hope for riches; There's far greater reason for it. For Godliness hath the Promises, riches hath none. A Sonne or Daughter of God shall be provided for.

How we may always have comfort.

— He would say, he that could answer two questions well, might have comfort in any place or condition, *viz.* Who am I? and what do I here? Am I a Child of God? And am I in my calling or way? *He hath given his Angels charge to keep thee in all thy waies.*

What will make us willing to suffer.

And that the knowledge of two things would make one willing to suffer or die, *viz.* What Heaven is; And that it's mine; I (said one) if a man were sure. To whom he answered, Truly Assurance is to be had, and what have we been doing all this while?

Assurance to be laboured for.

He used to say, they that hope to go to Heaven (as most do) and had not good evidence for it, were like a man, that passing by a great house and estate, would say, This is mine; but being bid to shew his title, would say, some body must have it, and why not I? Such is most mens title for Heaven.

Thankfulness, in afflictions. Prayer.

His Tentation, and Victory.

During the time of his last sickness, it pleased the Lord to try him by grievous pains, most bitter and sharp, of the *Strangury*; but when he had any intermissions, he was breathing out such speeches, as tended to the praise of God, and to the edification of those that attended him. He slept little all the night or day, long before his death, in all which time he employed his attendants which were about him, to read the Scriptures, which he expounded to them. And when his strength was spent with speaking, he retired himself to Prayer and Meditation. When he felt his paines returning, he would intreat those that were about him, to pray to God for him, either to give him deliverance or patience. His Tentations a little before his death, and his wrestlings with Satan were great; so were his Victories. He spake to one that did watch with him all night, about two of the Clock in the morning, that he had been wrestling with Satan all that night, who accused him that he neither preached, nor prayed, nor performed any duty as he should have done, for manner or for end, but he said, I have answered him from the example of the *Prodigal* and the *Publican*.

His faith, & patience.

His Faith and Patience were encreased, and perfected by his sufferings. He longed and thirsted to be with *Christ*, which words he often uttered. One of his last speeches was this, with his eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven, he sighed, and said, *I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ*. His pains left him not an hour before his death, his speech also then leaving him; He could not eat nor drink two dayes before his death. And so quietly and patiently he ended his life, making a happy change, being fourscore and sixteen years old, *Anno Christi, 1645.*

His death.

THE





*The Life of Master Robert Balsom, who died  
Anno Christi 1647.*



Robert Balsom was born at *Shipton Montague*, in the County of *Somerset*. Having spent some years in *New-in-hall* in *Oxford*, upon his removall thence, he was entertained by Master *Bernard* of *Batcomb*, in the aforesaid County, to teach School, and preach sometimes as his Assistant; under whom he greatly improved his abilities for preaching. Upon the death of Master *Bernard*, preaching occasionally at a Neighbour Village called *Stoke*, among a His call to company of poor untaught people, one that lived thereabouts, told him, that *Stoke*. if such a Minister should come and preach among that people, where there was so small encouragement, he should think that God had a great work to do upon them. Hereupon Master *Balsom* promised to be their Minister, where he enjoyed about fourty pounds a year. The successe of his Ministry there, The great was very great, insomuch that he hath been heard say, that there were but few successe of Sermons that he preached there, but he had intelligence that some one or other his Ministry. were converted by them.

The troubles growing in those parts, by reason of our Civil Warres, after one or two years abode there, he was forced for his own safety, to betake himself to *Warder-Castle* in *Wiltshire*, where he had not continued long, but the Castle was besieged by the Kings party. Upon the news of their approach, he was minded to have gone for *London*, but being desired by Colonel *Ludlow*, the Governour of that Castle, he remained there during the siege. A little before the Castle was delivered up, as they were in Treaty about the surrender of it, Master *Balsom* walking upon the Roof of the Castle, heard three Souldiers say, That they had sworn upon the Bible, to take away the life of one in the Castle. He asked one of them, Who is that ye mean? Is it our Minister? They replied, Yes; for he is a Witch: which they affirmed upon this ground, because the Castle had divers times been very strangely Relieved with provision. As at one time with a herd of Swine coming down to the gates, which they took in; and at another time by some Deer, Special providences. and Conies, the siege then being not close, but straightning them at a distance. He asked them, what was their names? They told him, they were the Three Merry Boyes: He replied, your names are very suitable to the times. And so after some farther discourse, parted with them.

After the surrender of the Castle, and the enemies entry, they presently seized on Master *Balsom*, and clapt him up in a close Low Room. About twelve a Clock at night, the key of the Room was given to the three Souldiers that had sworn his death: They having received the key, presently entred the room where he was with another Souldier, who was hanged the next morning:

No sooner came they into the Room, but they put off their hats, and standing still lookt on him at a distance: saying nothing to him. He suspecting them to be the men that had sworn to take away his life, spake to them thus; *Friends, what is your business? are not ye the men that have sworn to take away my life?* They answered to this purpose, We have taken a wicked oath, God forgive us, but we will do you no hurt. He desired them to come near unto him, but they stood trembling, perswaded him to make an escape, voluntarily offering him their best assistance. He answered, now I suspect you, you are ashamed to take away my life, now I am in your hands, but would perswade me to a flight, that you might with the more colour kill me in the pursuit. They assuring him, they intended really the setting of him at liberty; He asked what they thought would become of them? They answered, they would go along with him. He replied, That you shall not do; for if I be taken again, I shall be but in the same case I am; but if you be taken, it will cost you your lives. And therefore I will rather suffer the utmost that God shall suffer them to inflict upon me, then hazard the lives of those that have shewed themselves so friendly to me.

His remove  
to Sarum.

He is con-  
demned to  
be hanged.

His cou-  
rage and  
constancy.

A special  
providence.  
His remove  
to Winche-  
ster.

Upon this, they had him forth into the fresh air, and in the mean time made clean his room, and so left him. The next morning, a Council of War was call'd, and as they were debating to put him to death, a Captain of the Council stood up, and said, I will have no hand in the blood of this man, so went out of the Room, and no farther progress was made as concerning him. Afterwards they carried him in a Cart to *Salisbury*; As he was carried through the town to the Prison, the people of the town entertained him with great scorn and contempt; and that night another Council of War was called, and pickt for the purpose, by which he was condemned to be hang'd. Hereupon the High Sheriff of the County went unto him into the Prison, and after much ill language that he used towards him, he told him that he was come to tell him, that he must prepare himself to die, for he was condemned by the Council of War, to be hang'd the next morning at six a Clock; but withall, assured him, that if he would ask pardon of the King for his offence, and serve his Majesty for the future, as he had formerly served against him, he should both save his life, and have what preferment he could reasonably desire. He answered, for me to ask pardon where I am not conscious of an offence, were but the part of a fool; and to betray my conscience in hope of preferment, were but the part of a Knave; and if I had neither hope of Heaven, nor fear of Hell, I had rather dye an honest man, then live a fool or a knave.

The next morning he rose about five a Clock, being something troubled that he had slept so long: About six a Clock the officers came into the room to bring him forth to execution. While he was preparing to go with them, he heard a Post ride in, asking hastily, Is the Prisoner yet alive? who brought with him a Reprieve from Sir *Ralph Hopton*, to whom he was carried to *Winchester*. As he came to the gates of the town, Sir *William Ogle* the Governour met him, and told him, that he would feed him with bread and water for two or three dayes, and then hang him. Then he was brought to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who spake to him thus; Master *Balsom*, I little thought one day that you should have been my Prisoner, and I cannot but wonder, that such men as you should be engaged in a rebellion against the King. To whom he replied, Sir, I cannot but wonder, that such men as you should call this rebellion. Sir *Ralph* desired him to give him an account of the grounds, upon which he and his party proceeded, promising him, that he should not suffer for any thing that he spake to him. After about half an hours discourse, he committed him to his own Marshall with this charge, *Keep this man safe, but use him well*. The Marshall received him, and after some little rough entertainment, upon his entrance into his house, he at length used him with great seeming respect. Long he had not been there, but a Gentlewoman came to him with a bottle of Sack, urging him to preach a Recantation Sermon the next morning before the



the Lords, promising that if he would so do, the King would make him a Doctor. He is urged to recant.  
He replied, Sure you do but mock me; for should I preach upon such short warning, the Lords would never hear such *extempore* stuff; but if you be in good earnest and would make me a Doctor indeed, then let me have the same Law ye use to give your Doctors, *viz.* a quarter of a years time to make a Sermon, and by that time you may know more of my mind.

The next morning an Order was brought for the conveying of him to Oxford, His remove to Oxford.  
whither he was accordingly carried. He lighted first at the *Blew-bore*, whither they brought a company of the Queens followers, who with much fury oftentimes swore, that he should not go alive out of the room. But the Musqueteers, who were set as a guard upon him, desired them to be quiet, telling them that he was their Prisoner, and should not suffer there, but they would suffer with him. Thence he was conveyed to the Castle, where after two or three dayes abode, he enjoyed the same liberty with other Prisoners, And a while after, he set up an Exposition Lecture in the prison twice a day: To which, not only the Prisoners, and some of the Soulders, but divers Courtiers, and many out of the Town often came. Being prohibited once or twice to go on in this Exercise, he answered, if ye are weary of me, I am not willing to trouble you any longer; ye may turn me out of your doors when you will; but while I have a tongue to speak, and people to speak to, I will not hold my peace.

After some moneths of imprisonment, he was released by exchange. As His Release  
he was departing thence, some Courtiers and others, that had formerly shewed him some favour, perswaded him to close with their party, and to stay with them. He utterly refusing, divers of them accompanied him out of town; And as they were parting, one of them said; Sir, If any of us should fall into your hands, we should desire no better entertainment then you have had amongst us. He replied, Gentlemen, I could wish that ten thousand of you might fall into our hands within this moneth, that you might see how kindly we would deal with you. Thence he was sent for by the Lord Generall *Effex* to be Chaplain in his Army, with whom he continued during his command.

Then he went to *Barwick*; where he was received with great affection of the People, and saw in a short time great successe of his labours in the Ministry. During his abode there, two things were very remarkable: One, whereas there was a Child that had been strangely visited with such a weakness, as neither *Physicians* or *Divines* could guesse at the cause, or find out the cure; Master Balsom moved some Christians there, to seek God with him, by Fasting and Prayer, which accordingly they did, and obtained a suddain and extraordinary answer. For as the Mother of the Child came home from the Exercise, her Child met her, and told her, she was very well, who before had kept her bed of a long time. His going to Barwick.

The other thing remarkable was this; A *Scottish* Lord, by name, the Lord of *Granson*, took up his habitation for a time in *Barwick*, and brought with him his Family. In which, amongst others, was the Steward of his house, formerly reputed a godly man, who was very much afflicted in mind: Master Balsom came to visit him, and administred some comfort to him for that time. But two or three daies after, he being sorely afflicted again, Master Balsom was sent for, who finding him very much weakened and worn out by the violence of temptation, began to speak comfortably to him. But perceiving that no words of comfort would fasten on him, he whispered to him in his ear to this purpose, I doubt there is something within, that you should do well to discover. Whereupon immediately the mans tongue swelled out of his mouth, insomuch that he was not able to speak. Master Balsom continued speaking to him, till at length, to the astonishment of those in the room, being many, and some of them persons of quality, a shrill voice was heard, as from out of his throat (having not any use of his tongue) to this purpose:

A special Providence.

Possession. Satan.

What

Possession. *What dost thou talking to him of Promises, and free grace? He is mine. Master Balsom apprehending it to be the voice of the Devil, replied:*

*Balsom.* No Satan, thou dost not know any man to be thine while there is life in him.

*Satan.* *But this is a notorious wicked wretch, and therefore is mine.*

*Balsom.* The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin.

*Satan.* *If God would let me loose upon you, I should find enough in the best of you, to make you all mine.*

*Balsom.* But thou art bound Satan. And so turning himself to the people, with a smiling countenance; he said, What a gracious God have we, that suffers not Satan to have his will upon us?

*Satan.* Then the Devil began to curse and swear, and blaspheme the Trinity in a most fearfull and horrible manner.

*Balsom.* The Lord rebuke thee.

*Satan.* *But this man is mine, for he hath given himself to me; and sealed it with his blood.*

*Balsom.* I do not believe that the father of lies speaketh truth, and I do believe, how confident soever thou art, that thou wilt lose thy hold before to morrow morning.

*Satan.* The Devil continued to curse and swear, further saying, *How canst thou endure to hear thy God blasphemed? I will never give over blaspheming so long as thou stayest in the room.*

*Balsom.* I will pray for him.

*Satan.* *Wilt thou pray for a man that is damned?*

*Balsom.* I will go home and pray for him, and get all the force I can in the town to joyn with me. After this, there being no more voice heard, Master Balsom went home about Eleven a Clock at night, where he found in his house divers Christians, which he intended to have sent for, waiting for him; and upon the sight of them, he spake to them to this purpose: Friends, I wonder at the providence of God, in bringing you hither at this time, for otherwise I must have sent for you. And so declaring to them what had hapned to the afflicted man, he desired them to spend some part of the night with him, in seeking God for him, which accordingly they did. The next morning Master Balsom going to visit him again, found him in a comfortable condition; and asking of him, how he did? He answered, Through the goodnesse of God, I have overcome, and am now as full of comfort, as I was before of trouble. And so continued all that day cheerfull, but in great weaknesse, and the next morning dyed, no disease appearing upon him.

After some time of Master Balsom's abode there, he was earnestly intreated to return into his own Countrey, to which, for some important reasons he was inclined, but was as earnestly importuned by many of the inhabitants of *Barnwick*, either to abide with them, or to return again to them. And after many other Arguments, as he was just parting with them, as their last Argument to perswade him to stay with him, they presented him with a list of about three-score that had been (as they were verily perswaded) savingly wrought on by his Ministry, during the time of his continuance there. He left them, but with a mind of returning to them again, if providence crost it not, but his return was prevented by his death, which hapned about two years after, as he was endeavouring to get himself free from the place, where he then was, to return to them. In which space of time he did much good, as in converting many, so in reducing many that were drawn away by *Sectaries*. Anno Christi 1647.

The great  
successe of  
his Ministry.

His Death.





M. HERBERT PALMER.

*The Life of Master Herbert Palmer, B. D. late Master  
of Queens-Colledge in Cambridge, who died  
Anno Christi 1647.*



Herbert Palmer, was descended of an ancient Family of that name, allied to divers other Families of note, of the Nobility and Gentry. His Father, was Sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham in East-Kent, about six Miles distant from Canterbury. His Mother, was the eldest Daughter of Herbert Pelham, of Crawley in Suffex Esquire. He was born at Wingham, and was there baptized, March 29. 1601. His parentage.

He had the happinesse of a prudent and pious Education. His Father, beside his Piety, being a very wise man, and of a more than ordinary understanding, as well in State-affairs, as those of a more private Concernment. His Mother, beside her Prudence and other accomplishments more than ordinary in her sex, was also eminently Religious, and both of them exceeding carefull of his education. Himself also, being even from his infancy, much addicted to the serious study both of Religion and Learning, in both of which he had made more than ordinary Proficiency in a short time, and continued the exercise and improvement of them afterward. His birth & education.

The Symptoms of Grace and Piety, began betimes to put themselves forth

He was sanctified from the Womb.

to the view and observation of others, as soon almost as the exercise and use of reason; so that we may not without good ground, esteem him sanctified even from the Womb. When he was about the age of four or five years, he would cry to go to his Lady-mother, *That he might hear somewhat of God*; So soon had these her Religious discourses, made pleasing impressions on his apprehension. Neither did these, and such like expressions of affection to good things soon vanish away, (as childish apprehensions use to do,) but continued and encreased, according as his years and the use of Reason increased.

His early desires of the Ministry.

Hence was it, that even from a child, being asked at any time what course of life he best liked to follow, whether to be a Lawyer, a Courtier, a Country Gentleman, &c. he would still answer, that he would be a *Minister of Jesus Christ*. From which, while some of his Friends (for triall sake) would seem to dissuade him, as being too mean an employment for a Gentleman, telling him that Ministers are hated, despised, and accounted as the off-scouring of the world, &c. he would reply, It was no matter for that; for if the world hated him, yet God would love him.

His frequent reading of the Scriptures.

He was early acquainted with the Book of God, which he much delighted in, and read with great affection, (insomuch that while he was but a child, little more than five years old, he wept in reading the story of *Joseph*) and took much pleasure in learning of Chapters by heart. And here was laid the first foundation of that great exactness in the knowledge of the Scriptures, to which he did afterwards attain.

His natural endowments.

He had excellent natural parts, both intellectual and moral: which as they were soon capable of being employed, so they were soon set on work; his Parents vigilancy being such, that they suffered no time to be neglected.

His skill in the French.

He learned the *French* tongue almost as soon as he could speak *English*; even so soon, as that he hath often affirmed, he did not remember his learning of it. And he did afterwards attain so great exactness of speaking and preaching in that language, together with a perfect knowledge of the state and affairs of that Kingdom, especially of the Protestant Churches amongst them, that he was often, by strangers, thought to be a native *Frenchman*; and did not doubt but to entertain discourse with any person of that Nation, for some hours together in their own language, concerning the affairs of that Kingdom, who should not be able, by his discourse to distinguish him from a native *Frenchman*, but judge him to be born and bred in *France*; so well was he furnished with an exact knowledge, both of the Propriety, and due Pronunciation of that language, and of the persons, places, and affairs of that Kingdom, and the Churches therein. A thing not often seen in one who had never been out of *England*.

His industry.

When he learned the *Latine* tongue, with such other parts of learning as younger years are usually employed in at School, his diligence and proficiency therein was such, as produced both commendation and admiration. And while others at vacant hours, were following their sports and recreations, he was constantly observed to be reading studiously by himself; taking as much pleasure in good employments, as others in sports; and counting that the best *Passé-time*, wherein the time was best passed.

His observance of his parents.

His carriage towards his Parents, was dutifull and obsequious; not only during his Minority, but even afterwards; which was very evident in that honour and reverend respect, which he continued to expresse to his godly aged Mother to the day of her death, which hapned not long before his own; being also a special helper to her in the ways of holiness. And what he thus practised himself, he did frequently commend to others, being always (though himself unmarried) a great asserter of Parental authority; as well from that great *emphasis* which God puts upon it through the whole current of



of Scripture, as from those remarkable judgments, which in Scripture, and in his own experience, he had observed to be inflicted on disobedient and undutifull children, (whom, as he was wont to say, he had scarce ever known to escape some visible judgment for it in this life, though possibly otherwise godly persons,) as also from those unavoidable mischiefs, which do frequently ensue in Civil Societies, where the authority of Superiours is vilified or contemned, and which (if well considered) will be often found to take their first rise, and original from the contempt of Paternal authority.

He was about the year 1615. admitted Fellow-Commoner in Saint *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, where he continued his former diligence, as well in the exercise of Religion, as the improvement of his learning, both in his private Study, and in the performance of Exercises in the University and Colledge, notwithstanding the exemption which Fellow-Commoners in Colleges are ready to plead from the performance of them.

After that he had there taken the degree of Master of Arts, about the year 1622. he was in the year 1623. constituted Fellow of *Queens* Colledge in that University; where, although he were a Gentleman, that beside his Fellowship, had an estate of his own, and so had the lesse need in point of maintenance, to take that trouble of Pupils upon him; yet (not satisfying himself, to take a place upon him, without performing the Office thereunto belonging) he took many Pupils, of whom he was more than ordinarily carefull, being very diligent both in praying with them in his Chamber, and instructing them in the grounds of Religion; as also keeping them to their studies, and the performance of disputations, and other exercises of learning, privately in his Chamber, beside the more publique exercises required of them by the Colledge, to the great benefit of those that were his Pupils.

While he was Fellow of *Queens* Colledge, about the year 1624. he was solemnly ordained to the work of the Ministry, whereunto from a Child he had addicted himself; And about the year 1626. was called to the publique exercise thereof, as a Lecturer in the City of *Canterbury*, where, for divers years, (notwithstanding the great oppositions he there met with, from such as were enemies to the power of godlinesse,) he did with much diligence and very great successe discharge that great work, to the spiritual edification, and comfort of many yet alive, to whom his memory to this day is precious.

The occasion of his coming thither was this; Coming from *Cambridge*, to give a visit to his Brother Sir *Thomas Palmer* at *Wingham*, he did at the intreaty of some Friends, preach a Sermon at the Cathedral Church in *Canterbury*, and that with so much true zeal, and reall savour of Piety, as did much affect the godly Hearers. The report hereof coming to the knowledge of Master *Delme* (a godly, faithfull, prudent, and laborious Minister of the *French* Church in *Canterbury*) he made a journey to *Wingham* on purpose to gain a further knowledge of him, and acquaintance with him, (with whom he was already not a little in love, from that good report he had heard of him, though as yet by face unknown to him;) and hereby not only obtained the knowledge of the man, but was also, by his gracious and savoury discourse and carriage, very much confirmed in that good opinion which he had before conceived of him. And this was the first Foundation of that intire and Christian friendship, which with much spiritual advantage to them both, was contracted between these two holy men, which continued, and increased dayly to their mutual comfort, and contentment while they were both living, and the memory thereof is still precious to him that doth yet survive.

After this, before his return to *Cambridge*, having (at the request of Master *Delme*,) preached a second Sermon at Saint *Georges* Church in *Canterbury*.

Despisers of Parents usually punished by God. His admission into the University.

He is made Fellow of *Queens* Colledge.

His care over his Pupils.

He is ordained Minister.

His call to *Canterbury*.

The occasion of it.

Friendship.

## The Life of Master Herbert Palmer.

bury, on a week day Lecture; the most godly and best affected in the City were more and more taken with him, and expressed great desires of enjoying his Ministry amongst them, if it might be obtained.

Hereupon Master *Delme*, with divers others, of the most considerable Gentlemen and Citizens, having earnestly sought direction from God in a matter of such concernment, did seriously advise about it; and being first assured, of the concurrent desires of many others, did by Letters, and Messages to *Cambridge*, signifie to him the desire of the godly in that City, that he would undertake to preach a Lecture amongst them.

His self-denial.

This invitation after mature deliberation, he thought good to accept of, preferring the opportunity and probability of doing good in that populous place, before the hopes of preferment, either in the University or elsewhere, which, by reason of his many Friends and acquaintance great at Court, and otherwise, he might likely have attained unto; holding steady to that resolution (which long before that time he had taken up,) so to imploy himself as might probably most promote the Work of God, whatever became of his own advantages. Whereupon a License being obtained for him from *George Abbot*, then Arch bishop of *Canterbury*, Authorizing him to preach a weekly Lecture on the *Lords day* in the afternoon at *Alphage Church* in that City; He left his Fellowship in the University, and undertook this work.

He was a burning and shining light

During his abode in this employment, he did much edifie the people there, both by sound Doctrine, and exemplary Conversation. His Sermons were altogether spiritual and heavenly, full of solid explications and practicall applications of the Word of God; whereby the City was well seasoned as with savoury salt, and much preserved from those innovations and Corruptions, both in doctrine and Worship, which in those dayes were creeping on apace; by reason whereof that Leven of formality, which many of the Cathedralists were promoting, (who preferred pompous Ceremonies before the power of Godliness) was stopped from spreading and Corrupting so much, as otherwise it might have done. For although he was not then perswaded of the unlawfulness of the then Government, and some Ceremonies then in use, yet he could no way approve of the corrupt innovations coming on in those dayes, but did with all wisdom and zeal reprove them, countenancing goodness and good men.

His opposition to innovations.

His humility.

And by this means, he was a great stay and comfort to the godly Ministers and People, both in the City and Countrey thereabouts; whom, not only by his publique preaching, but by many other Christian and Ministerial helps administred in his more private Converses, he did very much encourage in true Piety. Of this very many Families in that City had great experience, (even those of the meanest ranke,) whom he was wont often to visit as he had opportunity, that he might the better understand their spiritual condition; admitting also persons of all ranks freely to apply themselves unto him as they had occasion, and to partake the benefit of private Conferences, Prayers, and other Religious exercises; as likewise affording his Christian advice and direction in cases of difficulty, especially to distressed Consciences; in which cases, by most of his prudent and judicious Resolutions, he was frequently consulted with as a kind of Oracle. And that not only during his abode at *Canterbury*, but wherever else the Providence of God did cast him. And herein he had an excellent ability and dexterity, and took much delight in it.

He doth good a-broad.

And his assistance he afforded not only to those of that City, but also to many of the most Religious Families of the Nobility, and Gentry thereabouts; to whom, both by his personal Converses, and his Christian Letters (of which there are great numbers yet to be seen) he afforded frequent directions and encouragements in the wayes of God; And particularly the Noble Family of

Thomas



## The Life of Walter Herbert Palmer.

Thomas late Earl of Winchelsey, then Vicount Maidstone (whose abode at that time was at the Mote, a place near Canterbury:) the exemplary Piety of whose Family, and the several Noble Branches thereof, was by him in a special manner promoted.

The like assistance he afforded also to those of the French Congregation in Canterbury, whom, by reason of his exact knowledge in the French language, he was able to edifie very much. And (at the request of their Eldership) he did twice preach to them in that language upon most solemn dayes, to the great astonishment and edification of the whole Congregation. It is memorable, that an ancient French Gentlewoman, when she saw him the first time coming into the Pulpit, being startled at the smallness of his personal appearance, and the weakness of his look, cryed out (in the hearing of those that sate by her) *Hola! que nous dira cest enfancy?* Alas, what should this Child say to us? But having heard him pray and preach with so much spiritual strength and vigour, she lift her hands to heaven with admiration and joy, blessing God for what she had heard.

Yet this his faithful discharge of the Ministry was not without some opposition.

On the one hand those of the Separation, and such as were inclineable thereunto, were somewhat troublesome to him; but could get no advantage upon him, nor did prevail any thing (while he remained there) upon his Hearers.

He is opposed by Separatists and Cathedralists.

On the other side, the Cathedralists and their favourers did oppose him, fearing (it's like) lest his godly courses and exact walking might be a blemish to their loose and carnal wayes. And therefore, though the greatness of his birth, and friends, hindered them somewhat from prosecuting of him, as probably they would otherwise have done; yet once some of the chiefest of them adventured to exhibit Articles against him: But his cause and answers proved such, as that they were not able to hurt him.

After three years, or thereabouts, his Lecture there was put down by the Dean and Arch-Dean, upon certain instructions then on foot concerning Afternoon Sermons) to the great grief of his godly Hearers. But not long after, upon the petition of great numbers of the Gentry and Citizens, to the then Arch-bishop, by whose License and authority he had been before established (accompanied with the laudable testimony of divers Ministers, concerning his *Orthodox* Doctrine, and unblamable conversation, together with the concurrent testimony of ten Knights, and divers others of the Gentry and chief Citizens) he was again restored.

His Lecture put down.

He is again restored.

During his continuance here, he was twice (by the procurement of his Friends at Court) likely to be made one of the Prebendaries of Canterbury, But he often admired and praised that Providence of God, that his Friends endeavours therein succeeded not; seeing himself by this means delivered from many Temptations and dangers, which had been incident, if he had been one of that company; they being afterward, by the succeeding Arch-bishop, mainly set on work, for the setting up and promoting superstitious innovations.

Temptations prevented.

After some years he was removed from Canterbury, to the Vicaridge of Ashwel in Hertfordshire, whereunto he was presented by William Laud the late Arch-bishop of Canterbury, (which in his defence before the House of Peers in Parliament, was by the Arch-bishop insisted upon as one of his good deeds:) to which he received institution, February 7. 1632. where he continued the same zeal, diligence and care, which he had before discovered, in seeking the good of those souls that were committed to his charge.

His removal to Ashwel.

Beside his constant preaching there twice every Lords day, he did also very frequently preach to them occasionally, as any opportunity was offered; nor

His great pains,

His Humi-  
lity and fin-  
cerity.

His pru-  
dence.

His diligent  
Catechizing

His prudent  
charity.

willing to let passe any advantage offered of doing them good. Wherein, notwithstanding the excellency of his Learning, whereby, if he had sought it, he might have attained great applause, and admiration (even from knowing men) in the ostentation thereof: yet he chose alwaies to condescend to the capacities of his Hearers, with so much plainnesse, as that (if possible) he might be understood by all, even those of the meanest capacities, as being most studious, both for the matter and manner of his preaching, how he might be able most of all to profit those that heard him. And on this ground upon any Emergent occasions he endeavoured as much as might be, to sute his matter thereunto, that so the Word of God, and the Providence of God, might one edge unto the other, and both joyntly become the more effectually. And for the same reason he did the more approve of Funeral Sermons, for that at such times the minds of men, especially those more immediately concerned, are thereby rendred the more pensive and serious, and so the more fit to take impressions by the Word. On the same ground also was he carefull to observe the advantages of sicknesse, or any other considerable afflictions, because his Admonitions and Christian Advice, were like to be at such a time the more effectually, when God had, as it were, softned their heart, and opened their ear to hear.

He was also carefull by Catechizing, both in publique, and at his own house to instruct in the Principles of Religion, not only the Children and youth, but even those that were more aged, in case he discerned them ignorant, and such as stood in need thereof; and yet not so as might expose them to scorn and reproach, but so as might most conduce to their edification in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. To which end he had prevailed with those of his Parish, at least the farre greater Number of them, and those the most considerable persons to concur with him in it; by sending their Children and Servants constantly to be Catechized one the *Lords day* before the Afternoon-Sermon (some of whom he Catechized publicly in the Congregation, and others more privately in his own house, either by himself or his assistant) that so the publique Catechizing might neither be too tedious, nor intrench upon the time allotted for other exercises, as Praying, Reading, Expounding, Preaching, &c. nor yet the examination of others for want of time, be wholly omitted; as also by their own endeavours at home to help on this work: and likewise to contribute their assistance in perswading others to the same willingnesse. As for those who were more eminent, but yet needed instruction, he laboured both by his own perswasion, and the perswasion of others, to work in them a willingnesse to repair to him in private at convenient times, that by conferences with them, and friendly discourse in a familiar and gentle manner, he might bring them to such a sufficiency of knowledge, as was necessary for their own salvation.

And the better to perswade people to a willingnesse thus to receive instruction, he used by way of encouragement, (especially to those of the meaner sort) to give Bibles to such as could read, and five shillings in money to such as could not, when they attained such a measure of knowledge, as that they were judged fit to partake of the Lords Supper. And such like rewards and encouragements he used to bestow on others, as he saw occasion; furnishing them with Books and writings, and otherwise encouraging them according as they should manifest their diligence in gaining and improving their knowledge. All which the generation to come, and the children yet unborn, may have cause to blesse God for, when they shall receive the benefits thereof, Communicated from their Parents to them, while others do as much as in them lies, intail ignorance and *Atheism* upon their posterity.

And because he found it difficult, to bring those of shallow memories and weak capacities to understand and remember the Principles of Religion; discerning,



discerning, that many who could not distinctly repeat the words, did yet understand the matter, and therefore were not to be despised or discouraged; and others of firmer Memories, who were able to learn the words, did understand little or nothing of the meaning of them. He did therefore study how he might best remedy both those evils; and to that end, framed several forms of Catechisms in divers kinds. At length he pitched on that form, as the most convenient that he could think of, which he published in print, intituled, *An endeavour of making the principles of Christian Religion plain and easie*, of which so many thousands have been printed of late years, and entertained with great approbation.

His Catechism.

His method therein is this; The answers which make up the main body of the Catechism, are so many distinct *Aphorisms*, or entire Propositions in themselves, without dependance on the questions to make the sense entire, containing in themselves a brief module of Divinity: And to that purpose so much of the question is still repeated in the answer, as is necessary to make the sense perfect. Hereby the Learner is freed from a double inconvenience: The one is, that where the sense of an answer is imperfect, he is forced to charge his Memory with Learning the question also, or else to make use either of this Book or anothers help to ask the question, that so that answer which he hath learned may be perfect sense. The other is, that aptnesse in the Learner to misapply the answer to a wrong question, when he learns only the predicate of the Proposition without the subject. Both which inconveniences are in this way in a great measure prevented.

Another thing mainly considerable in his method, is, That beside the main questions and the answers thereunto, there are also annexed divers explanatory questions, which require no other answer but *Yes*, or *No*; which without any further charging of the Learners Memory, do direct him to the distinct observing of what is contained in the principal answer, and so to the understanding thereof; whereas otherwise heedlesse Learners are apt (Parot-like) only to learn the words without at all regarding the meaning of them. The same also will help to direct a weak Memory the better to recite the larger answer, if he be first required to give a particular answer to those expository questions; for he will then have nothing to expresse in the full answer, beside what in the Preparatory questions had been suggested to him. As for example, *Quest. In what condition was man created by God at the first? Was he made miserable? (No) or very happy? (Yes) In the Image of God? (Yes) In what condition then was man created by God at first? Answer, Man was created at the first in a very happy Condition, in the Image of God.*

And in the same method he intended to digest the lesser Catechism, composed by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, (and authorized for publique use) if God had afforded him life to have seen that Catechism perfected, to the compiling whereof he had contributed no small assistance; which therefore since his death hath been performed, by one that was intimate with him, and fully acquainted with his resolutions in that particular.

As he was careful thus to instruct his flock, so was he also vigilant to prevent disorders and Misdemeanours amongst them in point of practice, wherein he was not contented to use his own personal endeavours, but did also engage his Parishioners to contribute their best assistance thereunto; whereunto they did oblige themselves in divers excellent Resolutions and Agreements, concluded by common consent amongst them, and subscribed by their hands, viz. for the preventing and punishing of Drunkenness and Tippling, of prophaneing the Lords day, and of other prophane, or disorderly demeanours during the exercise of Divine Worship, by sleeping, talking, playing, &c. as likewise of stealing, and pilfering, of prophane swearing and cursing; of Rayling, slandering, whoredome, fighting and quarrelling, disobedience

His manner of reforming disorders.

dience to Parents and Governours, and of other Misdemeanours in whomsoever.

His Family-  
Govern-  
ment.

In the Religious ordering of his own Family, he was extraordinary vigilant and painfull, that it might be, so much as in him lay, a Garden without weeds; and that those which were under his roof, might either not perish, or at least not through his default. Indeed his house was a School of Religion, such as there are very few to be found; insomuch that it was counted a great happinesse to live under his roof, under the constant enjoyment of so much means for the soules good.

It was his great care to entertain none in his Family, but such as were either truly godly, or at least willing to be instructed and educated in the wayes of God, and who would be ready and willing to attend the exercises of Gods worship, both publiquely and privately, and to avoid all scandalous conversation.

It was his constant practice twice every day to pray with his Family, not allowing any to be absent; at which times he read to them some portion both of the Old and New Testament.

He was carefull also to Catechize his Family twice every week, and likewise on *Fryday* and *Saturday* to require an account from them of the Sermons preached the *Lords day* before, which he then repeated to them.

Having also while he was at *Ashwel*, the Sonnes of divers considerable persons of the Nobility and Gentry, sojourning in his house, for their better education in Religion and Learning, (he maintaining in his house an Assistant as a School-Master to teach them) he required of them the like account in Catechizing and Repetitions as of his own Servants.

He had also daily, after dinner and Supper, a Chapter read by one of those Gentlemen in course, and he whose turn was to read, was required also, after he had read, to repeat the substance out of his Memory, which (by constant custom) they had attained an ability to perform very exactly; after which, himself used to go over the same briefly, by way of exposition, of what appeared difficult, and noting such observations as were most obvious from the most remarkable passages therein.

Beside this, he required his Servants, after every Meal, to have some portion of Scripture read amongst them, or some other Religious Treatise Concerning the Fundamentals of Religion, if not both.

His care for  
sanctifying  
the Sabbath

But especially he was carefull that all his Family should sanctifie the *Sabbath-day*. And therefore would not suffer them to be employed late the night before, about their ordinary employments, but caused them to conclude sooner then on other days, that they might not be indisposed for the duties of the day following. And on the *Sabbath-day* it self, he was carefull that they should not spend any part of it idly or vainly, no not in any unnecessary preparations of diet or the like, but only of such and so much as was necessary for their comfortable refreshment that day; but would have them spend the whole day, as much as might be, in the exercises of some of Gods Ordinances publique or private, insomuch that if he had known of any dish that had kept any of his Servants from attending on any of Gods Ordinances, he would not at all eat of it.

And for better sanctifying of that day, he was carefull not only to perform private duties in his Family, as Prayer, Reading, Singing of *Psalms*, &c. but also when he went to the publique Ordinances, he would call all his Family together to go along with him, that so they might be present at the whole service of God. And in the evening of the day, he required of all his Servants, and the young Gentlemen that sojourned with him, an account of such portions of Scripture as had been read in publique, that as they recited particular passages thereof, he gave brief expositions of them, and observations



ons from them: pressing them to meditate in private of what they read in publique.

Beside this great care of his Family joyntly, he was also frequent in giving them personall councell and direction in the ways of God, exhorting them also to a dayly constancy in the performance of secret duties between God and their own souls; so that scarce any Family enjoyed the like measure of helps and encouragements in the ways of holinesse.

His exact walking in his own secret devotion, was also exceedingly remarkable. He was a man much in Communion with God. Twice every day, he was in secret a Suiter at the Throne of grace, and oftner, as any particular occasion was offered. He would very seldom enter upon any business, either by himself, or with others, without first seeking of God. He did often set dayes apart to humble himself in secret by Fasting and Prayer, according as either publique or particular occasions did seem to call for it; as also in solemn Thanksgivings, for mercies received, whether publique or private.

He was a great admirer of the holy Scriptures, and much conversant in them. Beside what he had read and heard read in his Family, he did every day by himself read some part both of the Old and New Testament, and constantly writ thort Meditations and observations of what he so read, whereof he hath left behind him many hundred sheets written in Characters. He was so thoroughly acquainted with it, that it was not easie to name a Chapter or Verse, but he would presently tell the Contents of it; nor to name any sentence of Scripture, but he could presently tell in what Chapter or Verse it was to be found; yea scarce any particular case could fall out in practice, but that he would be able to shew what particular directions the Word of God afforded for it.

He was also a great observer of Providence, and took special notice how the Providences of God, and the Word of God did constantly agree together. And from hence was able to give very near conjectures, if not evident Predictions in many cases, what God was about to do, and what good or evil events were likely to come to passe; by comparing present actions with such Precedents as he had before observed, in the Providences and Word of God in like cases.

And as he was very carefull to order all his actions according to his constant rule, of being subservient to the glory of God, and the good of souls, so that even his journeys, visits, discourses, and familiar converses with any, were not undertaken without a special eye hereunto; so did he also keep an exact account of what had passed, every night before his going to rest, setting down in writing (in his usuall Character;) the passages of that day, what actions or discourses he had been employed in, what successes or disappointments, what mercies or Crosses he met withall, and what failings he observed in himself: all which he surveyed again at the end of every week, writing down the chief passages of that week, and so from moneth to moneth, and year to year. By means whereof he was thoroughly acquainted with his own spiritual condition, and did maintain a constant exactnesse, and even walking with God; which being so uniform, might perhaps by some be the lesse observed. Like as the Sunnes constant brightnesse, produceth lesse admiration, then some Blazing Starre that appeareth but for a while, men usually more admiring things rare than excellent.

In the year 1632. he was by the University of Cambridge made one of the University-Preachers (having proceeded Bachelor of Divinity about two years before;) A matter of honour and repute, rather than of profit or employment. Yet also a matter of some advantage in some cases, (as times then went) being in the nature of a general License, whereby he was authorized to preach, as he should have occasion, in any part of England.

At the beginning of the Parliament, he with Doctor *Tuckny*, were chosen Clerks of the Convocation, for the Diocese of *Lincoln*, wherein he might have been of good use, in case it had been thought fit to have kept up that kind of Assembly, to have acted in concurrence with the Parliament as in former times.

He is made  
a Member  
of the As-  
sembly.

His consci-  
entiousness  
therein.

His fitness  
for it.

In the year 1643. he was by authority of Parliament, called to be a Member of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*. And after some time he was chosen one of the *Assessors*, appointed to assist the *Prolocutor* in case of absence or infirmity. He was in that Assembly an eminent and very usefull Member, exceeding diligent and industrious, being very rarely absent, and that not but upon urgent unavoidable occasions. For, as he accounted it an honour to be employed by God in so publique a service for the good of his Church: so he did conscientiously attend upon that service, preferring it before all other more particular employments, which though in themselves excellent, yet ought, in his judgement, to give way to this.

And he was exceeding well fitted for this employment, having a clear and ready apprehension, and firm and vast memory, a solid and steady judgement, and a good ability freely to expresse himself. In matters of deliberation, he manifested much Integrity and Christian wisdom. In matters of debate, whether about Doctrine or Discipline, he discovered a great sagacity in searching out the true sense of Scripture, a clear judgment, and strength of reason, as well in the accurate stating of questions for debate, as in confirming the truth, and dissolving objections against it; in all, a great measure of Zeal, Piety, and Prudence. All which procured him much Reverence, and esteem from the rest of his Brethren, who judged his presence and assistance a very great help, and advantage in that difficult work, and bewailed his death as an unspeakable losse.

His judgment was known to be for the *Presbyterian* Government; the principles whereof he did thoroughly understand, and was well able to defend, and was a very great Instrument for the promoting of it. Yet in two things he was at first much unsatisfied, but by the debates of the Assembly, did profess himself to receive satisfaction in both.

One was Concerning the Divine-Right of Ruling Elders, wherein he afterwards professed himself to be fully convinced, principally by the Authority of those two places, *1 Cor. 12. 28.* (where Government is attributed to a distinct rank of Officers inferiour to Teachers,) and *1 Tim. 5. 17.* which implyeth, that there are other Elders which rule well, beside those that labour in the Word and Doctrine.

The other was, whether there ought not to be continued in the Church, an Office superiour to that of *Presbyters*. For, although he did not approve of the Hierarchical Government, as it was of late established and practised amongst us: yet since it is confessed that *Timothy* and *Titus*, as Evangelists, did exercise an authority, superiour to that of ordinary *Presbyters*, the object of which authority, seemed to be of perpetual continuance in the Church, it seemed probable to him, that the Office also of an Evangelist, was no extraordinary Office, but ought to be continued in the Church. But hereunto he received satisfaction, principally from hence, that in case the Holy Ghost had intended the continuance of that Office, he would withall, have described the work, and qualification of persons fit for it, and taken some course for continuing the succession thereof, as is done in that of Elders and Deacons. But this being wholly omitted, there being no more extant in that kind, then concerning the Apostolical Office, the power of working Miracles, &c. We are rather to esteem that Office, as well as these, to be extraordinary, and but of a temporary continuance, expiring with the persons.

His care for  
*Ashwel* in  
his absence.

Being thus called to attend the Assembly at *Westminster*, he was forced to intermit his ordinary residence at *Ashwel*; being able only to exercise such a care of them as might be performed at a distance, and by making occasionall journeys thither,



thither, as he could obtain opportunities so to do. But the ordinary exercise of the Ministerial work there, together with the profits of the place, he put over to a godly and able Divine to be performed in his absence; reserving notwithstanding his title to the place, not knowing how soon God might afford him opportunity of returning to them again.

But, unwilling to intermit the exercise of his Ministerial function, he did at first preach occasionally (as he was requested,) in divers Churches in and about London, resolving notwithstanding within himself, to accept of the first invitation for the constant exercise thereof.

And accordingly, being soon after requested by the Inhabitants of *Dukes place* in London, (who were then destitute of a Minister) to preach amongst them, he did (notwithstanding their inability to raise any considerable maintenance, which might invite him) willingly accept of that employment.

His choice to *Dukes place*.

His self-denial.

His great pains.

This work he performed amongst them with much faithfulness and diligence, as well by publique reading, praying, and preaching, amongst them twice every *Lords day*, and at other times as there was occasion; as also by administering the Sacraments, publique Catechizing, and exposition of such portions of Scripture as were read amongst them. And likewise (as his custom had been elsewhere) by more private acquaintance, and converse with them in their Families, whereby he might be the better able to afford personal directions, and other Ministerial helps to them, as their several conditions might require. All which was performed with so much Meekness, Wisdom, and Piety, and accompanied with such a blessing from God, as that it made a very great impression on them for their good, and was entertained by them with much approbation and affection, they being ambitious who should enjoy most of his heavenly Communion and Converse with him. Hereby in a short time he did much good, informing such as were weak in knowledge, settling and confirming such as were wavering in judgement, and stirring up in all, both by his Heavenly Conversation and Christian counsell, a greater zeal and affection to the power of Godliness. By reason of all which, during the time of his abode amongst them, they were much preserved both from errors and divisions, whereunto the great unsetledness of the times did much expose them.

The success of his Ministry.

Afterwards, when the new Church at *Westminster* was perfected and made fit for use, the Inhabitants there, and others concerned therein, did sollicite him to undergo the charge of that great people; with proffer of far larger maintenance than he received or could expect from those of *Dukes place*, where the inhabitants were neither many, nor of great estates.

His call to the new Church.

But this consideration did not at all prevail with him, who regarded the work more than the wages. For although he doubted not but that both Religion, and Reason did require a comfortable and honourable Maintenance, for those that laboured in the work of the Ministry, yet for his own part he was willing to deny himself in that particular, if so doing might ought advance the service of God. And so much the rather, because being a Batchelor, and intending so to continue, not at all addicted to pompous vanities or excesses, either in dyet or apparell (in both of which he was exceedingly moderate) he had the lesse need of being solicitous in getting riches; being indeed much more solicitous, how (like a faithfull Steward,) to dispose and order what he had, as might be most for Gods honour and service, then how to encrease it.

His temperance.

Yet his removall being much pressed upon grounds of another nature, he did at length, with the approbation of those concerned on both parts, refer the whole business to be considered and concluded by divers of the most eminent of his Reverend and godly Brethren of the Assembly, whom he did frequently desire that they would wholly lay aside the consideration of maintenance, and deliver their judgements, what in other considerations they judged to be most agreeable to Gods will and his duty.

Cc Heredupon

The reasons  
of his remo-  
vall.

Hereupon, they to whom the matter was referred, meeting several times about it; and hearing at large what could on either side be alledged either for his stay or removall; after mature deliberation had, and seeking of Gods direction, agreed in this opinion; That setting aside the consideration of maintenance, yet in regard of the Eminency of the place, the greatnesse of the Auditory, the many persons of quality residing there, and the great need of Instruction to those of an inferiour rank, many of whom were extreemly ignorant, (by reason that amongst such a great multitude of people, there had in former times been so great a scarcity of preaching,) together with divers other reasons of the like nature, which did more then countervail what could be alledged on the other hand, his obligations also to those of *Dukes-place* not being absolute; they judged it most fit that he should leave *Dukes-place*, and undertake that charge at *Westminster*.

To this their Resolution he consented, yet with this *Proviso*, that those of *Dukes-place*, should be first provided of an able faithfull Pastor to succeed him, being utterly unwilling to leave them destitute. And accordingly, having prevailed with Master *Thomas Young*, (since Doctor in Divinity, and Master of *Jesus Colledge* in *Cambridge*) to succeed him there, (who was also an eminent Member of the Assembly of Divines, a man of great Learning, of much Prudence and Piety, and of great ability and fidelity in the work of the Ministry) he took his leave of them: commending them to the grace of God, and the pious care of his Successor, taking on him the charge of those belonging to the new Church in *Westminster*, and was the first Pastor of that Church.

His great  
pains.

He was here also eminently faithfull, and laborious in the work of the Ministry, in publique praying, reading, expounding, preaching, administering the Sacraments, and Catechizing, with brief and clear expositions and confirmations of the Principles of Religion, as had been his usual custom in other places. Beside which he was also one of the seven, that by appointment of Parliament did carry on that daily morning Lecture at the Abby-Church; inso-much that it seems almost a Miracle, that so weak a body as his, should possibly be able to do so much as constantly he performed, continuing oftentimes to speak in publique for the space of six or eight hours on a *Sabbath day*, beside much time spent in more private exercises of Prayer, Repetitions, &c. in the Family; yet when his Friends have perswaded him to favour himself, judging so much pains to be more than his body could endure; his answer hath been, that his strength would spend of it self, though he did nothing; and it could not be better spent than in Gods service. Yea so far was he from favouring himself in this kind, that it was a rule with him which he constantly observed, never to favour himself by declining any Ministerial exercise which he was requested to perform, whether in publique or private, if he were possibly able to perform it.

A faithfull  
Pastor.

Neither did he here neglect, what had been his constant practice else-where, to afford private assistance to those of his flock and others, as he had opportunity. But what time he could gain from the more publique affairs of the Assembly, he spent for the most part in such duties, not willing to lose an hour which could be employed in doing good. And to this end, beside that free access that persons of all ranks might have unto him, as they had occasion, he spent much time in visiting them at their own Families, to communicate some spiritual good to them, as Directions, Consolations, and Encouragements in the ways of Godlinesse, which made his company both very profitable and much desired. Hereby, besides others, very many considerable Families of the Nobility and Gentry, (whose practice commonly hath a great influence on others) were much quickned and encouraged in the visible practice of Godlinesse, and the power of Religion, which thereby was much improved; And very many of them are ready upon all occasions, to pro-  
fesse



fesse that it was, their great happinesse to be acquainted with him, and bewail the want of it as a great losse.

And he was hereunto the more fitted, for that he was naturally of a loving and friendly disposition, of a courteous and affable carriage, even towards inferiours, and those of mean rank, especially if he discovered in them signes of grace, which he did honour and encourage wherever he met with it. Hereby he gained much love, and affection from those with whom he had to do, by reason whereof his counsel, and advice became so much the more effectual. To which we may adde also his birth and education, and his frequent conversing with persons of quality to whom he was related and allied, by reason whereof he was well qualified with such accomplishments as might render his company acceptable, as knowing well how to give due respect to all, according as their places and conditions did require, and yet to preserve the honour and reverence of his Ministerial authority, which by the gravity, Sobriety, and holinesse of his Conversation was much secured.

His amiable and affable disposition.

In that great Ordinance of the Lords Supper, which in these broken and distracted times hath been in many places wholly laid aside, and in many more too much neglected; he took much care and pains how to manage that great businesse, so as it might be neither displeasing to God nor justly offensive to good men.

His care about the Lords Supper.

The difficulty herein hath been, not concerning the manner of administration, which hath afforded lesse matter of contest, but concerning the persons that might be judged fit to be admitted thereunto; which to many men hath been attended with so much perplexity, that they have apprehended a necessity of a totall intermission, and almost an impossibility of administering it in any tolerable manner; while on the one hand they durst not promiscuously admit all, (by reason of the great ignorance of many, and the prophaness or looseness of others;) and yet on the other hand saw not how they might be able, (for want of authority) to debar any: waiting still for the setting of a Government in the Church, whereby this great difficulty might in some measure be removed: Till at length, through the long intermission of this Ordinance, those that are prophane and carnal begin to flight and scorn it, and those of better principles do too much abate in their affections to it. And that remedy, which though late, began at length to be applyed, in beginning to establish the *Presbyterian* Government, hath been yet so much defective in want of Power, and so much exposed to scorn and reproach, which men of prophane or turbulent spirits cast upon it, either from principles of prophaness, or of separation, or from some other bitter root which renders men unwilling to have their lusts, errors, unlawfull liberties, or Licentious courses, in any kind whatsoever to be checked or contradicted; that the matter is now almost grown desperate, unlesse God will be pleased in special favour, to afford some unexpected remedy.

Herein this holy man did manifest a great measure of singular Prudence and Piety, wisely avoiding both rocks; Neither totally omitting the Celebration of the Sacrament, nor yet promiscuously admitting all unto it, but those only of whose sufficient knowledge he was assured, and whose lives, so far as he could discern, were unblamable and free from scandal. And this he did, not only of late years, but even formerly, from his first undertaking a Pastoral charge; at what time it may well be supposed, to have been a thing both of greater difficulty and danger, then of late years, to keep off unworthy receivers from prophaneing that holy Ordinance.

In order hereunto, his first work was to abate, as much as might be, the number of ignorant people, by perswading them to be willing to receive instruction, which with much care and diligence he was ready to afford unto them, in such wayes as is before expressed: Which, though a difficult work,

was yet carried on with so great successe, through Gods blessing on his endeavors, that in his Parish of *Ashwel*, where was no small number of people, he had in a short time brought them to so great a measure of knowledge, that there was either none or very few, either old or young, who were not able to give a good account of the principles of Religion.

When he had once prevailed with them to be so far sensible of their own ignorance, as to be willing and desirous to learn, it was then no hard matter to perswade such of their own accord to forbear a while, till they had attained so much knowledge as that they might come with comfort; which would be so much the sooner, according as they were more diligent in labouring to attain knowledge.

When they had attained a competent measure of knowledge, if their lives were answerable, and not obnoxious to just Exception; or at least, they willing to redresse what was amisse, and ready to follow such good advice and directions, as were given them for the ordering their Conversations aright towards God and man; there was then no reason why they should be longer debarred, but rather such good beginnings Cherished and encouraged, yet with cautions frequently inculcated to be ware of hypocrisie and formality, and not to rest in these beginnings, but to presse forward to perfection.

But in case they did either obstinately refuse Instruction, or notwithstanding their knowledge, were scandalous and incorrigible, or such as in point of Conversation he could not judge fit to be admitted to that Ordinance: Than probably they would either be found such as were obnoxious to such scandals as might endanger a more publique prosecution, and so durst not be refractory; or else by the conviction of their own Consciences, when the danger of unworthy Receiving should be laid open to them; or by friendly perswasions from himself or others: or by the Reverence and awe of his holy and Grave Carriage, and Ministerial authority, backed with the Concurrence of others amongst them, eminent for worth and Piety; or for fear of being shamed, in case they should be openly reproved, or refused in the face of the Congregation, or upon some other the like Consideration, would be perswaded to forbear, in case he judged them as yet unfit to be admitted to that Ordinance. So that scarce any whom he judged utterly unfit, have ever peremptorily pressed upon him to partake of it. And by these means, even in times of greatest danger, was he able to avoid the mixture of prophane and unworthy persons at the Lords Table.

Hereunto his Naturally Courteous, and affable disposition did much conduce, whereby he could with the more ease, gain access, both to the persons and affections of all sorts of people: together with an excellent mixture of meekness and courage, which being managed with singular Prudence, and indefatigable industry, enabled him happily to carry on that difficult work, which might otherwise seem almost insuperable.

And by the same courteous and prudent carriage, he obtained a like interest in the affections of his people both at *Dukes-place* and *Westminster*: Insomuch as those who were fit to be admitted to that Sacrament, were either otherwise sufficiently known to him, by his Conversing with them, or else would willingly upon that occasion approve themselves to him, both in point of knowledge and Coverlation; And others who were unfit, nor cared to attain a fitness for it, would rather of their own accord forbear, then venture the hazard of being refused; By means whereof, himself, and some hundreds of godly persons who did communicate with him, could with great comfort

He is made joyn in that holy Communion, and Fellowship.

Master of On the 11 of April, in the year 1644. he was constituted Master of *Queens Colledge* in *Cambridge* by the Earl of *Manchester*; then employed by Ordinance of Parliament, for the reforming of that University.

He



He had a great influence upon the general Reformation of that University, and by his advice and Counsell, did very much help forward that work, exciting also, and encouraging others therein, notwithstanding the difficulties in the way, that were represented as almost invincible; and did improve all that interest which he had, both in that Noble and Religious Earl of *Manchester*, and in the Assembly of Divines (who were to give their approbation to all such as should be put into the places of such as were ejected in that University, whether Masters or Fellows,) that all possible care, and Circumspection might be used, that such only as were both learned and Religious, might be commended to, or approved for those places, lest, instead of those that were cast out, others as bad as they should succeed them, as well in their vices as their places.

But more especially in reference to that place, to the Government where- of he was designed (whereof also he had formerly been a Fellow) it cannot easily be believed how exceeding Circumspect he was, how Cautious and wary in the Choice of those who (as Fellows) were to joyn with him in the Government, that they might be learned, pious, and unanimous. The happy effect of which care, in so quiet and peaceable establishment of that Society, as could not easily be expected in so troublesome a time, was, to the great astonishment and Amazement of all, even of those that hated them; and hath had a very great influence upon that happy, and flourishing condition thereof ever since. What his aim was in that place, did continually appear, by his constant expressions and Prayers, which sounded of nothing more than the advancement of Religion and Learning: And he was as true to those expressions in his continued endeavours and actings.

His first and main care was, the advancement of Religion, and practical Piety, knowing that where this took place, a conscionable improvement of time, in other things could not well be wanting. This made him extraordinary solicitous, for the constant presence of the whole Society at the publique Worship of God; which he did carefully look to; when he was present amongst them, and was usually one of the last things he gave in charge to all the Students, when his more publique employments at the Assembly called him away, and whereof he was very inquisitive in his absence. He took care also for the constant instruction, not only of the young Scholars, but likewise of all the Colledge Servants, in the principles of Religion. The exercises of Common-places or Sermons in the Chappel, which had formerly been in use, only in Term-time, he caused to be continued weekly all the year. Besides which, when he was present in the Colledge, he did frequently himself, either preach, or expound Scripture to them. He also took special notice, of the several Conversations of the particular persons in the Colledge, as well by his own inspection, and observation while he was present, as by faithfull informations in his absence; and was frequent in giving them personall counsel and Direction in private. Consonant hereunto was also the care of the particular Fellows, who beside the instruction of their Pupils in Learning, caused them to come to their chambers to Prayers every night, and to repetition of Sermons on the *Lord-day*. By all which the practice of Religion was much promoted.

His next care was for the advancement of Learning, which he endeavoured to promote by his frequent exhortations, and encouraging all to diligence in their studies, and conscionable improving their time and opportunities; as also by requiring, the constant performance of publique exercises, by persons of all ranks; and exciting the Fellows to a diligent inspection, as well jointly over the Colledge in general, as severally over their one Pupils in particular for the same ends.

On the same ground also he took care to have the Colledge Library furnished

nished with good Authors, giving considerable summes of money for that end, and perswading others also to do the like; And some dues payable to the Colledge, which formerly used to be employed in feasting, were by his means converted to a better use, in buying of such Books, which might feed the minds, both of the present society, and those that shall succeed.

His charity. He bestowed also a considerable part of his profits there, upon the yearly maintenance of poor Scholars, and at his death he gave a considerable summe of money for the same purpose, to be disposed of by the present Society to such as stood in need.

Indeed his resolution was, that so long as he was hindered from residing constantly amongst them, by reason of his attending on the Assembly at *Westminster*, he would not be a gainer by the place; but whatsoever profits he received more then would defray the charges, of journeys and other expences occasioned by it, he would bestow some way or other for the good of the Colledge.

His prudence.

In elections to places of preferment in the Colledge, he was exceedingly carefull that they might be bestowed on those that were most deserving: and to that end, he did, with the unanimous consent of the Fellows, make a Decree, that in all future Elections, none should be admitted to a Scholarship or Fellowship in the Colledge, till they did first approve themselves for Learning by a publique triall or examination, for two or three days successively in the audience of the whole Colledge, which hath already produced very good effects for the improvement of learning in that Colledge, and more are like to ensue. In case any solicited him for preferment of their Friends, his constant answer was, that if they were found to deserve it better then others, they should have it; but if otherwise, they must expect to go without it; and his actings were exactly consonant hereunto; as indeed in all things, his resolutions, words, and actions were so exactly consonant, and kept so perfect harmony as is seldom seen: whereas in many, their words are more then their intentions, and their actions lesse then their words.

In his converse with the Fellows, it was his great care to preserve unanimity, that as well Elections as all other affairs of the Colledge, should be carried on by a universal consent; so if that in the proposall of any thing, there were any dissent, his usual manner was to defer the determination of it, till every one should see reason sufficient to concur with the rest; and was himself as ready to hearken to any argument produced, though contrary to his present sense, which he would either fully answer or yield to it: So that scarce any thing was over-ruled meerly by plurality of suffrages, but all with universal consent; and nothing more ordinary, then for all differences to be quite reasoned down.

In his absence from them, his mind was still present with them; being more thoroughly acquainted with all the affairs of the Colledge, and more carefull of them, than most Heads of houses are when they are present. For by reason of that sweet harmony, and agreement betwixt himself and the Fellows, he had constantly faithfull intelligence of all affairs, and did communicate his counsel and advice therein, making the good of the Colledge, (as he was wont to call it) his *Magna cura*, by reason whereof that Colledge hath flourished in a very eminent manner: And I may safely say, without prejudice to any; that scarce any Society in either University, since the late Reformation, both for the general improvement of Religion and Learning, and the unanimous harmony amongst themselves, have been comparable hereunto; yea, so great was that unanimity and reciprocal affection, between him and the Society, that scarce ever any Head of a Society was taken from them with more general sorrow.

Beside what hath been already said, much more might be added, concerning the worth of this eminent Servant of God, much of which hath been already



ready penned by himself in that small Tractate, *Of making Religion, ones business*, together with the *Appendix, applied to the calling of a Minister*, (which with other small Tracts are printed together with this title, *Memorials of Godlinesse and Christianity*.) wherein you may read a true Character of his thoughts, as well as his actions, of which I shall only adde this; That his constant practice was so exactly consonant to the strict principles, that are there expressed, as can hardly be believed by those that have not seen it. A true Nathaniel.

He was a man indeed of a very publique spirit, and wholly laid himself out for God: And therefore, though he were ready to deny himself and condescend freely, where his own interest was only concerned; yet was he zealous and tenacious in things that concerned Gods glory, reserving his heart to encounter sin. His zeal.

Hence was it, that notwithstanding his natural meeknesse, he acted in the things of God with much courage and resolution; As in those free and resolute expressions of himself (yet with humility, meeknesse, and sobriety) in Preaching at the Cathedral Church at *Canterbury*, in presence of the Dean and Prebends, wherein he spared not to set before them such things as were notoriously amisse, (yet for the most part expressing in *Latine* what did chiefly concern them, that they might take notice of it, not the people;) which, though it procured him some trouble and opposition, yet he did not for that, abate of his courage, and resolution. In like manner, when he was to Preach at the Bishop of *Lincolns* Visitation at *Hitchin*, he went thither with a resolution to speak fully, and freely, against the corrupt innovations then in practice, whatever might be the issue; and did accordingly perform it, though he were sensible of the great danger of so doing. The like resolution he manifested in the question about the *Sabbath*, when opposition was made against the Perpetuity thereof, and the Morality of the fourth Commandment, a matter wherewith his heart was deeply affected, as being an high affront to the Majesty and Authority of God; the thoughts whereof seemed to be continually in his mind, as was evident by his prayers, discourses, Counsels and endeavours; and particularly by that elaborate discourse, which he, in conjunction with that Judicious, Learned, and Pious Divine Master *Daniel Cawdrey*, published to the world, entituled *Vindicia Sabbathi*, (the latter parts whereof were long ago fitted for the Presse, and want but invitations of publishing, which might encourage the Stationer to undertake the charge.) His courage and faithfulness.

And therefore when reading the Book for Sports on the *Lords day*, bowing to the Altar, reading the Service-book there, &c. were urged, he was most resolute against them, resolving rather to lose all, and suffer any thing then to comply therein, and with that Resolution went to the Arch-bishops visitation at *Welling* held by Sir *John Lamb*, where yet he found, beyond expectation, rather a connivance at him, than an enforcement thereof. And the like he did concerning the Convocation Oath in the new Book of Canons, in the year 1640. which he vigorously opposed, and took a great deal of pains in evincing the unlawfulness thereof. His vindication of the Sabbath.

It is well known also what freedom and faithfulness he hath used in reference to the publique affairs, as well in his ordinary Sermons at the New Church, the *Abby*, and *Margarets* in *Westminster*, (to which places the greatest number of Parliament men did usually resort,) as in those by special order preached to one or both houses of Parliament, (some of which are to be seen in print) where he spared not to declare fully and plainly what God expected from them, and freely to reprove what was a misse. For (as he was wont to say) he did not in that place preach BEFORE them, (*ut coram Iudice*) but TO them (*authoritative*) as by Commission from God, and how much soever they might be superiour to him in other regards, yet he was in that place superiour to them, as acting in Gods Name; and therefore would not be afraid to speak whatever was the Will of God that he should tell them, notwithstanding

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A special Providence.

His faithfulness.

Withstanding

withstanding any displeasure or danger which might by this means befall him for so doing.

His judgement about the King.

And upon this consideration, we may look upon it as a wise Providence of God, so seasonably to take him away a little before those great transactions about the change of Government; which were so directly contrary to his deliberate and settled judgement, that he would certainly have thought it his duty to *Speak* much more then others would endure to *Hear*. For although his judgement was clear for the lawfullnesse of Defensive Arms (which was the Parliaments case, as it was first stated as) doth fully appear in that Treatise, entituled, *Scripture and Reason, pleaded for Defensive Arms* (wherein himself of all others had the greatest hand:) yet was as peremptory against Offensive Arms, or attempting the Kings life, whose person he judged Sacred and inviolable, and hath oft expressed himself to that purpose, that in case this should ever come to be the question (which he hoped he should never see) he thought himself bound in conscience, by speaking, preaching, and otherwise, to oppose it to the utmost of his power, whatever danger he might incur by so doing; which zeal of his, though at that time he were like to have prevailed very little with men otherwise resolved, yet it might have proved an occasion of much hurt to himself, and therefore God in wisdom and mercy thought good to excuse him that piece of service.

His temperance, and sobriety.

He was in his Conversation a man of much temperance and sobriety; In his diet, he abstained from strong drink altogether; Wine he drank very sparingly, so far forth only as the necessities of Nature did require, and did usually content himself to eat but of one dish at a meal, and that none of the daintiest, even when he had more before him. In his apparell he did neither affect to be gay nor costly, but decent, nor to spend time in needlesse Curiosity in dressing. As for Recreations, he scarce used any, but in stead thereof refreshed himself with the Christian Converse of Friends; accounting time so precious, that he would redeem it, not only from sports, but from sleep also so far as the necessities of nature would permit.

His liberality and charity.

He was neither Wastfull nor covetous, but very liberall; doing many acts of Charity (beside what hath been mentioned before) to such as stood in need; bestowing plenteous relief, according as he was able, both by his own hands and the hands of others, so that those who received it knew not oft-times whence it came. And when that eminent work of charity was on foot in *Cambridge*, while he was Fellow of *Queens Colledge*, whereby divers young Scholars, who were forced by reason of the wars to fly out of *Germany*, especially of the *Palatinate*, were sent for hither and educated, partly in the University, and partly under able and godly Divines in the Countrey, whereby they might be fitted to do God and their Countrey service (when God should give them opportunity to return) having here been educated in the knowledge of our language, and the way of practical Preaching, which hath been no where more eminent then in *England*, (which work succeeded beyond expectation) he was one of the great actors therein, and did contribute liberally thereunto. The like assistance also he afforded to divers *Hungarians*, *Transilvanians*, and other strangers, who came over into *England* for the same reason.

His last sickness.

The time of his sickness was not long; for having spent much of his natural strength in his constant labours in the service of God; there was the lesse work for sickness to do; His deportment therein was holy and heavenly; His humility, faith, patience, and submission to Gods Will, eminently appearing from time to time, and his discourse full of heavenly expressions till the time of his death.

Not long before his death, when one had read to him the 38 Chapter of *Isaiah*, (having then some little hopes of his recovery) and ready to go to prayer, he desired him to stay a while that he might pray first, which he did briefly, (as his



his weaknesse would permit) but very fully, both for himself, the Kingdom, the Church of God, and all to whom he stood in any Relation, The heads whereof were soon after written as near as might be in his own words, so far as the memory of those that were then present could call them to mind.

First, blessing God for his goodnesse the night past.

*Blessed be God that hath been so good to us this night.*

Then praying in behalf of himself.

*Great God, heal the sinfulness of my nature.*

*Pardon all my transgressions.*

*Take from me a heart of unbelief, that I may not depart from thee the living God.*

*Deliver me from Temptation.*

*Accept of Jesus Christ for me.*

*Teach me to improve all Providences.*

*To live upon the Promises.*

*Let Christ be my life.*

*O Lord, let me never shrink from thee.*

For the good of the publique.

*Lord, turn the hearts of this Nation, and all our hearts.*

*Turn the heart of the King.*

*Sanctifie the Parliament, and make them faithfull.*

*Blesse the Assembly, and make them faithfull, and upright with thee.*

*Let not the Army do unworthily, but what thou wouldst have them to do.*

*Blesse all the Ministers.*

For other Nations.

*Lord, do good to Scotland, and the Churches in France.*

*Blesse New-England, and forraign plantations.*

For the places to which he was related.

*Lord, provide a faithfull man for Queens-Colledge.*

*A faithfull man for this place, (New Church in Westminster.)*

*H faithfull Pastor for those in the Countrey.*

For Friends, and those about him.

*Lord, Remember all those that have shewed kindness to me, and have taken pains with me, and recompence them. Thou hast promised that he which giveth a Cup of water in the name of a Disciple, and he that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall have a Prophets reward.*

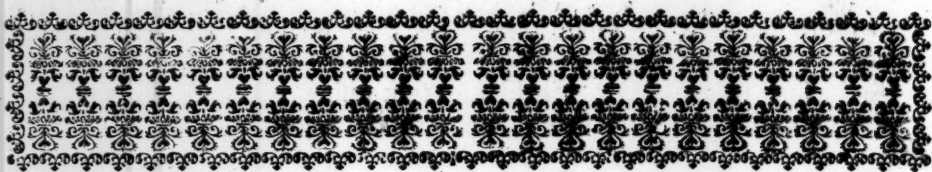
Afterwards (having forgotten to crave a blessing upon somewhat given him to take, he prayed, *Lord, pardon my neglect, and forgetfulness of thee; and deliver me from temptation, and the evil of temptation. Thou art holy if thou shouldst forsake us; Our Fathers trusted in thee, and were delivered. Lord, glorified thy name in my poor spirit, and let none of thy people, ever see me shrink from thee for Jesus Christ his sake.*

Being spoken to, to cast the burden of his sickness and pain upon God, he answered, *I should do very unworthily, if when I have preached to others, that they should cast their burdens upon God, I should not do so my self.*

In these and many other the like Christian expressions, he did manifest the same favour of holiness even to the time of his death, which had been constantly discovered in the time of his life. He departed this life, Anno Christi 1647. and of his age 46. having served God faithfully and painfully in his generation, being a very great Instrument of much good, and an excellent pattern for imitation. His body lieth interred in the New-Church at Westminster, and his Memory yet liveth in the minds of those that knew him.

His Prayer  
before  
death.

His death.



## *The Life and Death of Mr. Samuel Crook, who dyed Anno Christi 1649.*

His Birth.



*Amuel Crook* was born at *Great Waldingfield* in the County of *Suffolk*, Jan. 17. Anno Christi 1574. He was a Prophet, and the Son of a Prophet, even of that great, and famous Light, Doctor *Crook*, a Learned, and Laborious Divine, who was sometimes a Preacher to the Honourable Society of *Greys-Inn*; A Gentleman well descended, and of an ancient Family.

His Education.

This our *Samuel* was in his younger years trained up in *Merchant Taylors School* in *London*, and having perfected his Studies there, he was sent to the University of *Cambridge*, and admitted into *Pembroke Hall*, where he was first Scholar, and afterwards chosen Fellow of that House, being chosen by the unanimous consent, and suffrage of all, but the Master, upon whose refusal, he was soon after Elected, and admitted one of the first foundation of Fellows in *Emanuel Colledge*, where, until this day his name is precious, being preserved in their Library amongst their choicest Ornaments of that House in the Catalogue of their first Fellows, thus written;

*Master Samuel Crook, Batchelour in Divinity.*

His Proficiency.

From his very youth he was highly esteemed in that University, both for his candid, and ingenuous behaviour in a comely person, as also for his pregnant parts, ready wit, great industry, and answerable proficiency in all kinds of Polite Learning, which renders a man more expedite, and exquisite for any worthy, and noble employment, and is more especially preparatory, and introductory to the Study of Sacred *Divinity*: which being observed, and taken notice of, he was first made choice of to be the *Rhetorick* Reader, and afterwards was advanced to be *Philosophy* Reader in the Publick Schools, both which places he performed with general applause.

His Preference.

His youthly labours.

Amongst his other youthly employments, he translated *Virgils Eclogues*: The first, and second Books of his *Aeneids*: *Juvenals* first *Satyre*, and most of the memorable speeches both in *Virgil*, and other Poets; All which were clear demonstrations of his ingenious capacity, and ingenuous sufficiency.

And, to shew that his heart; Even in his youth was drawn Heaven-ward (from whence his wit was sanctified) he translated divers of *Dauids Psalms*, and composed several Sacred *Hymnes* of his own: Some of which he sung with tears of joy and desire in his last sickness, having a sweet voice, and good skill in *Musick*.

In his younger years also, he was a constant, and diligent hearer, and great admirer of that man of God, Master *William Perkins*, and a Reverend Observer of all the most eminent men of that Time, who were famous in their

Gene-



Generation, carefully, and safely laying up, in the faithfull Treasury of his Memory what he heard from them; which was an evident presage of his future abilities, and that he was likely to become a skilfull Master Builder in the House of God, and an excellent Instrument of winning many souls unto Christ.

He was acute in the *Greek*, and well skilled in the *Hebrew* and *Arabick* A good Lin- Tongues, which he sparingly made use of, only upon necessary occasions, not for guist. ostentation, to amuse such hearers as seem to be most pleased with what they least understand; But for the more full, and clear opening of the Text, and giving the genuine interpretation thereof from its Divine Originals, whose full sense, and native Elegancies (proper to every Language) cannot always be expressed to the life without recourse to the Fountains. For as St *Austin* saith, *Habet omnis Lingua sua quaque propria genera locutionum, qua cum in aliam linguam transferuntur, videntur absurda*: Every Language hath its proper kind of speeches, which being translated into another Tongue, seem to be absurd.

He very well understood, and spake the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish* Tongues, and had read very many grave, and witty Authors in each of them, whereof, by the excellency of his wit, he made admirable use even in *Divinity* (which What use now adays many illiterate persons, most audaciously, and presumptuously de- he made of file with unhallowed hearts, and unwashed hands) he being able by an holy them. *Alchemy* (as was said of *Virgil*, *Aurum de Stircore*: he could draw gold out of a Dunghil) to make every thing serve to his powerfull persuasions, wherein he excelled.

He likewise studied *History*, *Politicks*, and *Physick*, of all which he made excellent use in his amplifications, illustrations, and insinuations of more Divine Subjects. Every thing furnished him with more moving expressions of his sweet notions in Prayer, and Preaching, which made him a burning as well as a shining Light with greater brightness and lustre. A good Artist.

While he was yet a Fellow in *Emanuel Colledge*, in a due compliance with the pious Statutes of that House, he entred into the Office of the Ministry, His Ordina- Sept. the 24th, *Anno Christi* 1601, which he took not upon him as a shelter to save a Fellowship, but to gain souls unto God: For which purpose he immediately betook himself to that Evangelicall work of Preaching, for the His pre- most part at a place called *Coxton*, not far from *Cambridg*, and in some o- ching. ther places, thereabouts; where (besides the prosecution of his other studies, and performance of sundry exercises in the Colledge) he had preached twenty eight Sermons within the space of eleven moneths: which was a rare thing in those times, when the Fellows of Houses were rather hinderers than furtherers of so good a work, if undertaken by younger men.

After he was transplanted from that Nursery, and settled in a Pastorall His Grati- charg many miles distant from that University; to shew his thankfull acknow- tude. ledgment of the honorary supports of his breeding received from those famous Seminaries, he gave to the Library of *Pembroke-Hall* Great *Basilis Works*, *Greek* and *Latine* in two Volumes in *Folio*, with these Verses written in them, which discovered a specimen of his happy strain, and *Genius* of purer Poetry, as well as his gratefull minde:

*Qua mihi formasti teneros impuberis annos  
Grande va, at gravida ingenii felicibus Aula  
Pembrochia, Fas sit minimo, veneranda tuorum  
Ingentis tenuem officii deponere partem.*

And to *Emanuel Colledge* Library, he gave all the *Councils* in *Greek*, and *Latine* of *Bipius* Edition in *Folio*, in five Volumes, with these verses:

*Sacra Standarda, & studiis Domus hospita sacris  
Emanuel, mihi qua juvenilibus arbitra capis  
Culturam, comites, victum, & gratissima Musis  
Otia porrexti! sic te nascentia porro  
Fecundam claris mirentur secula natis,  
Donato ut liceat tantillum reddere tantis.*

And to the University Library he gave all Gregory Nazianzens, and Gregory Nissens Works, Greek and Latine, in four Volumes in Folio, with these Verses:

*Accipe parva tui Opuscula, Mater, Alumni,  
Sic te perpetua florentem pube, Nepotum  
Sera Manus, Sophia lumen, morumq; Magistram,  
Artis Praesidium, Britonum decus, Orbis amorem:  
Delicias Regum, & fidei venerentur Asylum.*

His remove  
to Wrington

Having thus traced his wayes, and procedure in the University, we must now follow him into the Country: For in September Anno Christi 1602, he was by the cleer, and good providence of God (without the concurrence of the plottings, and contrivances of cunning, or insinuating Friends) fairly, and freely called to the Pastorall charg of a great Flock at Wrington, a Market-Town in the County of Sommerfet, being presented thereunto by that Honourable, and famous Knight Sir Arthur Capel of Little Hadam in Hertford-shire, Great Grand-Father to the Lord Capel now living.

His Industry and  
Prudence.

There did he (in obedience to his Call) forthwith settle himself, and immediatly he set upon the work for which he was sent, viz. to instruct, and turn unto righteousness that great people, who had never before enjoyed the blessing of a Preaching Minister, or Ministry amongst them (which therefore required the greater skill, and industry of the spirituall Husbandman to manure, and manage, such an incultured plot) so that he was to them (if not to the whole Country adjacent) the first that by Preaching the Gospell, brought Religion into credit, and discovered to them the Heavenly Canaan, which before was to most of them a Terra incognita, as an unknown-land, and thereby left them much richer both in spirituals, and temporals than he found them. Insomuch that he might at length, in a proportion, say of that place as Augustus, the Emperour, did of Rome, *Lateritiam reperi, marmoream reliqui*: I found it built of bricks, but I left it built of marble.

His Contentment,

Master Crook having thus pitched, and fixed his Pastorall staff, as he never sought higher, or other earthly preferments (though his capacity, and credit was well known to be such as made him capable of, and opened a ready way for it) so he never accepted of any additions, or accessions of maintenance, or honour, though they were Honourably profered by such Persons as were able to have advanced him.

His holy life

As for the course of his Ministry, and deportment: His progress was answerable to his beginings: Yea, his works were most and best at the last: For as he Preached, so he practised: His whole life being but one continued Commentary upon his Doctrine, and an exemplary Sermon consisting of living words, or of words translated into works, as will further appear in its due place.

His esteem

Few men ever came into a place with greater expectation, which yet he not only satisfied, but exceeded it. Few men could draw after them those affections, and admirations which he did; which also were so far from cooling, and diminishing, as that they encreased, and that deservedly, to his last, rather than decreased amongst all that had learned Christ in humility, and truth.

And



And as for those few silly seduced ones, who were carried away towards his latter end, with a spirit of giddiness, through the secret, and subtle insinuations, and whisperings of false Teachers, in corners (who with as much ignorance as confidence delude the simple, by great swelling words of vanity, and uncouth phrases, abhorrent from Christian Religion, sobriety, and truth, and which wise men lament, while fools, who are ignorant of the depths, and methods of Satan, applaud, and admire) endeavoured in their virtigenous fits, to eclipse his credit, and splendour: yet his pious, and affectionate Essayes to reclaim them with the spirit of meekness, as also his fervent Prayers, and yearning Bowels for their reducing, turned all their revilings to his greater lustre, and glory, amongst all such as were able to discern of things that differ, and willing to approve the things that are excellent.

Not long after Master Crook's first settling in this his Pastorall charge, he happily married a Wife of his own Tribe, and after his own heart, who was the eldest daughter of that Reverend Master Walsh, an holy, and painfull Minister in Suffolk, a great, and rare Light in his time, and Famous for his Ministeriall labours, his fervent zeal, and abundant charity. She was a very prudent, and gracious woman, a most loyall, loving, and tender wife, zealous and active for his encouragement, credit, and comfort in all things, especially in his Ministry; To which she constantly bore such hearty respect, and reverence, as did much quicken, and enlarge him in the work of the Lord. She was also continually studious, and carefull to free, and ease him of all emergent occasions, avocations, and businesses of ordinary concernment, that so he might with the more freedom follow (what his soul most delighted in) his diviner employments, and enjoy himself, and Friends in his necessary relaxations. In a word, her behaviour was such as becometh holiness, a teacher of good things to the younger women, and in her Family a worthy pattern, and a great promoter of godliness in all that conversed with her, and to her Husband a meet help indeed, and so she continued all the dayes of their conjugall relation. Children he left none, besides those spiritually begotten unto Christ by his labours in the Gospell.

His Marriage.

His Wives character.

His great frequently, was almost beyond all example: For he constantly preached (if in health) thrice a week, besides his extraordinary labours on many emergent occasions which he cheerfully embraced, as rejoycing in all opportunities of doing good, and that abroad as well as at home.

His great pains.

In all his Sermons (which were many thousands) his expressions were choice, grave, solid, weighty, savoury, and seasonable: His applications home, and pertinent, strongly enforced, and set on from Divine authority by a sweet, and moving elocution, a masculine eloquence, fervent zeal, and strength of love to the souls of the hearers.

His manner of preaching.

He knew very well how to set forth *καλὰ, καλῶς*, abstruse points plainly, and how to manage *κατὰ, κατ'αὐτὴν*, plain truths elegantly; *not in the words of mans wisdom, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth*: Always speaking in Christ, as of God in the sight of God.

He was not like one that makes a Feast once a moneth, or once a quarter, letting his Family beg or starve in the intervals; Nor like such as visit the Pulpit twice every Sabbath day, yet bring no new matter with them scarce once a moneth; But still are setting on the same dishes with a little new garnish, even unto nauseousness: But our Master Crook, as he layed in richly, so he layed out liberally, and prudently, like a ready Scribe instructed in the Kingdom of God; Or a good Householder, who brings forth of his treasury, things both new, and old.

And albeit he could by his quick invention, profound Judgment, and faithful memory (things rarely meeting in the same man) dexterously dispatch that

that

## The Life of Master Samuel Crook.

that with little labour which costs other men much pains; Yet he seriously professed with rejoycing, that he never durst serve God with that which cost him nothing, well knowing that industry adds weight, and respect both to the matter, and speaker, whereby his words became *as goads and nails fastened by that great Master of the Assemblies, which are given from one Shepherd.*

**His Motto.** His Motto was, *Impendam, & expendar*: I will spend, and be spent, which he cheerfully verified. For he counted not his life dear in comparifon of preaching the Gospell, and of *finishing his course with joy*, and the Ministry he had received from the Lord *Jesus*, to testifie the Gospell of the Grace of God. When he was told by his *Physician* (who was very careful to preserve his life) that he might live longer if he would preach seldom: *Alas!* (said he) *If I may not labour, I cannot live! What good will life doe me, if I be hindred from the end of living?*

*Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causam?*

**His Industry.** When through age, and weakness, he was disenabled from travelling abroad, any more to perfume other Congregations with the sweet odours of his pretious ointment: And when by reason of his years, and infirmities, he might very well (as an *emeritus miles*) have sued out (even in the Court of Heaven it self) a Writ of ease, and have passed the rest of his dayes in rejoycing over his Triumphs, and Trophies: Yet would he never give over studying, and Preaching, till all strength of Body gave him over. Yea he often preached, even when his legs almost refused to carry him any more to Church, and that with much spirit, and unexpected vivacity, even as a mighty man refreshed with the Wine of Gods Spirit. And being (some years before his departure) sensible of the daily approaches of Death (which he long expected) to his exhausted, and decayed body, almost ready to be deserted of its Divine Soul; he did severall times preach his own Funerall Sermon (as supposing he should never preach more) and that not without tears, proceeding from the grief of his loving and beloved Hearers.

**His hospitality.** And when after such preaching, and rejoycing in it, he invited (as his constant manner was) such Ministers, and Friends as came to hear his Lecture, to his Table; he would force himself to sit with them (although for the most part he was forced to be silent, by reason of the expence of his spirits) and much rejoyced that he had once more imployed his Masters Talent, and enjoyed the precious society of Saints *in whom was all his delight.*

He used often, to say to his Friends, that rejoyced with him, and blessed God for him, *That he was nothing but a voice*, as being troubled at the decayes of nature growing upon him more, and more, whereby his feeble body was disenabled from serving his still active soul, and his Tongue being no longer able to speak out, at least not so often as he would have had it.

**His Self-deniall.** In his Ministry he never strove for vain glory, *nor of men sought he praise*, disdaining to stoop to the lure of popular applause: And therefore he ever shuned those more gay, and lighter flourishes of a luxuriant wit (which like beautifull weeds, make a fair shew at a distance, but stink neerer hand) wherewith the emptiest Cells affect to be most fraught; Like those, who for want of wares in their shops, set up painted boxes to fill up empty shelves. He fed not his flock with airy dews of effeminate *Rhetorick* (which a masculine Orator would shake off from his Pen, and lips (as St Paul did the Viper from his hand) nor yet with the jerks, and quibbles of a light spirit, which he ever abhorred as the excrementitious superfluities of frothy brains, and unhallowed hearts: But he ever led them out into the *green Pastures* of solid, and savoury truths, as their necessities, and capacities did require. He had (and alwayes administred τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα, rationally) unadulterated

*milk*



for Babes in Christ, καὶ τὴν σαρκαὶν τροφὴν, and strong meat for grown men.

He was a wise Master builder, who intending to raise a strong, and beautiful Fabrick, laid a solid Foundation, able, and sufficient to bear, and strength in his then all his superstructures. He therefore began his Ministry with a Strenuous Ministry: and perspicuous handling of such Texts as might discover to his People, the Divine Authority, sufficiency, purity, and Energy of the holy Scriptures, the ten Commandements, Articles of the Faith, the Lords Prayer, the Doctrine of the Sacraments, God in Trinity, his Decrees, Creation, Providence, of Sin, Christ, the New Covenant, the Fall of Man, the Mediator, the Gospel, Faith, Vocation, Regeneration, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, Glorification; the Church, the last Judgement, the Christian Warfare, and such like: All which in process of time, he opened, and applied, sometimes more largely, sometimes more briefly; but alwayes profitably and sweetly, as a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, but rightly dividing the word of truth in a practical way.

Out of all which in his more mature, and riper years, greatest strength of parts, and depth of judgement, he (after many serious reviews) compiled that excellently compacted Systeme of Divinity in a Catechetical way, which he deservedly intituled, *The Guid to true Blessedness*. And out of it he again extracted that lesser Catechisme which he often used, with very profitable, and delightfull explanations, both in his Congregation, and Family. A most profitable, course of teaching, and learning the true knowledge of Christ.

He went also through many intire Scriptures (which doth greatly try, and improve a Divine) and the more obscure any place was, the greater was his diligence, with happy success to bring light unto it. Difficulties which are Lions in the way of the sluggard, proved but spurs to his Industry.

He went over many of the *Psalms*, as the 1st. 2d. 4th. 6th. 10th. 14th. 19th. 22d. 45th. 50th. 122d. 127. The twelve first Chapters of *Isay*, *Lamentation* the 3d. *Habbacuk* the 3d. the Prophesie of *Malachy*. *Matthew* the 5th. 6th. and 7th. Chapters. All the Examples both of good, and bad men in the Scriptures, for imitation of the former, and detestation of the latter. All the Miracles, and Parables of Christ; All St. *Johns* Gospel (an admirable Commentary:) The twelfth of the Epistle to the *Romans*: the second Chapter of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*: the 2d. and 3d to the *Colossians*, the 2d to the *Thessalonians* Chap. 2. The Eleventh of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*: the 2d. and 3d Chapters of the *Revelations*, with many more, besides very many Texts suitable to the times on every occasion, being exceedingly happy in the choise, and prosecution of them.

Whensoever his Preaching day happened upon *January*, the 17. (which was his birth day) he still noted his years compleat, with this Penitentiall Epiphonema, ὁ Θεὸς ἐλεῖς μοι τὸ ἁμαρτανίον, God be mercifull unto me a sinner. A Memorable evidence of his pious sence of his own unworthiness in the sight of God, how much soever he was cried up, and esteemed by men. No excellency of natural abilities, no eminency of spiritual endowments, no acceptance of his labours ever puffed him up; but that he still walked in all Lowliness and humility towards all men, even in his greatest exaltations in the hearts of men.

Much might be said of his long continued course of Catechising, (that most profitable, and speedy way of implanting knowledge) by which he set up so great, and cleer a light in his Congregation, as will not only discover the wisdom, and excellency of the workman, and guid their feet in the wayes of truth, and holiness, who have been enlightned thereby: but much facilitate the further polishing of those living stones by succeeding Builders.

His Heavenly, and Divine spirit of Prayer, seemed to excel all other his excellencies, as will be attested, by all that heard him in publick: Or private, and that ever knew what a Prayer of Faith, Elevated to the highest pitch

pitch by the Holy Ghost, Meaneth, whether they ever found any to excell him: Or, many to come near him. O! those penitent, unbowelling Confessions, earnest deprecations, petitions, panting-longings, and sighings after God, and his Grace; those mighty powerfull Arguments whereby he set all home; Feeling Thanksgivings; and divine Raptures, carrying up his soul to Heaven in the sacred flames of his own Sacrifices; sweetly perfumed with the Incense of him, who presenteth all the Prayers of his Saints on the Altar of Grace.

He first brought conceived Prayer into use in those parts, wherein he was so happy, so free from impertinent expressions, and unnecessary repetitions, so rich in piercing Supplications, pathetical thanksgivings, and Gracious wrestlings with the Almighty; yea, so dexterous to apply himself to prefer all suits, and to fit every occasion (like an exquisite Archer, able to shoot to an hairs breadth,) and so prompt, and full in expressing the very hearts of those that indeed joyned with him, in whatsoever they desired for themselves or others, as if, by a kind of transmigration, their souls had passed into his, and spake the very bottom of their hearts by his Tongue, which their own could not utter.

And this was such an opening, and warming of his Hearers hearts before his Sermons, and such a sweet closing up of all after his Preaching, as added much to the power, and profit of all his labours, and was to him a transcendent advantage in his whole Ministry. And truly his example took so well with all the godly Ministers that heard him, that they accounted it their great happiness, and honour to follow, and imitate him (with whom yet very few could keep pace) in that most important part of a Ministers work, and office, whereby they might be the more able to pour out their souls, and the souls of their people into the bosom of the Almighty.

His long  
labors.

In the *Orb* of his publick Ministry, this fixed *Star* shined brightly (without the least *Eclipse*, or *retrograde* motion) somewhat above forty seven years. A long time for such a Lamp to burn, as he did: but his long continuance Ministred a fair opportunity of bringing many stragling sheep into *Christ* fold, the great Shepherd of our souls. Once indeed the last Bishop of that Diocess gave a stop to his *Tuesdayer Lecture*, but God in mercy to many, set it on again, and cast him that interrupted it out of his place, while this painfull, and faithfull labourer went on with his work.

His holy  
life.

So much for his publick Ministry: come we now to his private carriage. His whole Life was exemplary. Take him as a Christian, raised by his Ministeriall function to the height of a *Beacon* upon a hill, and so his light was great, and his smell very fragrant. He not only kept himself pure and *unspotted of the world*, but his light so shined, that both good men glorified God by *seeking his good works*, and wicked, and foolish men had their mouths stopped by his *good conversation in Christ*, and were even enforced to give in testimony to it, maugre their Malice against his holiness, and worth.

In his Family, towards the Wife of his bosom, he walked as a *man of knowledge*, Wisdom, and great tenderness of love: Towards the rest of his household, as *David* professed he would do in the 101 *Psalms*, and as a Bishop of *Pauls* description, 1 *Tim.* 3. and *Titus* 1. Yea towards all, as a worthy pattern of love, zeal, humility, Meekness, temperance, patience, gravity, and of every good work.

What his constancy, pains, and diligence was in his study, the fruits of the great, and long travell of his mind, his Works (which praise him in all the Gates of *Sion*) do speak to all the world, beyond that can here be spoken of him. For when all is said that can be spoken, of him, so much cannot be said as his own industry speaks.

His Family  
carriage.

In his more vacant hours he was far from being idle, or unprofitable. Such as had the happiness (which was never denied to any that desired it) to partake



take of his private discourses, never returned empty from his full Magazine, if they brought but vessels capable of the overflowings of his rich mind, and heart. Very many excellent Lights in the Church have lighted their Torches at his *Celestial* fire. Many young Scholars have been marvellously improved by his prudent, and pious directions, and encouragements in their studies, which now are become excellent instruments in the Church of *Christ*.

If after his preaching he found no mention made of his Sermon, by which he might Collect, that probably some benefit had been reaped by it, he would be much dejected, as if the fault had been in his preaching (even then when he seemed to excell himself,) rather than in his Hearers, and used to say, *That if he had preached better, they would have profited more.*

If any Christians, came to him for resolution in cases of Conscience, or for His skil to counsell in straits, or for comfort in spiritual desertions, or for healing of a comfort o- wounded spirit; as God had given him an excellent spirit of discerning to thers. judge of their condition, and of the most seasonable applicatives; and an exquisite dexterity to speak *a word in season to the weary*, and fainting soul; so he was never shie, Coy: Or difficult to be spoken with, nor lofty, or supercilious to any to whom he gave access; but shewed forth all tenderness, pity, and compassion to them: he heard them fully, and patiently, and wisely administred to their several distresses, and ever sent them away (as its said that *Titus Vespasianus* did his suitors) not only not grieved, but very well satisfied, and abundantly comforted.

He was very bountifull to his kindred that needed it, and then most, when their necessities swelled highest. He was very charitable, and open handed to the poor members of *Jesus Christ*: And albeit his Charity shined most to those of his own Flock, yet was it not shut up from strangers, but he was very liberal to them also as he found occasion. Yea, when he went abroad to bestow the Gospel freely upon other Congregations adjacent, such poor as he found to be Hearers (unless they were known to him to take up hearing as a Cloke to cover their idleness, and neglect of their callings) never went home empty handed, but he alwayes warmed, and cheered them with his bounty, as well as instructed them with his Doctrine. His Charity

How much he was given to Hospitality, Gentlemen, Ministers, Neighbours, Strangers, and the Poor, must needs give in such an ample testimony as will hardly be credited by such as knew him not, and are strangers to a bountifull heart. He spared from himself to administer unto others; minding more the wooing of many to receive benefit by his Ministry (some of whom might perhaps at first follow him for the Loaves) than to lay up largely for such as he should leave behind him: and choosing rather to be at a Continual charge to encourage men by his bounty) than to suffer them to be unprovided for, when they came to partake of his Ministry. His hospitality.

When he conversed with Ministers, his Humility usually put him into the place of a Learner: But in Learning he taught, and by teaching he learned more. He was so good, and skillfull a *Chymick*, that he seldom parted with such company, till he had gotten something by them: yet were they sure to be the greatest gainers, and he alwayes accounted it the best bargain, when others were gainers by him. His humil- ty.

His constant, and continuall preaching, seldom allowed him the much desired opportunity of hearing others: but when he could enjoy that benefit, he greedily laid hold of it: and then would this painfull Bee, gather Hony from every Flower, making a good use of the meanest gifts, and improving his own rich Talent by dipping it into theirs. Nor was he ever heard, to slight or disparage the labours of any the least of his Brethren, that sincerely endeavoured to bring in souls unto *Christ*: But alwayes he encouraged them, and as he

found cause, informed, and directed them, and that in a prudent, and taking way, to their great advantage.

His Mirth.

In his mirth (to which he sometimes unbended himself to Recreate his over-wearied mind, that with renewed strength he might return to his more serious, and severer studies) he strictly observed the bounds of honesty, civility, modesty, and the gravity of his place; well considering, that the least dead fly in the *Apothecaries Choicest Oynment*, causeth it to send forth an unpleasing savour.

His Table-Talk.

The Table was usually the place of his greatest liberty in his kind, yet even there he would still interlace Mirth with some sprinklings of a more serious wit, which might instruct as well as exhilarate, and make cheerfull; and contained all within the limits of sobriety, without biting *Sarcasmes*, or unbecoming scurrility. And usually he closed all with reading some portion of Scripture, and giving some short, and profitable instructions thereupon, which might administer Grace to the Hearers, and leave a sweet savour, and relish upon their spirits, and whole converse.

His Character.

To give you a true, and full Character of this whole deportment in few words. He was a good, and a faithfull *Steward* in his Masters house, *always abounding in the work of the Lord*; A Pillar in the house of his God, never weary of his Lords work, but best pleased when he had done most service. His conversation was immaculate, and unblamable: His behaviour uniform, and universally pious. He was grave without austerity, pleasant without levity: Courteous without dissembling: Free in discourse where he might profit, yet reserved where he saw cause: He was seldom the first speaker although he was best able to speak. He loved usefull discourse, but abhorred froth, and babling. Hewas witty without vanity, facetious without girding, or grieving of others. He knew his place, yet was not insolent: Resolute he was, but not willfull: He maintained his authority, but was not haughty. A great Master he was of his own Passions, and Affections, and thereby abundantly furnished with the more abilities, and embellishments that most attract, and maintain the dearest love, the deepest reverence, and highest respect. He was a great admirer of Learning, and Piety in others, though they were far below himself in both: His affections were above, though he were below: He conversed more with Heaven than with earth while he remained on it, and is now, *A Crown of Glory in the hand of the Lord, and a Royall Diadem in the hand of his God*, as being an ornament unto Heaven it self.

His long life

He lived in the world seventy five years (within one moneth,) in which long race he saw many sad changes, and sore storms beating hard upon the Church, tossed with tempests, and not yet at Anchor. But never was *David* more distressed for his dearest *Jonathan*, than this man of Bowels was for the Calamities of the dear Spouse of *Christ*. He was most incessantly inquisitive after the Churches estate in all Countries; A sad Lamentor of all her afflictions; A daily Orator, and mighty Advocate for her at the Throne of Grace, and never enjoyed himself, but when he descried her under sail towards some Creek, or Haven, wherein she might find comfort, and rest: being much in Prayer and Fasting for her full reformation, and perfect deliverance.

His sympathy.

Prayer and Fasting.

Some good hopes whereof he conceived in the prosperous achievements of the Great *Gustavus Adolphus*, late King of *Sweden* (*semper Augustus*.) But when he by the sad, and unsearchable providence of the onely wise God, suddenly and untimely fell, in the full carriere of his Victories and of the Churches hopes, and that the Christian world was by his fall hurled from the height of so great expectation, he continually mourned over the unhappy setting of that glorious *Northern Star*, as a sad presage of all the inundations of miseries since befallen, and that still are rising higher, and higher upon the Church of *Christ*, the quick, and deep sence whereof lay close upon his heart to his dying day.

Neither



Neither was he without his sufferings, and dangers in our uncivil Civil Wars. He was affronted by rude Ruffians, and bloody minded Souldiers, who tyrannized over him in his own house; Not permitting him quietly to enjoy himself, and his God in his private study, to which he often retired, not only from their insolencies, but from their Blasphemies: Even thither would they pursue him with drawn swords, vowing his instant Death; for not complying with them in their bloody engagements. Yet it pleased that gracious God whom he had so faithfully served, to preserve him for further service, and to make that an hiding place for his preservation which they intended for his slaughter house, and after all, to bring him to his end in peace.

When he had faithfully served his Generation, by the will of God, in the Gospel of his Son, for above forty seven years, he was gathered to his Fathers in a good old Age, full of Days and Honour, by a blessed, and happy Death (the certain result of an holy life) Decemb. 25. Anno Christi 1649. the day formerly used for celebrating the Nativity of his great Lord and Master, the Lord Jesus Christ.

The last Testimony, of the Peoples great love to him must not be forgotten, by any that desire to preserve his precious memory in their hearts with honour. This amply appeared by their great lamentation, and mourning for him in his sickness, and at his Death, and sad Exequies. His Funerall was extraordinarily celebrated, not only by the voluntary confluence, of the greatest number of People that ever crouded into the spacious Fabrick of that Church; And by many Hundreds more there assembled about the door, which were unable to get in: But by multitudes of Gentlemen, and Ministers, all striving to out-mourn each other, standing about his Hearse with tears, recounting his excellent Labors, his fruitfull Life, their great profiting by him (as sometimes the widows about Peter, weeping, and shewing the coats, and garments which Dorcas made while she was with them) every one aggravating their griefs, and losses in his gain, and striving who should honour him most in bearing his Body to the bed of Rest.

The Testimony given him at his Interment, by him who performed that last office of love with many tears, and which he knowingly spake from his long, and intimate acquaintance, and conversing with him almost forty years together, take with you for a close in that Ministers own words out of the Pulpit.

‘Although (said he) Funeral Orations are commonly, either the vain flourish of mercenary tongues, or the weak supports of an emendicated fame, And since good mens works shall praise them in the gates, it is but to light a candle to the Sun: And since bad mens works cannot be covered with so thin a daub; It is but to paint a rotten Post. Yet some Testimony is due to such as having obtained a more eminent place in Christs mystical Body, the Church, have also been instruments of more than ordinary good to his Members. Samuel died a Judge, a Prophet; a Great man, a Good man in Israel, and all the Israelites were gathered together (to Honour his Obsequies) and lamented him, and buried him, 1 Sam. 25. 1.

‘To say nothing then of so rich a Cargazon, so full a Magazine, so rare a subject of all commendable qualities, and admirable endowments, were a frustrating of your eager expectations.

‘To say little, were a wrong to him that deserved so much; To say much, were both a derogation from his merits, that may challenge, and an imputation upon your Judgements and affections that will acknowledge more due, than I can now deliver. Nevertheless, since the memoriall of the Just is a sweet perfume, give me leave to strew a few of his own flowers upon his Hefse, and I will discharge your Patience.

‘His holy Life, and conscientious courses, his constant Labors thrice a week in the Ministry of the Gospel (unless in times of sickness, or necessitated restraint) for the space of forty seven years (wherein he could give an account of above seven thousand elaborate Sermons preached by him) are so well known, not only in this, or the neighbour Parishes, but through the whole County, and the Country round about, that I need not mention them.

‘Few men ever ran so long a Race without cessation, or cessation, so constantly, so unweariedly, so unblamably.

‘All which time he was a *burning, and a shining light*, joyfully spending, and being spent for the good of Gods people. Many, many of whom he hath guided to Heaven before him, who received the beginnings of spiritual life from his Ministry; And many more shall walk in that light after him.

‘And from his splendid Lamp, divers faithfull Ministers (some Triumphant before him, some Militant after him) have lighted their Candles: His *Tuesdays Lecture* being more profitable to teach usefull Divinity than an *Academy*, whereby he did not only, *Dolare lapides, sed Artifices*.

‘Two things (rarely met in one man) were both eminent in him: A quick invention, and a sound judgement, and these accompanied with a clear expression, and a gracefull elocution. To which Integrity, and Humility being joyned, made him a transcendent Ministry, and a compleat Christian.

‘In his sickness (full of biting pains, which he bore with great Patience) it was his greatest grief that God had taken him off from his labour, which was his life and joy. His heavenly mind (like the heavenly bodies) counted his work no weariness. If he were weary in work, he was yet never weary of work. His spirit was still willing when the flesh was weak: And he often used to say in his health, *Si per hanc viam mors, sum immortalis*: And in his weakness, *Odi artus, fragilemque hunc corporis usum desertorem animi*.

‘And when he saw no more ability for labors, he accounted it superfluous to live; And chearfull, not only yielded, but patiently desired to die in a satiety, and fulness of life; not as meat loathed (as many times natural men do) but as a dish, though well liked, that he had fed his full of.

‘He had his intellectuals strong in a weak body; Witness his last Swan-like song in this place, the sweet Doctrine of our Adoption in *Iesus Christ*, on *Rom. 8. 16.* (so far he had gone in that Chapter) most clearly, and accurately delivered, and aptly distinguished from Justification: and Sanctification Yet that day, *October 16.* going to Church, and sensible of his own weakness, he said to a dear Friend (who told him that he came to see, and hear him) perhaps it may be my last; As to all our loss, it was indeed.

‘And as if his motion in Gods work, had been natural, he was more quick, more vigorous toward his Center, and, like the Sun, shewed his greatest light, when he was nearest his setting.

‘His last Ministerial duty privately done in great weakness of Body (unable to go to the Church) was the Baptizing of two children, wherein he streamed such beames of Divinity; Sounded such bowels of Humanity, shewed such sweetness of affection to his charge, that I seriously wished his whole Congregation had heard him, in this departing farewell, And being told how well it was approved, he replied with tears, in great humility, *Lord, what am I? What am I?*

‘To divers of his loving Neighbours, visiting him, he often protested, that Doctrine that he had taught them, was the truth of God, as he should answer at the Tribunal of *Christ*, whereunto he was hastening, exhorting them  
‘to



‘to stand fast therein, as he most affectionately prayed for them, professing of  
‘them with joy, *I have kind friends, kind neighbours, Lord reward them all,*  
‘and grant they may find mercy with him in that day.

‘His desire was to give to his Neighbours (if enough could have been  
‘had) his Printed *Catechism*, which (to my knowledge) hath had the ap-  
‘probation, and commendation of the profoundest, and accutest Judgements  
‘in both Universities; And well it might, being a compleat Body of *Orthodox*  
‘*Divinity*, and to have this assertion of the Apostle *Peter* written before it,  
‘--- *Exhorting, and testifying that this is the true Grace of God wherein ye*  
‘*stand*--- and to subscribe his name to it.

‘After he had in himself received the sentence of death approaching (which  
‘he chearfully did, when he saw no more likelihood of Labour) he desired  
‘his Friends not to pray for his life; But *pray God* (said he) *for Faith,*  
‘*for Patience, for Repentance, for joy in the Holy Ghost;* And the Lord heard  
‘him in that he desired; For he was a rare pattern in all these, as (amongst  
‘many others) these gracious words of his may witness, *Lord* (said he) *cast*  
‘*me down as low as Hell in Repentance, and lift me up by faith to the highest*  
‘*Heavens in confidence of thy salvation.*

‘I wish our proud, presumptuous, impenitentiaries had heard him crying for  
‘Repentance, and seen him weeping for Grace. It might, perhaps, have  
‘melted their stony Hearts.

‘As he was full of days, so was he full of grace, full of peace, full of as-  
‘surance, The *Tuesday* before he departed, *This day seven night* (said he) *is*  
‘*the day on which we have used to remember Christ's Nativity, and on which*  
‘*day I have preached Christ; I shall scarce live to see it; But, For me was*  
‘*that Child born, unto me was that Son given, who is, Wonderfull, Counsellor,*  
‘*the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace.*

‘And no less full was he of true Honour for his worth, and work-sake in  
‘the hearts of all that feared God; His memory shall be blessed, and his  
‘name a sweet perfume to posterity, when the names of his reproachfull  
‘scorners (the last brood of *Beelzebub*) shall rot, and stink, and be an abhor-  
‘ring to all flesh.

‘He is now come to the end of his labour, and the beginning of his rest.  
‘His work was with his God, and his reward shall be from his God: Now  
‘he sees the blessed, and blessing face of God, which is the glory of all  
‘sights, and the sight of all glory.

‘Thus set this bright *Occidental Star*: A Star of the first *Magnitude*. One  
‘of the first, and I dare say (without envy of any, that knew him, and  
‘that knows himself) one of the most glorious Lights that ever shone in this  
‘Orb, or ever is like to arise in this *Horizon*. O! how is such a publick  
‘loss to be lamented! Of such a Champion of *Christ*! Such an *Atlas* of  
‘the Truth! that set his shoulders to support the shaken pillars thereof in  
‘these days of abounding, and abetted errors.

‘Well may this Parish mourn, well may this Country, well may his  
‘Friends, his Family: Well may we of the Ministry bewail it, saying, O  
‘*my Father, my Father, the Chariots of Israel, and the Horsemen thereof! Ab*  
‘*my Brother, my Brother! I am distressed for thee, very pleasant hast thou been*  
‘*unto me: Lovely and gracious in Life, lovely and glorious in Death.*

— Hen tua nobis  
Morte simul tecum solatia rapta!

‘I end in one word of Exhortation.

‘You that have heard the joyfull sound of this (now broken) silver  
‘Trumpet so long, remember that by the space of forty, and seven years,  
‘he ceased not to warn every one with tears: Remember what he hath spoken  
while

'while he lived: Remember what he yet speaks being Dead? Hold fast  
 'the form of sound words which ye have heard of him. Hold fast the  
 'faithfull word which he hath taught you. Hold fast the *Profession of*  
 'your Faith without wavering. Take heed of wolves: Beware of Dogs:  
 'Take heed of men: Men of perverse minds, speaking perverse things to  
 'draw disciples after them. Although the Prophets die, yet Gods word  
 'spoken by them shall live for ever, and will do good to them that walk up-  
 'rightly, and shall take hold on them that obey it not

'So let us leave our Brother in the Bed of Honour, till the joyfull morn-  
 'ing of the Resurrection of the just, when he, amongst them that have turn-  
 'ed many unto righteousness, shall shine as the Stars, for ever, and  
 'ever.

*The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, Psal. 112. 6.*

The issues of his brain and heart made publick, were only these;

His Works First, that exquisite, and accurate, *Guide to true blessedness* (so often re-  
 printed, and so highly esteemed by all that read it through, with understand-  
 ing, and care.

Then (at several times) he gave way to four occasional, and select Sermons,  
*viz. The Waking sleep. The Ministerial Husbandry. The Discovery of the*  
*Heart; and Death subdued.*

That wherein he had taken most pains (which since is published in Print  
 by Docter *Burges*, and Master *William Gregory*) is an excellent Treatise,  
 wherein his main design, in very apposite, and acutely distinguishing Cha-  
 racters, was to lay open, not those more apparent, and obvious contrarieties  
 of vertues in Holy, and vices in wicked men, evident unto ordinary capaci-  
 ties upon the first aspect; But the more hidden, and less discerned differ-  
 ence between the plausibly-seeming vertues of evil men, and the real Graces  
 of the truly Godly: As likewise between the reigning sins of Hypocrites, and  
 the daily infirmities of the Saints, which many times, even by quick-sighted  
 Spectators, are both mistaken.

In prosecution whereof, he first brings forth the Hypocrite in his best  
 drefs, and attire, and then sets by him a Regenerate man living up to his  
 Rule: Adding the differences between them, thereby to unmask the Hy-  
 pocrite, and to detect his Incroachments upon the name, and priviledges of  
 the Saints. Secondly, he sets out a true Childe of God, labouring under  
 infirmities, and an Hypocrite under the power of sin (which cannot consist  
 with saving Grace) notwithstanding all his flourishes, that so he may clearly  
 distinguish a Christian in black, from a Counterfeit in white, and be-  
 tween the bewailed weakneses of the Saints, and the wilfull wandrings of  
 the wicked.

A work no less needfull to all, than gratefull to the Soul-sound, self-  
 searching Christian, that labours for sincerity, and the assurance of it. But  
 the iniquity of the times, full of Hypocrisie, and Atheism, hating, and hin-  
 dering such discoveries, and by all means discouraging those that would make  
 them (together with the Authors constant Employment, even unto the im-  
 pairing of his strength, and spirits in feeding his Flock) disabled him from  
 completing that admirable Piece.

Sundry other issues of his fertile, and excellent wit, and curious Invention,  
 he left behind him, as divers choice, and sacred *Aphorisms, Anatomica,*  
*Nosognostica, Pathologica, Therapeutica, Physiologica, and Prophylactica:* As  
 also divers Divine *Emblemes*, and *Similitudes*, All eminent demonstrations of  
 his exquisite abilities, and profitable improvements of them,





*The Life and Death of Master John Cotton,  
who died Anno Christi 1652.*



**J**ohn Cotton was born at Derby, Anno Christi 1584. His Parents were persons of considerable quality, and of good reputation. Their condition, as to the things of this life, competent: neither unable to defray the expences of his education in good literature, nor so abounding, as to be a temptation on the other hand unto the neglect thereof: and God, who had then predetermined this then tender plant, to be a Tree of Life, for the seeding of many thousands, and to be a chosen Vessel to bear his Name before the Nations, in way thereunto, he inspired his Parents with an effectual solicitude concerning the ordering of this their Son in his minority.

His Birth.

This care in his Parents was quickly above expectation answered in the first-fruits of their Sons proficiency, who more, and more encreased great hopes concerning him throughout the whole time of his minority, wherein he was trained up in the Grammar School of Derby.

His Education.

When he was about the age of thirteen, he was admitted into Trinity College in Cambridge, where his industry was great, and his profiting in the Arts, and Languages above his equals, so far commended him to the Master, and Fellows, as that he had undoubtedly been chosen Fellow of that College, had not their extraordinary expence about building of their great Hall at that time put it by, or at least, deferred their election, until some longer time.

He goes to Cambridge.

From Trinity he was removed to Emanuel, that happy Seminary both of Piety, and Learning: and in that Society the Lord gave him favour, so that in due time he was honoured with a Fellowship amongst them; when he was elected to it, after a diligent, and strict examination according to the Statutes of the Colledge; wherein this is not unworthy the taking notice of; that when the Poser came to examine him in the Hebrew Tongue, the place that he made trial of him by, was that portion of Scripture, *Isaiah* the third, wherein the Prophet declaims against the pride, and haughtiness of the *Daughters of Sion*; which Text hath more hard words in it, than any other place of the Bible, within so short a compass: and therefore, though a present construction, and resolution thereof, might have put a good *Hebrician* to a stand, yet such was his ability, and dexterity, as made those hard words facill, and easie, and rendred him a prompt respondent. And this providence is further remarkable about him, That whereas his Father (whose calling was towards the Law) was but obscure, and had not many Clients: that made use of his advice in Law-matters before; it pleased God after his Sons going to Cambridge, to bless him with great practice, so that he was very able to keep him there, and to allow him full, and liberal maintenance. Insomuch as this blessed man hath been oft heard to say, *God kept me in the University.*

His remove to Emanuel.

Gods providence.

Being thus advanced, he was in the place of improvement, beset with Examples as so many objects of better emulation. If he slacken his pace, his compeers

His Industry.

‘while he lived: Remember what he yet speaks being Dead? Hold fast  
 ‘the form of sound words which ye have heard of him. Hold fast the  
 ‘faithfull word which he hath taught you. Hold fast the *Profession of*  
 ‘*your Faith without wavering.* Take heed of wolves: Beware of Dogs:  
 ‘Take heed of men: Men of perverse minds, speaking perverse things to  
 ‘draw disciples after them. Although the Prophets die, yet Gods word  
 ‘spoken by them shall live for ever, and will do good to them that walk up-  
 ‘rightly, and shall take hold on them that obey it not

‘So let us leave our Brother in the Bed of Honour, till the joyfull morn-  
 ‘ing of the Resurrection of the just, when he, amongst them that have turn-  
 ‘ed many unto righteousness, shall shine as the Stars, for ever, and  
 ‘ever.

*The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, Psal. 112. 6.*

The issues of his brain and heart made publick, were only these;

His Works

First, that exquisite, and accurate, *Guide to true blessedness* (so often re-  
 printed, and so highly esteemed by all that read it through, with understand-  
 ing, and care.

Then (at several times) he gave way to four occasional, and select Sermons,  
*viz. The Waking sleep. The Ministerial Husbandry. The Discovery of the*  
*Heart; and Death subdued.*

That wherein he had taken most pains (which since is published in Print  
 by Docter *Burgefs*, and Master *William Gregory*) is an excellent Treatise,  
 wherein his main design, in very apposite, and acutely distinguishing Cha-  
 racters, was to lay open, not those more apparent, and obvious contrarieties  
 of vertues in Holy, and vices in wicked men, evident unto ordinary capaci-  
 ties upon the first aspect; But the more hidden, and less discerned differ-  
 ence between the plausibly-seeming vertues of evil men, and the real Graces  
 of the truly Godly: As likewise between the reigning sins of Hypocrites, and  
 the daily infirmities of the Saints, which many times, even by quick-sighted  
 Spectators, are both mistaken.

In prosecution whereof, he first brings forth the Hypocrite in his best  
 drefs, and attire, and then sets by him a Regenerate man living up to his  
 Rule: Adding the differences between them, thereby to unmask the Hy-  
 pocrite, and to detect his Incroachments upon the name, and priviledges of  
 the Saints. Secondly, he sets out a true Childe of God, labouring under  
 infirmities, and an Hypocrite under the power of sin (which cannot consist  
 with saving Grace) notwithstanding all his flourishes, that so he may clearly  
 distinguish a Christian in black, from a Counterfeit in white, and be-  
 tween the bewailed weaknesses of the Saints, and the wilfull wandrings of  
 the wicked.

A work no less needfull to all, than gratefull to the Soul-sound, self-  
 searching Christian, that labours for sincerity, and the assurance of it. But  
 the iniquity of the times, full of Hypocrisie, and Atheism, hating, and hin-  
 dering such discoveries, and by all means discouraging those that would make  
 them (together with the Authors constant Employment, even unto the im-  
 pairing of his strength, and spirits in feeding his Flock) disabled him from  
 compleating that admirable Piece.

Sundry other issues of his fertile, and excellent wit, and curious Invention,  
 he left behind him, as divers choice, and sacred *Aphorisms, Anatomica,*  
*Nosognostica, Pathologica, Therapeutica, Physiologica, and Prophylactica:* As  
 also divers Divine *Emblemes*, and *Similitudes*; All eminent demonstrations of  
 his exquisite abilities, and profitable improvements of them,

THE



*The Life and Death of Master John Cotton,  
who died Anno Christi 1652.*



*John Cotton* was born at *Derby*, Anno Christi 1584. His Parents were persons of considerable quality, and of good reputation. Their condition, as to the things of this life, competent: neither unable to defray the expences of his education in good literature, nor so abounding, as to be a temptation on the other hand unto the neglect thereof: and God, who had then predetermined this then tender plant, to be a Tree of Life, for the seeding of many thousands, and to be a chosen Vessel to bear his Name before the Nations, in way thereunto, he inspired his Parents with an effectual sollicitude concerning the ordering of this their Son in his minority.

His Birth.

This care in his Parents was quickly above expectation answered in the first-fruits of their Sons proficiency, who more, and more encreased great hopes concerning him throughout the whole time of his minority, wherein he was trained up in the *Grammar School of Derby*.

His Education.

When he was about the age of thirteen, he was admitted into *Trinity College in Cambridge*, where his industry was great, and his profiting in the Arts, and Languages above his equals, so far commended him to the Master, and Fellows, as that he had undoubtedly been chosen Fellow of that College, had not their extraordinary expence about building of their great Hall at that time put it by, or at least, deferred their election, until some longer time.

He goes to Cambridge.

From *Trinity* he was removed to *Emanuel*, that happy Seminary both of Piety, and Learning: and in that Society the Lord gave him favour, so that in due time he was honoured with a Fellowship amongst them; when he was elected to it, after a diligent, and strict examination according to the Statutes of the Colledge; wherein this is not unworthy the taking notice of; that when the Poser came to examine him in the *Hebrew Tongue*, the place that he made trial of him by, was that portion of Scripture, *Isaiah* the third, wherein the Prophet declaims against the pride, and haughtiness of the *Daughters of Stan*; which Text hath more hard words in it, than any other place of the Bible, within so short a compass: and therefore, though a present construction, and resolution thereof, might have put a good *Hebrician* to a stand, yet such was his ability, and dexterity, as made those hard words facill and easie, and rendred him a prompt respondent. And this providence is further remarkable about him, That whereas his Father (whose calling was towards the Law) was but obscure, and had not many Clients that made use of his advice in Law-matters before; it pleased God after his Sons going to *Cambridge*, to bless him with great practice, so that he was very able to keep him there, and to allow him full, and liberal maintenance; Inomuch as this blessed man hath been oft heard to say, *God kept me in the University*.

His remove to Emanuel.

Gods providence.

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His Industry.

compeers

## The Life of Master John Cotton.

His prudence.

compeers will leave him behind: and though he quicken it, there are still those that are before him: But he was, not only a lover of Labour, but Communicative of his Learning, and therefore he proved a diligent Tutor, and had many young Students committed to his care. He was a *Didactical* man, both able, and apt to teach: And truly ability to instruct youth argues a Wise man: and to be willing to teach, argues a good man: For goodness is communicative: And such was his *Academical* dexterity, that he could impart (as *Scaliger* speaks) the felicities of wit to his hearers, so accomodating and insinuating the matter in hand, as that his Pupils might both perceive their profiting, and taste the sweetness of that wherein they profited. Thus by his School stratagems he won the hearts of his Pupils both to himself, and to a desire of Learning: They were each to other as the Prophets, and the sons of the Prophets: His Pupils were honourers, and lovers of him: and he was a Tutor, a Friend and a Father unto them.

His Conversion.

The manner of his Conversion, according to his own relation was thus. During his residence in the University, God began to work upon him by the Ministry of Master *William Perkins* of blessed memory: But the motions, and stirrings of his heart which then were, he suppressed, thinking that if he should trouble himself with matters of Religion, according to the light he had then received, it would be an hinderance to him in his Studies, which then he had much addicted himself unto. Therefore he was willing to silence those suggestions, and inward Callings which he had from Gods Spirit, and did wittingly defer the prosecution of that work until afterwards. At length, as he was walking in the fields, he heard the Bell toling for Master *Perkins* who lay a dying, whereupon he was secretly glad in his heart, that he should now be rid of him, who had (as he said) laid siege to, and beleagured his heart. This became matter of much affliction to him afterwards, God keeping it upon his Spirit, with the aggravation of it, and making it an effectual means of convincing, and humbling him in the fight, and sense of the natural enmity that is in mans nature against God.

Afterwards hearing Dr. *Sibs* (then Mr. *Sibs*) Preaching a Sermon about Regeneration, wherein he shewed, First, what Regeneration was not, and so opening the state of a meer Civil man, Master *Cotton* saw his own condition fully discovered, which (through Gods mercy) did drive him to a stand, as plainly seeing himself, destitute of true Grace, all his false hopes, and grounds now failing him: and so he lay for a long time, in an uncomfortable despairing way: And of all other things this was his heaviest burden, that he had wittingly withstood the means, and offers of Grace, and mercy which he found had been tendered to him; Thus he continued till it pleased God to let in a word of Faith into his Heart, and to cause him to look unto *Christ* for his healing, which word also was dispensed unto him by the same Doctor *Sibs*, which begat in him a singular, and constant love to the said Doctor, of whom he was also answerably beloved.

That which first made him famous in *Cambridge*, was his Funeral Oration for Doctor *Some*, Master of *Peter House*, which was so accurately performed in respect of Invention, Elegancy, Purity of Stile, Ornaments of *Rhetorick*, Elocution, and Oratorious beauty of the whole, as that he was thenceforth looked at as another *Xenophon*, or *Musa Attica*, throughout the University.

His Oratory.

Some space of time intervening, he was called to Preach at St. *Maries*, where he Preached a University Sermon, with high Applause from the *Academical* Wits, insomuch as the fame of his Learning grew greater, and greater. And afterwards being again called to Preach in the same place (as one Oration of *Pericles* left his hearers with an Appetite after another) so the memory of his former accurate Exercises, filled the Colledges, especially the young Students, with a fresh expectation of such Elegancies of Learning, as made



as made them flock to the Sermon with an *Athenian* Itch after some new thing, as to the ornaments of *Rhetorick*, and abstruser notions of *Philosophy*. but his Spirit now favouring of the Cross of *Christ* more than of humane Literature, and being taught of God to distinguish between the *Word of Wisdom*, and the Wisdom of Words, his speech, and preaching, was not now with the enticing words of mans wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit, and of power.

The disappointed expectation of the Auditory, soon appeared in their countenances, and the discouragement of their non-acceptance, returned him unto his Chamber, not without some sad thoughts of heart: Where yet he had not been long, but lo, Doctor *Preston* (then Master *Preston*) knocks at his Chamber door, and coming in, acquainted him with his spiritual condition, and tells him how it had pleased God to work effectually upon his heart by that Sermon: After which Doctor *Preston* ever highly prized him, and both fully, and strongly, closed with him: which real Seal of God unto his Ministry much comforted his soul, far above what the present less acceptance of the Auditory had dejected him, or their former acceptance had encouraged him.

He converted Doctor Preston.

His *Concio ad Clerum*, or *Latine* Sermon, which he preached when he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity (which was after he had been at *Boston* about half a year) was very much admired, and commended. His Text was, *Mat. 5. 13. Vos estis sal terra: quod si sal insatuatus fuerit, quo salietur?* Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt hath lost its flavour, wherewith shall it be salted? In handling of which Text, both the weight of the matter, the Elegancy of Phrase, *Rhetorical* strains, Grave, Sweet, and spiritual pronunciation, rendred him yet more famous. The like did his answering of the Divinity Act in the Schools, having a very acute Opponent [Master *William Chappel*] to dispute with him. So that in *Cambridge* the name of Master *Cotton* was much set by.

His great Learning.

Unto this earthen Vessel, thus filled with Heavenly Treasure, the Inhabitants of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, made their address, saying, *Come and help us*. And in that Candlestick the Father of Lights placed this burning, and shining Light: To whom he removed from *Cambridge* about the twenty eight year of his Age. At his first coming, he met with some obstructions from the *Diocesan*, then Bishop *Barlo*, who told him that he was a young man, and therefore unfit to be set over such a divided people: Master *Cotton* being ingenious, and undervaluing himself, thought so too, and purposed to return to the Colledge again: But some of his *Boston* Friends, understanding that one *Simon Biby* was to be spoken with, who was near to the Bishop, they presently charmed him, and so the business proceeded without any further trouble, and Master *Cotton* was admitted into the place after their manner in those days.

His call to Boston.

Two things are here not unworthy our observation, which Master *Cotton* would sometimes speak of to his Friends: First, That in the beginning of his Ministry, he was exercised with some inward troubles which much dejected him. And indeed, good spirits are much bettered by their conflicts with the worst of spirits: Spiritual Preachers are often trained up in the School of temptation. So true is that *Theological maxime*, Meditation, Prayer, and Temptation, make a Divine. This Dispensation of the All-wise God, he afterwards found, not only to be beneficiall unto him, in preparing his heart for his work: but also, that it became an effectual means of his more peaceable, and comfortable settlement in that place, where the people were divided amongst themselves, by reason of a potent man in the Town, who adhered to another *Cambridge* man, whom he would fain have brought in. But when he saw Master *Cotton* wholly taken up with his own exercises of spirit, he was free from all suspicion of his being Pragmatical, or addicted to siding with this or that party; and, so both he and his party began to close more fully with him.

His Temptations.

Secondly, Whereas there was an *Arminian* party in that Town, some of whom were witty, and troubled others with Disputes about those points; by Gods blessing upon his Labours in holding forth positively such truths, as undermined the foundations of *Arminianism*, those Disputes ceased, and the Tenets of *Arminianism* were no more pleaded for. Thus God disposeth of the hearts of hearers, as that generally they are all open, and loving to their Preachers at their first entrance.

His Trou-  
bles.

For three or four years he lived, and preached amongst them without opposition. They accounted themselves happy (as well they might) in the enjoyment of him, both the Town and Country thereabouts being much bettered, and reformed by his Labours. But after he was not able to bear the Ceremonies imposed, his *Non-Conformity* occasioned his trouble in the Bishops Court at *Lincoln*, from whence he was advised to appeal to an higher Court: and imploying Master *Leveret* (who afterwards was one of the *Ruling Elders* of the Church of *Boston* in *New England*) to deal in that business, and he (like *Jacob*) being a plain man, yet piously subtile to get such a spiritual blessing, so far insinuated himself into one of the Proctors of that high-Court, that Master *Cotton* was treated by them, as if he were a Comformable man, and so was restored unto *Boston*.

His La-  
bours.

After this time he was blessed with a successfull Ministry unto the end of twenty years. In which space he on the *Lords Dayes* in the afternoons, went over the whole Body of Divinity in a *Catechistical* way thrice, and gave the heads of his Discourse to those that were young Scholars, and others in the Town, to answer his questions in publick in that Congregation: and after their Answers, he opened those heads of Divinity; and finally applied all to the edification of his people, and of such strangers as came to hear him. In the morning of the *Lords Dayes*, he preached over the first six Chapters of the Gospel of *St. John*: The whole book of *Ecclesiastes*; The Prophecie of *Zachariah*, and many other Scriptures; and when the Lords Supper was administered (which was usual every moneth) he preached upon, *1 Corinth. 11. & 2 Chron. 30.* the whole Chapter, besides some other Scriptures concerning that Subject. On his Lecture days, he preached through the whole first, and second Epistles of *John*; The whole Book of *Solomons Song*; the Parables of our Saviour set forth in *Matthews* Gospel to the end of Chapter the 16th. comparing them with *Mark* and *Luke*: He took much pains in private, and read to sundry young Scholars that were in his House, and to some that came out of *Germany*, and had his house full of Auditors: Afterwards, seeing some inconvenience in the Peoples flocking to his House, besides his ordinary Lecture on the *Thursdays*, he preached thrice more in publick on the week days: viz. on *Wednesdays*, and *Thursdays*, early in the mornings, and on *Saturdays* at three a Clock in the Afternoon. Only these three last Lectures were performed by him but some few years before he had another famous Colleague.

His Indu-  
stry.

He was frequent in Duties of Humiliation, and Thanksgiving: Sometimes he continued five or six hours in Prayer, and opening the Word: So indefatigable was he in the Lords Work: so willing to spend, and be spent therein. Besides, he answered many Letters that were sent him far and near, wherein were handled many difficult Cases of Conscience, and many doubts cleared to great satisfaction.

His holy  
Duties.

Gods Pro-  
vidence.

He was a man exceedingly beloved, and admired of the best, and revered of the worst of his Hearers. He was in great favour with Doctor *Williams*, the then Bishop of *Lincoln*, who much esteemed him for his Learning and when he was *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal, he went to King *James*, and speaking of Mr. *Cottons* great Learning and worth; the King was willing, notwithstanding his *Non-conformity*, to give way that he should have his *Liberty* in his Ministry without interruption: which was the more remarkable considering how that Kings Spirit was carried out against such ways. Also, the Earl of *Dorchester*, being at *Old Boston*, and



and hearing Master Cotton preaching about Civil Government, he was so affected with the wisdom of his words, and spirit, and that he did ever after highly account of him, and put himself forth what he could in the time of Master Cottons troubles to deliver him out of them, that so his Boston might still enjoy him as formerly, but his desires were too strongly opposed to be accomplished.

About this time he married his second Wife, Mistriss Sara Story, then a Widow. He was blessed above many in his Marriages, both his Wives being pious Matrons, Grave, Sober, and faithfull. By the first he had no children: The last, God made a fruitfull Vine unto him: His first-born was brought forth far off upon the Sea, in his passage to New England: So that he being childless when he left Europe, arrived a joyfull Father in America: In memorial whereof he called his name Sea-born, To keep alive (said he) in me, and to teach my Son, if he live, a remembrance of Sea-mercies, from the hand of a gracious God: He is yet living, and entred into the Work of the Ministry. A Son of many Prayers, and of great expectation.

His Marriage.

The Corruption of the times being now such, that he could not continue in the exercise of his Ministry without sin; and the envy of his Maligners having now procured Letters Missive to convent him before the High Commission Court, which Letters a debauched Inhabitant of that Town undertook to serve upon him (who shortly after died of the Plague.) Master Cotton having intelligence thereof, and well knowing that nothing but scorns, and imprisonment were to be expected from them, according to the advice of many able heads, and upright Hearts (amongst whom that holy man of God, Master Dod, of blessed Memory, had a singular influence) he kept himself close for a time, in, and about London, as Luther sometime did at Wittenberg; and Pareus since at Anvilla: Yet was not that season of his recess unprofitable: For addresses during that time were made unto him privately by divers persons of worth, and piety, who received satisfaction from him in their Cases of Conscience of greatest concernment. And when he went into New England, it was not a flight from duty, but from evident danger, and unto duty: Not from the profession of the truth, but unto a more opportune place for the profession of it.

Histroubles

Gods judgement on a persecutor.

He flies in to New England.

When Master Cotton arrived at New England, his manner of entrance unto them was with much blessing. For at his first coming he found them not free from troubles about settling the matters both of Church and Commonwealth. At which time, being requested, he preached before the general Court: His Text was, Haggai 2. 4. Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; Be strong, O Joshua the son of Josedek, the High Priest; and be strong all ye people of the Land, saith the Lord, and work: For I am with you saith the Lord of Hosts. And the Lord working mightily by this Sermon, all obstructions were presently removed, and the spirits of all sorts, as one man, were excited unanimously, and vigorously in the work of the Lord from that very day.

His arrivall in New England.

A speciall providence.

In order whereunto, the Court considering, that all the Members of that Republick, were also Church-Members, and therefore to be governed according to the Law of God, they desired Master Cotton to draw an abstract of of the Judicial Laws delivered from God to Moses, so far forth as they were of Moral, i. e. of perpetual, and universal equity; which according he did, advising them to persist in their purpose of establishing a Theocracy, i. e. Gods Government, over Gods people. From this time it was a usual thing for the Magistrates to consult with the Ministers in hard and difficult cases, especially about matters of Religion: yet so, as notwithstanding occasional conjunction, Religious care was had of avoiding confusion of Councils. After which time how usefull Master Cotton was to Old England, to New-England, to Magistrates, to Ministers, to People, in Publick, in Private, by Preaching,

Magistrates and Ministers united.

ing, by Counsel, and resolving difficult questions, all know that knew him, and consequently saw the Grace of God evidently manifested in him.

His Labours

In the course of his Ministry in *New Boston*, by way of Exposition he went over the *Old Testament* to *Isaiah* the 30. The whole *New Testament* once through, and the second time to the middle of *Hebrews* the 7th. Upon the *Lord Days*, and *Lecture Days*, he preached through the *Acts of the Apostles*: The Prophecies of *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, *Ezra*, the *Revelations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*: The second, and third Epistles of *John*, The Epistle to *Titus*; Both the Epistles to *Timothy*; The Epistle to the *Romans*, with other Scriptures. The presence of the Lord being with him, and Crowning his Labours with the Conversion of many Souls, and the edification of thousands. Besides these aforementioned Labors, he hath many pieces in Print, which being well known, need not be here enumerated.

The success of the Ministry.

His youth was unstained, whence he was so much the more capable of being an excellent Instrument in the Church in his elder days. He that will do good in the Church, *must have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into the reproach, and snare of the Devil*, 1 Tim. 3. 7. St. Augustine tells us, that *A good life is requisite in respect of our selves, but a good name is requisite in respect of others*. We may be good men if we have a good Conscience, but we are not like to do much good, if we have not a good name.

His learning and studiousness.

He was a general Scholar, studious to know all things, the want whereof might in one of his Profession be denominated ignorance; and piously ignorant of those things, the Nescience whereof made him more Learned. Deservedly therefore is his praise great in all the Churches, that he not only gave himself to the acquiring of Learning, but exceeded many that had done virtuously therein. He excelled in the greater part of the *Encyclopædia*.

His piety.

Those which best knew his goings out, and his coming in, cannot but give a large testimony to his Piety. He was a Saint (above many of the Saints) manifestly declared in the Consciences of the Godly amongst whom he walked, to be *the Epistle of Christ, known and read of all men*. In his house he *walked with a perfect heart*. He was an example to the Flock; clothed with love, and humility, amongst his Brethren: One of a thousand in respect of his worth: But (as it is reported of Doctor *Whitaker*) as one of the multitude in respect of his facile, and companion-like behaviour. Both ability, and modesty in such a degree, are not ordinarily to be found in the same man. Others with much affection beheld the beauty of his face, whilst himself was as one who knew not that his face shined. He was a Father, Friend, and Brother to his fellow-Elders, and a shining Light before all men.

His humility.

His Family carriage.

He well knew that a Bishop ought not to be defective in the well government of his Family: He must be *one that Rules well his own house*: In conscience whereof, he himself rising betimes in the morning, as soon as he was ready, he called his Family together (which was also his practice in the evening) to the solemn worship of God, reading, and expounding, and occasionally also applying the Scriptures unto them, alwayes beginning, and ending with Prayer. In case of sin committed by child or Servant, he would call them aside privately (the matter so requiring) laying the Scriptures before them, and causing them to read that part which bore witness against such an offence: Seldome or never Correcting in anger, that the dispensation of godly Discipline might not be imputed, or become less effectually, through the intermixing of humane passion.

His Sabbath employment.

He began the *Sabbath*, on the *Saturday* evening: And therefore then performed Family duties after Supper, being larger then ordinary in Exposition, after which he Catechized his children, and Servants, and then returned into his Study. The morning following, Family-worship being ended, he retired



tired into his Study untill the Bell called him away. Upon his return from the Congregation, he returned again into his Study (the place of his Labour, and Prayer) unto his private devotion; Where (having a small repast carried him up for his dinner) he continued till the tolling of the Bell. The publick service being ended, he withdrew for a space into his aforementioned Oratory, for his sacred addresses unto God, as in the forenoon: Then came down, and repeated the Sermon in his Family, prayed, and after Supper sang a Psalm, and, towards bed time, betaking himself again to his Study, he closed the day with Prayer. Thus he spent the Sabbath continually.

In his Study, he neither sate down unto, nor arose from his Meditations without Prayer: Whilest his eyes were upon his Book, his expectation was from God. He had learned to Study, because he had learned to Pray. An able Student is a Gospel Student, because unable to Study without *Jesus Christ*. The barrenness of his Meditation at some times, yea though his endeavour was most intense upon a good matter, convinced him: Whence it was, that his heart musing upon the same Subject at another time, his Tongue became as the Pen of a ready writer. As he was not (comparatively) wanting in parts, Learning, or Industry; So was he most carefull not to trust in them, but to fix his dependance wholly upon God. Herein he was not unlike to blessed *Bradford* who studied kneeling. Another *Synesius*, who was wont to divide his life between Prayer and his Book. Like unto *Paul*, *Not sufficient of himself to think any thing as of himself*, and professing all his sufficiency to be of God. But we will give our selves (say the Apostles) continually unto Prayer, and to the Ministry of the Word. Men of labour, they were, and men of Prayer.

His dependance on God.

As any weighty cause presented it self either in the Church, Commonwealth, or his Family, he used to set dayes apart to seek the face of God in secret: Such were the bowels of this spirituall Father, the *Horsmen*, and *Chariots of this Israel*. He might say with *Paul*, *He was in fastings often*. His conversation upon earth was a trading in Heaven. A demonstration of the praises of him who hath called him. A temperature of that holiness, sweetness, and love, which continually gained upon the hearts of many spectators. The habituall gracious scope of his heart in his whole Ministry, is not illegible in that usuall subscription of his at the end of all his Sermons, *Tibi Domine*. Unto thy Honour, O Lord. A tast of the divine *Soliloquies* between God and his soul, you may please to take notice of from these two transcribed Poems left behind him in his Study, written with his own hand.

His Fastings

A thankfull acknowledgement of Gods providence.

In Mothers womb thy fingers did me make,  
And from the womb thou didst me safely take:  
From breast thou hast me nurst my life throughout,  
That I may say I never wanted ought.

In all my meales my Table thou hast spread,  
In all my lodgings thou hast made my bed:  
Thou hast me clad with changes of array,  
And chang'd my house for better far away.

In youthfull wandrings thou didst stay my slide,  
In all my journeys thou hast been my guide:  
Thou hast me sav'd from many an unknown danger,  
And shew'd me favour even where I was a stranger.

## The Life and Death of

*In both my Callings thou hast heard my voice,  
In both my matches thou hast made my choice:  
Thou giv'st me sons, and daughters, them to peer!  
And giv'st me hope thou'lt learn them thee to fear.*

*Oft have I seen thee look with mercies face,  
And through thy Christ have felt thy saving grace:  
This is the Heav'n on earth, if any be:  
For this, and all, my soul doth worship thee.*

Another made by him (as it seems) upon his remove from *Boston* into that wilderness of *New England*.

*I now may expect some changes of miseries,  
Since God hath made me sure,  
That himself by them all will purge mine iniquities  
As fire makes silver pure.*

*Then what though I find the deep deceitfulness  
Of a distrustfull heart?  
Yet I know with the Lord is abundant faithfulness,  
He will not lose his part.*

*When I think of the sweet, and gracious company  
That at Boston once I had,  
And of the long peace of a fruitfull Ministry  
For twenty years enjoy'd.*

*The joy that I found in all that happiness  
Doth still so much refresh me,  
That the grief to be cast out into a wilderness  
Doth not so much distress me.*

*For when God saw his people, his own at our Town,  
That together they could not hit it,  
But that they had learned the language of Askelon,  
And one with another could chip it.*

*He then saw it time to send in a busie Elf,  
A Foyner to take them asunder:  
That so they might learn each one to deny himself  
And so to piece together.*

*When the breach of their Bridges, and all their Banks aröw,  
And of him that School teaches,  
When the breach of the Plague, and of their Trade also  
Could not learn them to see their breaches.*

*Then God saw it time to break out on their Ministers,  
By loss of health, and peace;  
Yea withall, to break in upon their Magistrates,  
That so their pride might cease.*



A Disputation is well called the Sieve of truth: So in his *Polemical* labors he was a seeker thereof in love: His scope was, the Glory of God, Unity of the Church, and the edification of men, not the ostentation of wit. It was his holy ambition, not to seem to be learned, but indeed to be bettered. A sincere seeker of *light*, not of victory. Witness his Brotherly acceptance of Doctor *Twiss* his Examination of Master *Cottons* Treatise of *Predestination*, from whom he acknowledged that he received light thereby, and was ready to attest the great abilities of the Doctor, that Star (if any in this age) of the first magnitude. It is true, Master *Cottons* mind was then exercised about the point of Reprobation. Touching the point of Election, it is sufficiently known that he was not only *Orthodox*, but also clear. As there were of old that pretended the *Predestinarian* Heresie to have had it's rise from St. *Austin*, and *Grevinghovius* of late blushed not to say of famous Doctor *Ames*, who was *Arminianorum malleus*; *Amesius* *Pelagianizat*. Doctor *Ames* playes the *Pelagian*: So, the wonder is less, if this sound, and judicious Divine hath not escaped the imputation of *Arminianism* from some, notwithstanding the redundant Testimony of his Doctrine, and generally of all that knew him, to the contrary; Yea, that occasionally he hath been heard to say, by Testimony yet alive, and above exception, That he looked at *Arminianism* as another Gospel, and directly contrary to the Covenant of Grace. What *Melancthon* sometimes said to *Eccius*, may be here truly applied to him: Master *Cotton* in his Disputations sought not his own Glory, but Gods Truth. So able an Opponent was rare, so candid an Opponent was more rare. He that fell into his hands, was likely to fall soft enough ordinarily (except through his own default) not likely to lose any thing save his error.

His Moderation.

A mans wisdom makes his face to shine: He had an happy, a quick comprehensive, and benign understanding, as having received the manifestation of the Spirit, for the service and profit of others. To discover the mind of God, and therewith the sentence of Judgment, in matters too hard for inferior Judges, was no small part, both of the worth, and usefulness of him that was to minister before the Lord. So it seemed good to the Father of Lights to make this happy Instrument, not only to excel his Brethren, but in many respects, upon this account, to excel himself: A Grace so far acknowledged in him, as that all sorts, both the Magistrates, and private Persons, whether learned, or unlearned, exercised with their respective Cases of conscience, waited under God, in a special manner upon his lips for knowledge, and sought the Law at his mouth. So equal a contention between learning and meekness, is seldom visible in any one person. The consciences of those that knew him being appealed to, he will be acknowledged amongst the meekest on Earth in his dayes.

His Wisdom.

So conspicuous was this Grace in him, that multitudes beheld it, without making extraordinary mention thereof. It is true, he had an advantage above many in his natural constitution, and it's influence from his education, heightened intellectuals, and moralities, was not inconsiderable; But that which gave the being of meekness, which sanctified, and perfected all, was the Grace of *Christ*. He was of an accurate apprehension, and therefore sensible of, but yet so little in his own sight, that he was not easily provoked by an injury. Sensibleness of dishonor done to God by sin, or of what the offender had done unto himself by sinning, left such impressions upon him, as that his taking notice of any injury done unto himself, was not usually taken notice of. He had well learned that lesson of *Gregory*: It is better many times to fly from an injury by silence, than to overcome it by replying. It was *Grynæus* his manner, to revenge wrongs by Christian taciturnity. If inferiors expostulated unnecessarily with him, he would patiently hear them, and give them a Brotherly account, pacifying their minds with a gentle Grave, and

His Meekness.

and respective answer. Take one instance in this kind instead of many; unto one of his hearers, then sick of singularities, and therefore the less able to bear sound Doctrine, following him home, after his publick labours in the Congregation, and instead of better encouragement, telling him that his Ministry was become either dark, or flat: He gently answered? Both, Brother; without further opening his mouth in his own defence, choosing rather to own the imputation, than to expostulate with the Imputer.

His Modesty.

Disputations are great trials of the spirits of Intelligent men. Hooper and Ridley were patient Martyrs, but somewhat impatient Disputers. The Synod held at Cambridge in New England, as matters were then Circumstanced; was unto this good man an hour of temptation, above what had ordinarily befallen him in his Pilgrimage: yet such was his eminent behaviour throughout, as argued in the Consciences of the Spectators singular patience, and left him a Mirrour for the temperament, mildness, and government of his Spirit. Pious meekness fits for Church Society. Yet though he was so gentle, meek, and flexible, that men might persuade him above what could be expected usually from a man of his worth, in the things of God he was steadfast, and unmovable. The Sanctuary cannot want the fire that is from Heaven; neither may it be touched with the fire that is from Hell. Gentleness of disposition, when actuated by Christ, makes us so much the more acceptable, and profitable unto man: But if the Spirit withdraweth his assistance, we fall short of reaching Gods ends, and the seasonable suppressing of exorbitancies. If this good man had alwayes had that voice sounding in his heart, which one wished that mild Lantgrave of Hessen might have heard from the Smiths forge: *Duresce, duresce; Utinam & Lantgravius durescat*: Happily there are that think some disorders, disturbances, and irregularities might, by Gods blessing, have been prevented.

But ordinarily, and in matters of greatest weight the Lord was with him. Though his forbearance was both observable, and very imitable in things that concerned himself; yet he could not forbear them whom he knew to be evil. An experience whereof he manifested when some Heterodox spirits, by their specious discourses about *Free-Grace* and subtle Concealings of their Principles, so far deceived him into a better opinion of them than there was cause, as that notwithstanding they fathered their Errors upon him in general, and abused his Doctrine, to the Countenancing of their denial of Inherent Grace in particular, yet was he slow to believe these things of them, and slower to bear witness against them. But so soon as the truth herein appeared to him, hear his own words taken out of his Letter to Master Davenport; *The truth is (saith he) the body of the Island is bent to backsliding into Error, and Delusions; The Lord pitty, and pardon them, and me also, who have been so slow to see their windings and subtil Contrivances, and insinuations in all their transactions, whilst they propagated their opinions under my expressions diverted to their constructions.* Yea such was his ingenuity, and piety, as that his soul was not satisfied, without often breaking forth into affectionate bewailing of his infirmity herein, in the publick Assemblies, sometimes in his Prayer, sometimes in his Sermon, and that with tears.

His Candor.

He was a man of an ingenuous and pious candour, rejoicing (as opportunity was offered) to take notice of, and to bear witness to the gifts of God in his Brethren, thereby drawing the Hearts of them to him, and of others to them, and that to the encouragement of them, and the edification of many. He did not think himself a loser by putting honour upon his Fellow-Labourers, but was willing that they should communicate with him in the love and esteem of the people. He was not only a son of Peace, enjoying continually the feast of a good conscience, with serenity and tranquility of affections at home; but also a peace-maker, qualified by the graces aforementioned, to be a choice Instrument, in the hand of the Prince of Peace amongst the Churches, where

His Peacemaking.



where if any difference arose, *Mt. Cotton* was ready (being called therunto) to afford his help for the composing of them; and had a singular faculty and ability therein, by reason of that excellent wisdom, and moderation of spirit which God in *Christ* had given him, whose blessing also did ordinarily Crown his endeavours with good success.

He was one, the reality of whose profession, gave many cause to bless God for the kindness of the Lord shewed unto all sorts by him. His portion in the things of this life, exempted him from being an object of envy in that behalf; yet behold *Quantum ex quantillo*, so much communicated out of so little; we may not here be altogether silent concerning the Grace of God bestowed upon him, whereby according to his power, yea above his power, he was beneficent unto others, but especially to those of the Household of Faith. The Gospel opened his heart, his lips, and the doors of his house. He well remembered that Scripture, *There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty.* As also, *The liberal soul shall be made fat.* Amongst others, his Fellow-Labourers in the Ministry were entertained with peculiar contentment. By one instance see his spirit in the rest, A certain Minister who had gotten into the fellowship of that eminent man Master *Arthur Hilderham*, and many other godly Preachers, being acquainted with their secrets, betrayed them into their Enemies hands. This man coming afterwards to *Boston*, and meeting with Master *Cotton*, this *Gains* had not the heart to speak to him, nor to invite him to his house, which (he said) he never neglected to his knowledge; to any stranger before, much less to any of his own order.

Some years since there was brought unto *Boston* a report of the necessity of the poor Saints at *Sigataa*, A little Church whereof the Reverend Master *White* was their faithfull Pastor, which suffered much extremity by reason of the persecution of their then prevailing Adversaries, forcing them from *Bermudas* into the Desert Continent. The sound of whose distress was no sooner heard of, but you might have heard the founding of his bowels, with many others, applying themselves to a speedy Collection, and sending it to them on purpose for their seasonable relief, the sum was about seven hundreds pounds, two hundred whereof he gathered in the Church of *Boston*, no man in the Contribution exceeding, and but one equalling his bounty. And it was remarkable that his Contribution arrived there the very day after those poor people were brought to a personal division of that little Meal then remaining in the Barrel, and not seeing (according to man) but that after the eating thereof they must dye a lingering death for want of food; and upon the same day their Pastor had preached unto them (it being the *Lords day*) upon that Text, *Psal. 23. The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want.* At such a time the good hand of the Lord brought this succour to them from afar.

A special Providence.

Whilst he was in *Old England*, his eminent piety, the success of his labours, and his interest in the hearts both of superiours, inferiours, equals, drew upon him much envy, and his Non-conformity added thereunto, so that he was delivered in a great measure to the will of his Adversaries, who gave him not over till they had bereaved him of much of his livelihood, his liberty, Country, and therewithall of the sweet Society of lovers, Friends, and many wayes endeared acquaintance, more precious to him than life itself.

His suffering from men.

Yet the measure of the afflictions of *Christ*, appointed to be suffered by him, was not so fulfilled; but lo, in the time of his exile, some Brethren, provoked by the censure of Authority, though justly, and not without tears inflicted upon them, singled out Master *Cotton* as the object of their displeasure, who (though above other men) declining irregular and unnecessary interesting himself in the actions of the Magistrate, and (while opportunity last-

ed endeavouring their healing, yet they requited him evil for good, and they (at least some of them) who were formerly companions with him in the tribulations of that *Patmos*, yea respecters of him, had *taken sweet Counsel together, and they had walked in the house of God* as friends. Hence was he with Tongue and pen, blasphemed by them, for whom he formerly intreated, and for whom, he both then, and afterwards wept, and put on sackcloth.

As touching any Tenet wherein he may seem singular, remember that he was a man, and therefore to be heard and read with judgement, and happily sometimes with favour. St. *Hierom* makes a difference between reading the writings of the Apostles, and of other men. *They* (saith he) *alwayes speak the truth, these as men, sometimes erre.* But no man did more placidly bear a Dissentient than he. It contributes much towards the fuller discovery of truth, when men of larger capacities, and greater industry than others, may be permitted to communicate their *Notions*; onely they should use this liberty by way of *disquisition*, not of *Position*, rather as searchers after Scripture-light, than as *Dictators* of private opinions.

But now this *Western Sun* hastens to his setting: Being called to preach at a neighbour Church, he took wet in his passage over the Ferry, and, not many hours after, he felt the effect of it, being seized upon, with an extream illness in his Sermon time. This sad providence, when others bewailed, he comforted himself in that he was found so doing. *Decet Imperatorem stantem mori.* It is the honour of a Commander to dye standing. St. *Austins* usual wish was, that when *Christ* came, he might find him, *Aut precantem, aut pradicantem*, either praying, or preaching. *Calvin* would not that when the Lord came, he should find him idle. After a short time he complained of the inflammation of his lungs, and thereupon found himself *Asthmatical*, and afterward *Scorbutical* (which both meeting in a complicated disease, put an end to his dayes) insomuch, that he was forced to give over those comforting drinks which his stomach could not want. If he still used them, the inflammation grew unsufferable, and threatened a more sharp, and speedy death. If he left them, his stomach forthwith ceased to perform its office, leaving him without hope of life.

His Sick-  
ness.

By these Messengers he received the sentence of death, yet in the use of means he attended the pleasure of him in whose hands our times are; his labours continued whilst his strength failed: *November* the 18. he took in course for his Text the four last Verses of the Second Epistle to *Timothy*, *Salute Prisca and Aquila, &c.* Giving the reason why he spake of so many Verses together, because otherwise he said, he should not live to make an end of that Epistle. He chiefly insisted upon those words, *Grace be with you all*; so ending that Epistle, and his Lectures together. For upon the *Lords day* following, he preached his last Sermon upon *Joh. 1. 14.* *And the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his Glory, as of the onely begotten Son of the Father) full of Grace and Peace.*

Now he gave himself wholly to prepare for his dissolution, making his *Will*, and setting his house in order: When he could no more be seen abroad, all sorts, Magistrates, Ministers, Neighbours, and Friends afar off, and those near at hand, especially his own people resorted to him daily, as to a publick Father. When the Neighbour Ministers visited him (in which duty they were frequent) he thanked them affectionately for their love, exhorting them also, as an Elder, and a witness of the sufferings of *Christ*, to feed the Flock, encouraging them, that when the chief Shepherd shall appear, they should receive a Crown of Glory that fadeth not away.

Finding himself to grow weak, according to that of *James*, he sent for the Elders of the Church of *Boston*, to pray over him; which last solemn duty was per-



performed, not without much affection, and many tears: Then (as Polycarp a little before his death) said, *That he had served Christ fourscore and six years, neither had he ever offended him in any thing*) so he told them (through Grace, he had now served God forty years, it being so long since his Conversion) throughout which time he had ever found him faithful to him; and thereupon he took occasion to exhort them to the like effect, that *Paul* sometime did the Elders of *Ephesus*, a little before they were to see his Face no more, *Take heed therefore to your selves, and to all the Flock, over which he hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* Particularly he lamented, that the love of many, yea, and of some of their own Congregation, was grown cold towards the publick Ordinances, calling upon them so much the more for their watchfulness in that respect; which done, he thanked them for their loving, and Brotherly assistance to him in their holy fellowship, and commended them to the blessing of God.

His pious Consort, and those Olive-Plants that sate lately about his Table, now gathered together about the Bed of a dying Husband, and departing Father. This was his last solemn transaction with man in this world: Silver and Gold (though he wanted not) he had not much to give them, but the blessing of a righteous Parent he left with them.

That Reverend and Godly man, Master *Wilson* (who excelleth in Love, as Master *Cotton* did in Light) the faithful Pastor of that Church, taking his last leave of him, and most ardently praying unto God that he would lift up the light of his countenance upon him, and shed his love into his soul, he presently answered, *He hath done it already, Brother.*

His work now finished with all men, perceiving his departure to be at hand, and having nothing else to do, but onely that great work of dying in the Lord, he wholly composed, and set himself for his dissolution, desiring that he might be permitted to improve that little remnant of his life without impediment to his private Devotions, and divine *Soliloques* between God, and his Soul; and for that end he caused the Curtains to be drawn, and a Gentleman, and Brother of that Congregation that was much with him, and Ministred to him in his sickness, he caused to promise him that the Chamber should be kept private. But a while after, hearing the whispering of some Brethren in the Room, he called to that Gentleman, saying, *Why do you break your word with me?*

Not long after (being mindfull no doubt of that great helpfulness which he received from that aforementioned Brother throughout his visitation) he left him with this farewell, *The God that made you, and bought you with a great price, redeem your body and soul unto himself.* These words were his last words, after which he was not heard to speak, but lying some hours speechless, he quietly breathed out his spirit into the hands of him that gave it, *December 23. Anno Christi, 1652.* being entred into the Sixty eighth year of his Age.



*The Life and Death of Doctor Hill,  
who died Anno Christi, 1653.*

His Paren-  
tage.

His Educa-  
tion.



After *Thomas Hill* was born at *Kingston* in *Worcestershire*, of Godly Parents; and *David* accounted it his great honour, and blessing to be the *Son of Gods Handmaid*, *Psal. 86. 16.*

His Parents dedicated him unto God from his Child-hood, designing him to the work of the Ministry, and in order thereunto, they trained him up in School-learning in the Country; and being there well fitted, they sent him to *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where the Rose was not cankered in the bud, his youth not corrupted, nor debauched, as too many are: But this morning (like that *2 Sam 23. 4.*) was without clouds, not sullied with any noted mis-carriage; but on the contrary, as it is said of *Sampson* when young, that the *Spirit of the Lord began then to move him*, *Judg. 13. 25.* So in his then sober, and studious behaviour, the Sun looked out betimes in that Summer-morning, and through Gods Grace (otherwise than it oft falls out in nature) he gave promising hopes of an after clearer day.

His Proficiency.

This being taken notice of by the Governours of the Colledge, they thereupon, after examination had, chose him Scholar of the House, he (as his Saviour) still *growing in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.* And then after some good time spent in his private studies in the Colledge, for his further perfecting, and the more happy seasoning of his Spirit, he went and sojourned with that man of God (now also with the Lord) *Master Cotton* at *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, where, by Gods rich blessing upon his most godly directions, and example, and the society he had with him, and other eminent Christians in that place, he was much improved and furthered, as otherwise, so especially in Heavens-way, which happily went along with him to his journies end.

He is chosen Fellow  
of *Emanuel*.

Upon his return from thence to the Colledge, it was not long before he was chosen Fellow with general approbation, though upon a most strict, and double examination, more (I think) than ever was in that Colledge before, or hath been since, though it still is, and ever hath been, according to the Statutes, very strict, and serious, and which hath been blessed to be a special means of holding up true worth, and learning in that happy Society.

A carefull  
Tutor.

And now, through Gods good hand of providence, Leading and strengthening him, he proved a diligent, painful, and successful Tutor of very many Pupils, and divers of them persons of quality, who since have proved great blessings both to the Church and Common-wealth: And thus as he was before a pattern to young Schollars, so after he was a Tutor, no diligence was wanting whereby he might be instrumental to Gods Glory, and the good of those who were committed to his charge.

Bur



But this our wise Master-builder, satisfied not himself as a Tutor in polishing of buildiers, but as a faithful and painful Minister, he laboriously endeavoured to square other lively stones for Gods Temple, 1 Pet. 2. 5. and so as he read to Schollars in the Colledg, he also diligently and conscionable preached to a neighbour Congregation [St. Andrews] in the Town, so that many poor souls long after had cause to blefs God for him.

His labour  
in the Ministry.

Nor was he an Hireling to flye when the Wolf came, but when the Plague in this time of his ministry raged in the Town, he still continued with them in his ministerial employment; The better Shepherd he, who not only fed the sound, but also healed and bound up the torn and weak of the Flock.

This Alabafter Box of precious Oyntment thus powred out, filled the whole House with its Odour, and the sweet Fragrancy of it did spread abroad, so that now he came to be more taken notice of by many, both great, and good Men, and so by some of Eminent Worth, and Honour, he was called to the Pastoral Charge of *Tichmersh* in *Northampton-shire* where he laboured faithfully in Gods Hearvest; for the space of about eight or nine years, and partly by Preaching and Conversing up and down with others; but especially with his own Parochial Charge, He proved a great blessing, not only to that Town, but also to the whole Country, in every place where he came, spreading a good Saviour, and leaving it behind him.

His remove  
to Tich-  
mersh.

During the time of his being at *Tichmersh*, he sometimes repaired to *Warwick Castle*, to that Noble *Robert Lord Brook*, who highly esteemed him, and in whose Family he grew acquainted with Mrs. *Mary Willford*, at that time Governess to the Lady *Francis Rich* (a young Lady of rare parts) Daughter to the Right Honourable *Robert Earl of Warwick*, and mutual affections growing betwixt them, he was married to her, who since his death, was re-married to the Reverend, Learned, and Pious Dr. *Tuckney*, Master of *St. Johns Colledge*, and *Regius Professor in Cambridge*, my much honoured Friend, so that she hath been made happy in the enjoyment of two such Husbands, as few Women in our times have attained to.

His Marriage.

Whilst he was labouring (as aforesaid) in the Work of the Lord, for more publick Service, he was Chosen by the Parliament for one of that County to attend, and assist in the *Assembly of Divines*, called together by their Authority at *Westminster*; where being of very good use, he was often ordered by the Parliament to Preach before them at their publick Fast, and upon other their more solemn occasions. He was also Chosen by them to be one of their Morning week-days Preachers in the Abbey at *Westminster*, besides his constant *Sabbath-days Labours* in another great Congregation [St. *Martins* in the Fields] where he was a Blessing to many Thousands.

He is chosen to the  
Assembly.

From thence he was ordered to be Master of *Emanuel Colledge* in the University of *Cambridge*, which being not as spear large enough for his Activity, he was after a while removed to the Mastership of *Trinity Colledge*, where what great good he did, many that lived under him can give an ample Testimony; and that happy change proclaimed, from that confusion (by reason of those distracted times) in which he found it, to that orderly composure, and frame, in which, through Gods blessing, he left it. How solicitous he was for their best welfare, his frequent Preaching in their Chappel to them all, and his writing to their Seniors, speaks out fully; and many can bear witness how humble, and loving he was to them in his Carriage, how studious to keep up Colledge-Exercises, how Zealous to advance piety and Learning; and for that purpose, to countenance, and prefer such as he observed to be eminent in either.

Chosen to be Master  
of Emanuel.  
His remove  
to Trinity.

His Industry.

As he was a University-man, he was Zealously careful,

1. Of its Honour (which the Parliament can witness) in an unkindly contest about it; and also his care in collecting the decayed *Antiquities* of that University, whose paines in that Argument, it is pity but that they were communicated to the World.

His care of  
the University.

1. Of

2. Of its Privileges, as always, so especially in those two years together in which he was Vice-Chancellor, for which he suffered in some mens reputes unjustly.

3. Of its Profit and Emolument, being a special means of procuring to it from the Parliament, the *Lambeth Library*, which of Right (as it was judged) fell to that University; as also from a worthy Knight [Sir *John Wollaston*, Alderman of the City of *London*] a yearly stipend for a *Mathematick Lecturer*, and also large sums of money for the fitting of the Publick Library, that it might be of general use; for the accomplishment whereof, the University is more ways than one his Debtor.

*De jure belli  
& pacis  
lib. 3 cap  
11. Sec. 10.*

4. Lastly, Of the general good, and well-ordering of it. Surely it was his careful thought in private with himself, as appeared by his making it the subject of his Discourse with others; scarce was there a time wherein he met with his intimate, and judicious Friends, but he would be asking or proposing something that way. By this it appeared that his care was to keep up those Universities, which some in those times would have ruined; upon which occasion *Grotius* pronounceth many Christians to be worse than the *Philistines*; For they, 1 *Sam.* 10. 5. would let the company of Prophets alone, even where they kept a Garrison.

His found  
judgement.

As he was a Divine, he was found in the Faith, orthodox in his judgement, firmly adhearing to the good old Doctrine of the Church of *England*, even that which in the University was taught, and maintained by Famous *Whitaker*, *Perkins*, *Davnant*, *Ward*, and many others in their times; and in the other University amongst other great Names there, he was a great admirer of the Right Reverend and Judicious Dr. *Robert Abbot*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, and well were it, if there he had many more such Admirers. The Doctrine of Gods Sovereignty in his Decrees: Of his In-conditionate Free-Electing-Love: Of his Free-Grace against Free-Will, and the power of Nature in Spirituals: Of Justification by the imputed Righteousness of Christ, against the perfection of inherent Righteousness now attainable by us in this Life. Of perseverance in Grace, against the Apostacy of the Saints, and the like, were not with this pious, and learned man (as they are now called by some) Sects and Notions, matters only of Learning and Curiosity, and of the *Presbyterian* Faction; But of the Life-Blood of Faith, which at his Death (as he expressed to a Friend of his) he had singular comfort from, and in his Life firmly beleaved, constantly Preached, and by his Pen, endeavoured to maintain and defend, and that against the great daring Champion, of the contrary Errors, whom the abusive Wits in the University, with an impudent boldness could say, none there durst adventure upon, whose immodest scurrility, his learned Answer to that daring Adversary (which he had made so far a progress in) had shortly confuted, had not he by his more sudden Death been therein prevented.

His painful-  
ness in the  
Ministry.

As a Minister of the Gospel: In his Preaching he was plain, powerful, spiritual, frequent, and laborious: For besides, what in that kind he did, as to the University in *St. Maries*, and in the Colledge Chappel, which was very happy in his often pains there; In the Town he set up one Lecture, every *Sabbath* Morning, in the Parish Church of *St. Michael*, performed only by himself, and cheerfully frequented by a great confluence both of Schollars and Townsmen; and another in the Church of *All-Hollows* every *Lords-Day* in the afternoon, in which he did bear at least the fourth part of the burden, and both of them *Gratis*, as there were many more such Lectures there performed, much about the same rate, weekly, by other pious learned men, and more indeed than are in any Town or City, upon those terms in all *England*, or are like to be there again; which is mentioned, that God may have the glory in the first place, and then for the honour of that Reformation, which so many do traduce, and spit at; as also of those  
more



more noble spirited Preachers, who so freely offered unto God that which did cost them so much, for which of men they received nothing.

But that place of Cambridge, did not bound the course of this our labourious Preachers Ministry, but (as it is said of our Saviour, *Matth. 9. 35.*) *That he went about all Cities, & Villages teaching & preaching;* and of St. Paul *Rom. 15. 17.* *That from Jerusalem, and round about, and thas to Illyricum* (which was in right line three Hundred and Thirty German miles, as Pareus upon the place computes it) *he did fully Preach the Gospel;* Imitating herein, as Ferom observes, his Lord and Master, that Sun of Righteousness, *whose going forth is from the ends of the Heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it,* *Psal. 19. 6.* In these their blessed steps our Brother trod, and followed them in his painful Ministry, diligently Preaching when he had occasion to be abroad in remoter parts; but especially in many Towns and Villages nearer hand, round about the University, being a means to set up Lectures in many of them, and very often assisting in them; And as our Saviour is observed by some Divines, to have preached more frequently, the nearer he was to his departure; so this his faithful servant, as it were, presaging that his day would be but short, towards his evening, he made the more haste and speed in his journey towards his end, and yet more abounded in this work of the Lord, and now findes *That his labour is not in vain in the Lord,* *1 Cor. 15. 58.* Thus of him as a Minister.

And lastly, as he was a Christian, he was active for God, as his Saviour, *His Activity for God.* *Act. 10. 38.* *Going up and down, and doing good;* and though otherwise modest, yet when the case required it, bold in a good cause. He was spiritual in communion, and a quickner of those with whom he conversed. Fruitful in discourse, by which the frame of his spirit might easily be discovered: Frequent in asking questions, which was both his humility, and Christian good husbandry, thereby to improve himself, his time, and company.

Affable he was to others, of much humility, and Low thoughts of himself, and of great integrity, and singleness of heart towards God, his Truth, Ordinances, wayes, and servants; of a very publick spirit, and much affected with the various conditions of the State, but especially of the Church and people of God. *His Character.*

He was a most loving Husband to his wife, and a dutifull son to his Parents, and in his life time very helpful to his other Relations. Many poor, *His Charity* both of the University, and Town, do now feel the want of his bounty, which they tasted of in his life time, and both they, and others had done more at his death (as appeared by his intentions of it in the draught of his *Will*) had not the suddenness of his change prevented it.

In a long continued Quartan, God had Knocked at his door, which in the *interim* of his recovery, awakened him to get all within ready against the coming of his Lord, which, though to his Friends was unexpected, yet found not him unprepared. In his short sickness, he expressed to an intimate Friend his great comfort, and joy in Gods discriminating Electing-love; and to a Reverend Doctor, about half an hour before his departure, who enquired of him about the setting of his outward estate, and inward peace, he readily, and without the least hesitancy, answered, that through the mercy of God in Christ, his peace was made, and that he quite rested in it, whereby it seems (as was said by one) he had his Faith at his fingers ends, and having before given all diligence to make his calling and Election sure, though he was somewhat suddenly called out of this life, yet had he an abundant entrance set open to him, into the everlasting Kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, departing *His Death.* quietly in the Lord, December, 18. 1653. As to himself he had lived a fruitful and gracious life, and therefore (as *Clement Romanus* speaks of some of the first, and best Bishops) he closed up all with a happy and blessed death, and as to others, he lived approved, and dyed desired, and very much lamented.

He was a great friend to the publication of the lives of godly and eminent Ministers, and Christians, and assisting to me in procuring information concerning the Lives of some of those Worthies whom I have formerly printed.



D<sup>r</sup>. WILLIAM GOUGE.

The Life and Death of Doctor Gouge, who dyed  
Anno Christi, 1653.

His birth &  
Parentage.



William Gouge was born in Stratford-Bow, in the County of Middlesex, November 1. Anno 1575. His Father, Master Thomas Gouge, was a godly Gentleman. His Mother, was the vertuous and pious Daughter of Master Nicholas Culverel, a Merchant in London, and she was sister to those two famous Preachers, Master Samuel, and Master Ezekiel Culverel; she had also two Sisters who were married to those two famous and learned Divines, Doctor Chaderton, the Master of Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge, and Doctor Whitaker the Regius Professor of Divinity in the same University; so that by the Mothers side he came of a stock of eminent Preachers.

His Education.

Our William Gouge in his younger years, was first trained up in Pauls School London, and was afterwards sent to a Free-School at Felsted in Essex, where he was trained up three years under the publick Ministry of his Uncle, Master Ezekiel Culverel, by whose labours he was much wrought upon, and if not first begotten, yet much built up in his holy Faith, as himself often expressed. From thence he was sent to Eaton, where he was educated other six years, during all which time he was more than ordinarily studious and industrious; For when other L'oyes upon play-days took liberty for their sports and



and pastimes, he would be at his Book, wherein he took more delight than others could find in their Recreations, whereby he profited beyond many his equals.

At this time whilst he was a Schollar at *Eaton*, he was possessed with an holy fear of God, was conscionable in secret prayer, and in sanctifying the *Sabbaths*, and was much grieved at the ordinary profanation thereof by sports and pastimes which were then, and there, too much allowed, as he did oft-times in his life, with much thankfulness unto God, exprels.

His early  
Piety.

From the School at *Eaton* he was chosen to Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, whither he went *Anno Christi* 1595. and at the first entrance of his studies, he applied himself to *Peter Ramus* his *Logick*, and grew so expert therein, that in the publick Schools he maintained and defended him, insomuch as when on a time divers *Sophisters* set themselves to vilifie *Ramus*, for which end the Respondent had given this question. *Nunquam erit magnus, cui Ramus est Magnus*, which some of the *Sophisters* hearing, and knowing the said *William Gouge* to be an accute disputant, and a stiff defender of *Ramus*, they went to the *Divinity* Schools, where he was then hearing an *Act*, and told him how in the other Schools they were abusing *Ramus*, he thereupon went into the *Sophisters* Schooles, and upon the Moderators calling for another Opponent, he stepped up, and brought such an argument as stumbled the Respondent, whereupon the Moderator took upon him to answer it, but could not satisfie the doubt: This occasioned a *Sophister* that stood by to say with a cloud voice, *Do you come to vilifie Ramus, and cannot answer the Argument of a Ramist?* Whereupon the Moderator rose up, and gave him a box on the ear, then the School was all on an uproar, but the said *William Gouge* was safely conveyed out from amongst them.

He defend-  
ed Ramus.

When he was *Senior Sophister*, he was chosen Moderator of the *Sophisters* Acts in the publick Schools, which was a place of great credit, and he began every Act with a solemn speech in *Latine* which was not usual in those dayes, and it added much grace to the Act.

His ad-  
vancement.

The said *William Gouge* took his degrees in order, performing for every one of them, all those Exercises in the publick Schools, which by the Statutes of the University were required. And during his first three years, he kept the Colledge so close, that he lay not one night out of the walls thereof; and at the three years end he was admitted Fellow, and then went to visit his Friends.

He is Fel-  
low.

He was a very hard Student, For as he was a lover of Learning, so was he very Laborious in his studies, sitting up late at night, and rising early in the morning.

His stud-  
iousness.

He continued in the Colledge for the space of nine years, and in all that time (except he went forth a Town to his Friends) he was never absent from morning Prayers in the Chappel, which used to be about half an hour after five a Clock in the morning; yea, he used to rise so long before he went to the Chappel, as that he gained time for his secret devotions, and for reading his Morning task of the Scriptures: For he tyed himself to read every day Fifteen Chapters in *English* out of the Bible, five in the morning, five after dinner before he fell upon his other studies, and five before he went to Bed; He hath been often heard to say, that when he could not sleep in the night time he used in his thoughts to run through divers Chapters of the Scripture in order, as if he had heard them read to him, and by this means he deceived the tediousness of his waking, and deprived himself also sometimes of the sweetness of his sleeping hours, though by that which administred to him better rest; and greater sweetness; for he preferred the meditation upon the word before his necessary food with *Job*, and before sleep with *David*.

He read 15  
Chapters e-  
very day.

His meditation of the Word.

The like practice he used in the day time when he was alone, whether within doors, or abroad; for which end, as an help, he wrote in a little book which he alwayes carried about him, the distinct heads of every particular passage in every Chapter of the Bible, that so, when in any place he meditated on the word of God, and was at a loss, he presently found help by that little book. By this means he made himself so expert in the Text, that if he heard any phrase of Scripture, he could presently tell where it was to be found.

Besides, he had his set-times of study for the more difficult places of Scripture, that he might find out the true meaning of them, by which he attained to a great measure of exactness in the understanding of the Scripture.

He instructed others.

During his abode in the University he did not onely ply his own studies, but used also to send for others whom he observed to be ingenuous and willing, and instructed them in the Arts, whereby he was a great help to many, and brought them also to be better proficient.

He learned Hebrew.

While he was a Scholler in Kings Colledge, there came a Jew to Cambridge, who was entertained in sundry Colledges to teach them the Hebrew Tongue, and amongst the rest, in Kings Colledge, and Master Gouge took the opportunity of Learning of him, as many other of the Students also did: But most of them grew soon weary, and left him, onely the said Master Gouge kept close to him so long as he tarried. But when he was gone, those which before had lost their opportunity, now seeing their own folly, they came to Master Gouge, and entreated him to instruct them in the grounds of the said Language, which he accordingly did, and thereby himself became an excellent Hebrician.

A general Schollar.

And as he was expert in the Learned Languages, so was he likewise in the Arts, and all other necessary Literature, that he might have nothing of these to learn when he should come to make use of them.

His Diligence.

Being chosen a Lecturer both of *Logick* and *Philosophy* in the Colledge, he made conscience of observing all the times appointed by the Statute for reading, and never omitted any of them; and his readings were so exactly composed, that thereby he profited his Auditors exceedingly, and procured much credit, and applause from them; but withall, some envy from his successors, who by his example were now provoked to a more painful, and frequent reading of their Lectures, which in former times were performed seldomer, and in a more perfunctory manner. He was so cautious and strict in the whole course of his life, that thereby he got the name of an *Arch-Puritan*, which was the terme then given in scorn to those who were conscientious in their wayes.

In the first year of his Fellowship he began his *Common-place* book for *Divinity*, in which he made references of all which he read. He had also white paper bound betwixt every leaf of his Bible, wherein he wrote such short and pithy interpretations, and observations on the Text as could not well be referred to any head in his *Common place Book*.

He took such pleasure in, and was so addicted to a University life, that he was resolved to have spent many more years than he did, if not his whole life therein.

But his Father, after he had been two or three years Master of Arts, much against his minde, took him from the University, upon the occasion of a marriage which he prepared for him; and God by his providence turned this to the great good of his Church: For by this means, though it were somewhat late before he entred upon the Ministry, yet it is very probable that he entred upon, and exercised that sacred calling much sooner than he would have done, if he had been left to his own choice.



His wife was the daughter of Master *Henry Caulton*, a Citizen, and Mercer of *London*, but an Orphan when he married her.

Having thus changed his condition, and entred into a married estate, that he might not be distracted, nor impeded in his studies, by worldly business, he committed the whole care of his Family affairs to the management of his wife, and still applied himself wholly to his studies; and to the weighty businesses of his heavenly calling.

He lived with this his wife for the space of two and twenty years in much love, and peace, and had by her thirteen children, seven sons, and six daughters, whereof eight lived to mens, and womens estate, and were all of them carefully educated, and sufficiently provided for.

It was his earnest desire, and daily prayer to God for his sons, that they might all be preachers of the Gospel, so highly did he prize the function, that is so vilified and contemned by too many others; For he himself found such comfort, and content in that calling, that he thought no greater could be found in any other; And he often professed for his own part, that the greatest pleasure he took in the world was in the employments about the work of the Ministry, insomuch, as he was wont to say to divers Honourable persons of his acquaintance, and particularly to the Lord *Coventry*, Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, that *he envied not his great place, and employment*.

His esteem  
of the Ministry.

In the order and Government of his Family, he was very exemplary. His house was another *Bethel*, for he did not onely constantly, upon conscientious Principles, use morning and evening Prayer, and reading the sacred Scriptures in his Family; But also he catechized his Children, and servants, wherein God gave him a singular gift for their edification; For in teaching them he used not any set form, but so, as that he brought them whom he instructed, to express the Principles taught them in their own words; so that his Children (as *Gregory Nazianzen* saith of his Father) found him as well a spiritual as a natural Father. Yea never any servant came to his house, but gained a great deal of knowledge therein: So likewise did diverse others, who at the request of their Parents were instructed by him.

His Family  
government.

He was in special manner a strict and conscionable sanctifier of the *Lords-Day*, and that not only in the exercise of publique Duties incumbent upon his Office, but also in the private sanctification of it in the Duties of Piety in, and with his Family, and secret in his Closet; and for this end, as he did forbear providing of Suppers the Eve before the *Sabbath*, that Servants might not be occasioned thereby to sit up late, so neither would he suffer any servant to stay at home for dressing any meat upon the *Lords-Day* for the entertainment of Friends, whether they were great or mean, few or many.

His sancti-  
fying of the  
Sabbath.

On the *Sabbath*, after his publick Labours were ended, divers Neighbours (wanting helps in their own Families) came to his House, where he repeated his Sermons, after so familer a manner, that many have professed, that they were much more benefited by them in that his Repetition, than they were in the first hearing of them; For he did not use word by word, to read out of Notes what he had Preached, but would by Questions and Answers, draw from those of his own Household, such Points as were delivered; and this Exercise being ended, his constant course, was to visit such of his Parish as were sick, or by pain and weakness were disabled to go to the publick Ordinances, with each of whom, he would discourse of some spiritual and heavenly Subject suitable to their Condition, and after that, he prayed with them, wherein he had a more than ordinary gift, being able in apt words and expressions to commend their several cases unto God, and to put up Petitions suitable to their several needs.

His visiting  
the sick.

His usual course was, to pray eight times in the publick Congregation, on the *Lords Days*, for as he prayed before, and after each Sermon; so also before, and after his reading, and expounding the Scriptures, which he

His fre-  
quent Pray-  
ers.

performed, both in the forenoon and afternoon. And in his Family, his constant course vvas, to pray thrice every *Lords Day*, and that in a solemn manner, viz. in the morning, and evening, and after his repetition of the Sermons.

His Ordination.

He vvas ordained Minister in the two and thirtieth year of his age, and about a year after, vvvhich vvas in *June*, 1608. he vvas called to the exercise of his Ministry in the Parish of *Black-Friars London*, where he continued to his dying day, which was about five and forty years, and six months, never accepting of any other Ministerial employment, though he had the proffers of many great places: His manner of coming to *Black-Friars*, was thus.

His choice to *Black-Friars*.

That Parish being destitute of a preaching Minister, Master *Hildersam*, a famous, pious and powerful Preacher, being in company with some of the better sort of the Inhabitants of *Black-Friars*, who complained of their want, he told them that there was one living in *Stratford-Bow*, who was out of employment, whom he judged very fit for them. Hereupon divers of them went thither on the *Lords day*, where he frequently preached gratis, to help the Minister that then was there; and upon hearing of him they liked him so well, that making report thereof to their neighbours, he was by an unanimous consent (*nemine contradicente*) chosen to be their Minister, which election being made known to him, he accepted of it, and ever after shewed a great respect to the Inhabitants of that place.

Before Master *Gouge* came to them, they had not so much as a Church of their own to meet and hear the word of God in, nor any place wherein to bury their dead, but by such means as he used, the Church and Church-Porch, together with the Ministers house, and Church-yard (all which they enjoyed before but upon Curtesie) were bought in: so as now, they all, as their proper Inheritance, do belong to the Parish of *Black-Friars*. And five years after his coming thither, the old Church being found too little to entertain those multitudes that flocked thither from all parts of the City, to hear him, he was an instrument of purchasing in certain rooms adjoyning, whereby the Church was enlarged almost as big again as it was before. The sum of purchasing, new building, and beautifying of which Church amounted to above one thousand five hundred pounds, all which was procured, partly by Collections at his Lectures, and partly by the voluntary Contributions of his Parishoners, without any publick Collections in other places.

After this, there being divers rooms under the said Church belonging to several Land-Lords, he used such means as to purchase them also for the benefit of the Parish, which he did the rather to prevent all dangers that by wicked minded persons might have befalln Gods people in that Church, by any contrivance in the rooms under the same.

Thus they who had nothing of their own at his first coming, have now, through his procurement, the whole Church, the Church-porch, a Church-yard, a Vault to bury their dead in, a very fair Vestry with other adjacent rooms, besides the house wherein he himself dwelt so long as he lived, all which they hold as a perpetual Inheritance.

They have also a Lease of certain Tenements of a considerable value for three hundred years; all which were procured by his Prudence, Interest, and industry.

His self-denial.

Such was his love, and respect to this Parish, as though he was oft proffered places of far greater value, yet he refused them all, oft saying, That the height of his ambition was to go from *Black-Friers* to Heaven.

His industry

At his first coming to *Black-Friers*, being in the thirty third year of his age, he preached constantly, besides twice every *Lords day*, a weekly Lecture, viz. on the *Wednesdaves* in the forenoon, which for the space of about thirty five years was very much frequented, and that not only by his Parishoners, but



but by divers City Ministers, and by sundry pious and judicious Gentlemen of the *Innes of Court*, besides many other well-disposed Citizens, who in multitudes flocked to hear his heavenly Doctrine, yea such was the fame of Doctor Gouge his Ministry, that when any Country Ministers, and godly Christians came to *London* about their affairs, they thought not their business fully ended, unless they had been at *Black Friars Lecture*.

And it pleased God to give such a blessing to his Ministry, that many of his Auditors, though living in other Parishes, upon Trial before sundry Elderships, have confessed, that the first seeds of Grace sown in their hearts, were by the blessing upon Doctor Gouges Ministry: And indeed herein God wonderfully honoured his Labours, by making him an aged Father in *Christ* to beget many Sons and Daughters unto God, and to nourish up others in the wayes of righteousness, Thousands having been converted, and built up by his Ministry.

His success  
in the Mini-  
stry.

He used also every month to preach a preparation Sermon before the Communion, on the Eve before each monthly Sacrament.

He was eminently laborious and faithful in the work of his Ministry even to his dying day, preaching so long as he was able to creep up into the Pulpit, *As a tree planted in the House of the Lord, he was fruitful even in his old age* Psal. 92. 13, 14. He often used to say in his latter dayes, that he could preach with more ease than he could get up into the Pulpit, the reason whereof doublese was this, because as the encrease of his *Asthma* dis-inabled him to go, so the encrease of his Intellectuals enabled him to preach with more ease than in his younger dayes.

His painful-  
ness.

His preaching was alwaies very distinct: First, he opened his Text, giving the true and proper sense of it, then gave he the *Logical Analysis* of it, and then gathered such proper observations as naturally flowed from it, and properly and pertinently improved, and applied the same, by which method his Ministry proved very profitable to his Hearers. Many have acknowledged that in regard of the *Logical* resolution of his Text he went beyond all that ever they heard, as also in clearing difficult, and doubtful places of Scripture as they came in his way. And as his method was clear, so were his expressions plain, alwayes delivering the solid points of Divinity in a familiar stile to the capacity of the meanest.

His manner  
of preach-  
ing.

As for his Life and Conversation, it was holy, and exemplary, himself practising what he preached unto others, and living over his own Sermons; his Doctrine, and his practice concurred, and went hand in hand together.

His holy  
life.

Before these times of Examination of persons, before their admission to the Sacrament of the *Lords Supper*, he used to go to the Houses of the better sort in his Parish, where he appointed a time for them, and their whole Families to meet together, that he might examine how fit they were to be admitted to that Ordinance: yea he appointed sundry small Families to meet together on a certain day, that he might make trial of their fitness also, and then his manner was, not to admit any of the younger sort to the Sacrament, till in his judgement he found them fitted for it.

Though he addicted himself much to his studies, and carried himself peaceably, yet wanted he not those that did envy, and malign him, and that took all occasions to do him what mischief they could: As in the case of Serjeant *Finch* his Book about the *Calling of the Jews*, which Doctor Gouge only published, and the author himself owned it, yet for his publication of it he was committed to prison, and kept there for the space of nine weeks together.

He is envied

King *James* being informed that the Serjeant had in that Book declared, and endeavoured to prove, that the *Jews* should have a visible Kingdom, which should be above all other Kingdoms, which Doctrine he abhorred, he thereupon grew extream impatient: Bishop *Neal* also with others, provoked him against the publisher of the Book, which so incensed him, that he would admit of no Apology. Yet after a while,

Doctor

Doctor Gouge was moved distinctly to declare his judgement, and opinion about that point of the calling, and Conversion of the Jews, which he did in these ensuing Propositions.

His judgement about the Calling of the Jews.

All that I can gather out of the holy Scriptures about this point is :

1. *That the Calling of the Jews, importeth more than a spiritual Calling to believe in Jesus Christ, and to embrace the Gospel.*

2. *This their spiritual Calling, may be called an outward glorious Calling, in regard of the visibility and generality of it; to put a difference betwixt the promised Calling of the Nation, and the continual Calling of some few persons. For in all ages since the rejection of the Jews, some few, here and there have been called. Thus the Calling of the Gentiles in the Apostles time, when Christians had no pompous Civil Government, was an outward glorious Calling, by reason of the visible famous Churches which they had.*

3. *It is probable that at, or after their Calling, they shall not be scattered as now they are, but shall be gathered together into Churches, and be freed from the bondage and slavery wherein they have been many years together.*

4. *To give them a Sovereignty over all the whole Church seemeth to me to be derogatory to that absolute Sovereignty which Christ, the head of his Church hath, in whom the promises of the perpetuity of Davids Scepter, of the extent of his Dominion, of the subjection of all Nations are accomplished.*

5. *To set down the distinct time, place, and other like Circumstances of their Calling, needeth more than an ordinary spirit, and implies too much curiosity.*

6. *The point of the Calling of the Jews being no fundamental point of Christian Religion, to be over stiff in holding one thing or other therein, to the disturbance of the peace of the Church, comes near to Schisme.*

Upon which, being examined by Archbishop Abbot, and his answer approved, he was released from his imprisonment.

His Labours

Ordinarily in the Summer Vacation he was with his Family in the Country; but not so much for his own ease, as for the further service of Gods Church: for besides his preaching every Lords day in the place where he resided, he improved his time for the publication of those his Treatises which are now in Print, viz, *The whole Armour of God; Domestical duties; An Explanation of the Lords Prayer; Gods three Arrows, of the Plague, Famine, and Sword*, upon occasion of those Judgements then raging. *The Saints Sacrifice of Thanksgiving*, upon his recovery from a dangerous sickness. To which is now added his Commentary upon the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, which was the Subject of his *Wednesdays Lectures* for many years.

While he was settled at *Black-Friers*, he Commenced Bachelour of Divinity *Anno Christi*, 1611. which was the eighth year after he had taken the Degree of Master of Arts.

He commenced Dr.

*Anno Christi* 1628, he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, at which time eight London Ministers proceeded Doctors, upon which occasion, Doctor Collins, the then *Regius Professor*, put up Master Gouges Degree, and procured it to pass in the Regent-house, before he had any notice thereof, and without his consent, whereby he did in a manner force him to take his Degree; yet so as when he heard what was done, he readily went to *Cambridge*, and performed all his Acts, according to the Statutes of the University, as he had done at the taking of all his former Degrees.

His publick employments.

Such respect was generally shewed to him, as that in sundry publick Employments he was chosen a *Trustee* or *Foffeee*. As in the year 1626, he was chosen one of the *Trustees* for Master *Whetenhalls* three Lectures.

Also in the 1616. he was chosen one of the *Trustees* for buying in of Improvements, and for many other pious, and charitable uses, wherein indeed he



he alwayes approved himself a carefull, and faithfull *Trustee*, and in some cases, by his great pains and cost, he procured to be setled for ever such pious Donations, as would otherwise have been wrested away, and alienated from their intended use.

The business about the buying in of Impropriations was this.

There was a Scelekt Society of thirteen persons who joyned themselves together as *Trustees*, to stir up, and encourage such as were piously affected, to contribute towards the buying in of *Impropriations*, and giving them freely towards the maintenance of godly and able Ministers. And these were so faithful to their trust, as albeit they met very frequently, and spent much time and pains in consultation about that business, yet did they never spend one penny out of the publick stock, for the refreshing of themselves; yea though they had sundry Agents, and Messengers whom they imployed about that business, and that both far and near, yet did they never diminish that stock wherewithall they were intrusted to the value of a penny, but themselves, at least most of them, contributed out of their own purses for the discharge of all by-expences. And when they had the opportunity of buying in any great Impropriation, and wanted money in stock to go through with it, they did amongst themselves give, or lend so much as might effect it; and amongst others, our Doctor Gouge at one time lent 300 l. gratis for that use, besides the monthly Contribution which he gave. By this means, in a few years space, thirteen Impropriations were bought in, which cost betwixt five and six thousand pounds; into which their care was to put godly, able, and Orthodox Ministers; and their design was to plant a learned and powerful Ministry, especially in Cities, and Market Towns in several parts of the Kingdom where there was the greatest need, for the better propagation of the Gospel in those parts.

Buying in  
of Impro-  
priations.

Indeed this was it that raised up so much envy against them, and made Doctor Land, the then Bishop of London to consult with Master Noy, the Kings Attorney General, about dissolving this Society: and hereupon Master Noy brought them all into the Court of *Exchequer*, picking this quarrel against them, for that they had made themselves a body Incorporate, without any Grant from the King. When the Case had been debated by Learned Counsel on both sides, the result was, that the Court adjudged their proceedings to be illegal, that their Trust should be taken from them, and that what Impropriations they had thus purchased, should be made over to the King, and that the King should appoint such as he thought meet to dispose of those Impropriations which they had brought in.

The aforesaid Attorney, that strictly examined all their Receipts, and Disbursements, found that they had laid out of their own money, at the time when they were questioned, a thousand pounds more than they had received, and thereupon obtained an Order of the Court, that those debts should be first discharged out of the Revenues of the Impropriations, before they should be disposed to particular uses. Thus was their Trust quite wrested out of their hands, and that excellent work fell to the ground.

4 Anno Christi 1673, Doctor Gouge was, by the Authority of Parliament, called to be a member of the *Assembly of Divines*, wherein his attendance was assiduous, not being observed during the whole time of that Session to be one day absent; unless it were in case of more than ordinary weakness, ever preferring that publick employment before any private business whatsoever, and therein he was not one to make up the number onely, but a chief and useful member.

He is chosen to the  
Assembly of  
Divines.

For he was chosen, and sate as one of the Assessors, and very often filled the Chair in the Moderators absence; And such was his constant care, and conscientiousness in the expence of time, and improving it to the best advantage, that in case of intermission in the Assembly affairs, he used to apply himself to his private studies: For which end, it was his constant practice to

to carry his Bible, and some other Books in his pocket, which upon every advantage he drew forth, and read in them, as was observed by many.

To the Ordination of Ministers.

*Episcopacy* also being voted down by both Houses of Parliament, and so no ordinary way being left for the Ordination of Ministers, the Parliament thought fit to set up an extraordinary way by Three and twenty Ministers, who for the space of a year, were to Ordain such as tendered themselves according to the Rules prescribed by them, with the humble advice of the Assembly, of which number Doctor *Gouge* was one, and acted with his Brethren therein; At which time I observed his strictness in keeping of Fasts: For on an Ordination day, which was always accompanied with Fasting and Prayer; in the afternoon one proffered him a peece of a candied Orange Pill, which (though he was then very ancient) he refused to accept of till the work of the day was finished.

To write Annotations on the bible

He was likewise chosen by a Committee of Parliament, amongst others, to write large *Annotations* upon the Bible, being well known to be a judicious Interpreter of Scripture, and how well he performed that Task, is, and may be evident to all that read his part, which was from the beginning of the first Book of the *Kings* to *Job*. In which the intelligent Reader may observe such skill in the Original, such acquaintance with the sacred Story, such judgement in giving the genuine sense of the Text, and such accuteness in raising pertinent Observations, that without the help of any other Commentators, a man may accommodate himself with the sense, Doctrines, and uses of most of those Scriptures that came under his hand, in those brief *Annotations*.

He refused to read the Book for Sports.

Before this, when the Book allowing Sports and Recreations on the *Lords Days* was by publick Authority injoynd to be read in all Churches throughout the Kingdome, he, as sundry others godly and faithful Ministers refused to read the same, resolving rather to suffer the uttermost, than to manifest the least approbation of so wicked, and licentious a practice, it being so contrary to the expresse letter of the Scripture.

His skill in Cases of Conscience.

By reason of his ability and dexterity in resolving Cases of Conscience, he was much sought unto for his judgement in doubtful cases, and scruples of Conscience, and that not only by ordinary Christians; but by divers Ministers also both in the City and Country, sometimes by word of mouth, and other sometimes by writing: And indeed he was accounted the Father of the *London Divines*, and the Oracle of his time.

He was likewise a sweet comforter of troubled Consciences, wherein he was exceeding skilful, and dextrous, as many Hundreds in the City have found from time to time, being sought unto far and near by such as groaned under afflictions and Tentations, many of whom, through Gods blessing upon his labours, were restored to joy and comforts out of unspeakable terrors and torments of Conscience.

His Meekness.

He was of a most sweet, and meek disposition; yea such was his meekness of spirit, that it seemeth not to be paralleld. For though he lived with his wife above twenty years, yet neither childe, nor servant, could ever say that they saw so much as an angry countenance, or heard so much as an angry word proceed from him towards her all her life long.

Some have observed, that towards his latter end in his visage he did much resemble the Picture that is usually made for *Moses*. Certainly he was the exact *Effigies* of *Moses* his spirit, and in this resembled him to the life, that he was one of the meekest men that this Generation hath known.

A Peace-maker.

He was, as a great peace-keeper, so a great peace-maker, having an excellent dexterity in composing of differences; he was far from doing wrong to others, and as far from revenging wrong done to him by others.

Notwithstanding



Notwithstanding which, he suffered much, both by the speeches, and also by the actions of evil, and envious persons; yet his manner was, rather to pray for them, than in any harsh manner to retaliate like for like. He alwayes judged that revilers, and injurious persons wronged themselves more than him.

Sundry scandalous, and false aspersions were cast upon him, yea by such persons as were guilty of those very crimes which they laid to his charge. For some who lived by the unwarrantable trade of Usury, to justify their own unlawful practices, have not stuck to charge the same upon him, though he was all wayes free from it, never putting out any money to use, either by himself, or any other for him, neither directly, nor indirectly, as he hath been often heard to affirm, both in his life time, and not long before his death. He is slandered.

Being chosen President of *Sion* Colledge, according to the custome, when he left his Office, he preached a learned, and polite *Latine* Sermon *ad clerum*, which he delivered by the strength of his memory, without the help of his notes, which shewed that though his body was decrepit, and feeble, yet his intellectuals were vivid, quick, and vigorous. His good Memory.

He was very charitable, especially to the godly poor, according to that direction of the Apostle, *Gal. 6. 10.* where he exhorts us *to do good to all but especially to the household of Faith.* He maintained some poor Schollars in the University wholly at his own charge, and contributed liberally towards the maintenance of others. Indeed he set apart a *sacred stock* as he called it, a portion for the poor, proportionable to his receipts, which he faithfully distributed. His Charity.

Yea he was of such a charitable, and bountiful a disposition, that though his Father left him a competent estate, yet such were his annual disbursements for his kindred, and others that stood in need of relief, that from the time of his Fathers death till his children came to be of years, and so to call for their portions, he laid up nothing of all his comings in; whereby it may appear, that they, who out of envy cry up his estate to be greater than it was, do consequently, cry up his bounty and charity: For that whatsoever his estate was, it was wholly laid out for the relief of such as stood in need (necessary expences for his Family only excepted) which as it doth appear by his Papers, so in his life time he professed it to some of his Children; and truly as in other things he excelled many others, so in this he excelled himself.

He was very conscientious in the expence of his time, from his youth to the very time of his death. His custome was to rise very early both in the Winter and Summer. In the Winter time he constantly rose so long before day, as that he alwayes performed all the exercises of his private devotions before daylight: And in the Summer time he rose about four a Clock in the morning; by which means he had done half his work before others began their studies. If he happened to hear any at their work before he began his studies, he would say (as *Demosthenes* spake concerning the Smith) that he was much troubled that any should be at the works of their Calling, before he was at his. His Study.

He was a man of much temperance and sobriety, both in his eating, drinking, and apparel: And for Recreations, howsoever many pious persons do spend time therein, and that lawfully in warrantable Recreations, yet he spent none of his so, whence it was that he was never expert in any kinde of sports: He hath been often heard to say, that he never took any journey meerly of pleasure in all his life-time. Study, and paines were alwayes, both in youth and age his chiefest pleasure and delight; yea it was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly Father, wherein he took as much pleasure and delight, as natural men do in their eating and drinking, or in their disports and pastimes. His Temperance.

His Deport-  
ment.

Such was his deportment in his Conversation, that there was scarce a Lord, or Lady, or Citizen of quality, in, or about the City, that were piously affected, but they sought his acquaintance, and were ambitious to enjoy his company, wherein they took much content, and found much benefit to their souls thereby.

And whereas many persons of quality out of their great respect to him, came to visit him, he would so endeavour to order their conference as might tend most their edification; and if their visits were merely complemental, he soon grew weary, and accounted it a burden to him.

His Affabi-  
lity.

He was alwayes of a very friendly, and courteous disposition, in so much as the meanest, not only of his own Parish, but of the City, found easie access to him, and he was as easie to be intreated, yea ready to do what good he could to all.

His Humili-  
ty.

And amongst other Graces, his humility was very eminent, and exemplary: Though others knew not when his face did not shine, yet he knew not when it did. He that readily could observe the least glimpses or appearances of any worth in others, would not acknowledge them in himself: He was (as it was said of *Nazianzen*) high in employments, and abilities, but low in his disposition, and resentment of his own worth. He was not observed to be puffed up either with the multitudes that flocked unto his Ministry (which were many and great) nor with any applauses of men; but would still say, *That he knew more by himself to abase him, than any could know to extol him*; yea so eminent was his Humility, that he charged his Executor, to whom he committed the care of his Funeral, that there should no *Green Staffe* be laid upon his Herse, though this usual respect is given to those who in their life-time were Governours of the Hospital of *Bridewell*, one of which number this worthy Doctor was, yea and a Benefactor too to that House: As also that he should not affix any *Escucheons* to his Herse, though he was a Gentleman of an ancient Descent, as if he had thought that the poverty of *Christ* was his *Patrimony*, and *Coat of Arms*, and his interest in him, his greatest, and best achievement; or as if both living and dead he would be (as the Apostle speaks) *cloathed with Humility*.

His Fastings

He was much in Communion with God, and contented not himself only with his constant, daily, and ordinary holy duties, but was also frequent in extraordinary Exercises. In the Bishops times, when it was not permitted to keep Fasts in the publick Congregations, he was one of those Ministers who frequently help private Christians in their more retired Humiliations. In times of fears and dangers, he with divers others, had sometimes monthly, yea sometimes weekly Fasts, whereof many were kept in his own house, and others of them in his Vestry; which he was observed to perform with extraordinary Reverence and awfulness of spirit. His Confessions were accompanied with much sense of, and sorrow for sin, brokenness of heart, self-aborrancy, judging of the creature, and justifying of God: His petitions were pertinent, judicious, spiritual, seasonable, accompanied with faith and fervency; like a true son of *Jacob*, he wrestled with supplications, and tears, as resolving not to depart out of Gods presence without a blessing.

His Thank-  
givings.

But there was none like him in Thanksgiving, when a man would have thought that he had spent the last drop of his spirits and strength in Confession and Prayer; O! how would he recollect his spirits when he came to the work of Thanksgiving, wherein he would be so large, particular, warm, and vigorous, that in the end of the day when mens affections grew flat, he would so revive and quicken them, as if the work had been then but newly begun, and as if that had been the onely work of the day; and herein indeed he may be a pattern to all his surviving Brethren in the Ministry.

He was very inquisitive after the state, and condition of the Church of *Christ*, both at home, and abroad, that he might accordingly order his prayers



in their behalf, of whom he was never unmindful in his addresses unto God. And when he heard that it went ill with the Church of God in any place, like another *Nehemiah*, he *sate him down, and wept, and mourned, and fasted, and prayed unto the God of Heaven* in their behalf.

His Sympathy.

His Faith.

His study was as great to advance *Christ*, as to debase himself. He used frequently to say, *When I look upon my self, I see nothing but emptiness, and weakness; but when I look upon Christ, I see nothing but fulness and sufficiency.* When the hand of his body was weak and shaking, that of his soul, his faith, was strong and steady. When he could not hold the Cup at the Sacrament, nor scarce carry it to his own mouth by reason of his Palsie-hand, yet then with a firme and fixed assistance did he lay hold upon *Christ*, and with a strong and eager appetite applied his blood to his soul, and his manner was sweetly to breath forth joyfull Thanksgivings for his refreshment by the Blood of *Christ*, when he was returned to his house after the Lords Supper; yea when he could hardly creep with his body to the place where it was celebrated, and was forced many times to make use of the help of others to support him in his passage thither, even then did his faith run swiftly, and was upon the wing to carry him to *Christ*. When worldly supports failed him, when health, and strength forsook him, he made *Jesus Christ* the staff of his old age, often professing, as his great misery and impotency without him, so his holy and humble recumbency upon him.

Great was his patience under the visiting hand of God, especially in his old age, when God exercised him with painful maladies. Though by reason of the sharpness, and bitterness of his pains occasioned by the stone, and acuteness of his urine, and that *Lethalis arundo* (as he oft called it) that deadly arrow in his side, which he knew could never be plucked out but by death, I mean his *Asthma*, which he got by an excessive cold in attending upon publick employments: Notwithstanding (I say) by reason of these he was often heard to groan, yet never did he once grumble against the dispensations of God. Never did he complain of God for his sufferings, though oft of himself for sinning: He never cryed out *A great sufferer*, but oft, *A great sinner!* and yet he would overtake that expression again, with the discouring of, and comforting himself in *A great Saviour*, and in the depth of his torments he would say, *Well, yet in all these there is nothing of Hell, or of Gods wrath.* His sufferings were never so deep, but he could see the bottome of them, and would say, *Soul be silent: Soul be patient; It is thy God, and Father, that thus orderth thy estate; Thou art his clay, he may tread and trample on thee, as pleaseth him: Thou hast deserved much more: It is enough that thou art kept out of Hell: Though thy pain be grievous, yet it is tollerable: Thy God affords some intermissions, he will turn it to thy good, and at length put an end to all; none of these can be expected in Hell.*

His Patience.

He used often to make mention of the extent of obedience, which he said was not onely to endeavour to do what God requieth, but also patiently to bear what Gods will is to lay upon his Creature, as *Christ* himself, though he were the Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered. In his greatest pangs, he oft used this speech of holy *Job*, *Shall we receive good from the hands of God, and not evil?* He often commended his soul unto *Christ*, and used to say, *I am perswaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.* When any of his Friends went about to comfort him in those gifts which God had bestowed on him, and works which he had wrought by him, he would answer, *I dare not think of any such thing for comfort; Jesus Christ, and what he hath done, and endured, is the only ground of my sure comfort.* Many that came to visit him in his weakness, professed that they went away better than they came, by reason of those savoury and gracious speeches, and expressions that proceeded from him.

His excellent Speeches.

For

Though,

Though, towards his latter end, his fits of the stone were frequent and sharp, having sometimes four or five of them in an hour, yet such was his desire to finish that his so much desired Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, that so soon as the bitter pain of his fit was over, he still returned to his work, making some further progress therein. And thus he continued labouring in that employment through many pains till *Tuesday* the 6. *December*, *Anno Christi*, 1653. About which time, as his natural strength was exceedingly decayed, so now also his Intellectuals began to fail, and for the following three dayes, a drowsiness seized upon him, insomuch that he could not hold up his head to look into a Book, but slumbered away his time in a Chair; and upon *Fry-day* being the third day after he had given over his studies, enquiring what day it was, he cried out, *Alas! I have lost three dayes*. The day following being *Saturday*, he had no desire to arise out of his bed, neither indeed could he, in regard of his weakness, which was such, and he was so sensible of it, that he said, *Now I have not long to live in this world, the time of my departure is at hand, I am going to my desired Haven*; The apprehension whereof was no little joy unto him, for he had often said to such of his Friends as came to visit him in his sickness, *I am willing to dye, having, I bless God, nothing to do but to dye*. Indeed sometimes he seemed to be in the same strait with *St. Paul* between Life and Death, *having a desire to depart that he might be with Christ, which was best of all*. But yet very desirous he was to finish his Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, which he knew would be very useful to the Church of God, and in that respect he was willing to live; and God so far answered his desire in that particular, that he lived to finish it within half a Chapter. But when he perceived that his time in this world could not be long, O! how sweet, and joyfull was the apprehension of Death unto him, which he often termed, *his best friend next to Jesus Christ*. So that he came willingly; he was not plucked and dragged to Death: Death was his familiar acquaintance; it was his privilege as well as his task. When his good sister said to him in his sickness, Brother, I am afraid to leave you alone; *Why Sister* (said he) *I shall, I am sure, be with Jesus Christ when I dye*. The meditation of Death was not more frequent than sweet unto him. His soul was upon the wing, and was bent Heaven-ward; even whilst it was in the cage of his decrepit Body.

Upon *Saturday*, though he kept his bed through weakness, yet was he more wakefull, and his spirit more lively, and cheerful, than for several dayes before, which questionless was from his joyful apprehension of his approaching departure.

His speeches that day were more than ordinary Heavenly: He spake much in the admiration of Gods Free-grace, and riches of his Mercy in *Jesus Christ*.

As while he lived he led a heavenly life, so about the time of his death, by those comforts, and joyes that he found in his soul, he seemed to be in Heaven, even while he was upon the earth; and so he continued full of sweet, and divine comfort, and heavenly expressions to the last of his understanding and speech, which continued to *Munday* morning, when both of them failed him; from which time he lay breathing, yet shorter, and shorter, till eight of the Clock at night, about which time, in the presence of all his Children, and divers of his Friends, he quietly slept in the Lord, making an happy change from earth to Heaven, which was *December*, 12. *Anno Christi* 1653, being 79 years old, after he had served God faithfully and painfully in his Generation.





## A Catalogue of the Books published by him.

- ✓ *Of Domestical Duties on Eph. 5. and 6.* 1642, 1626. 1634. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1642.
- ✓ *The whole Armour of God, on Eph. 6.* 1616. 1619. 1627. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1642. corrected & enlarged.
- ✓ *Of the sin against the Holy Ghost, on Matth. 12. 31, 32.* Mar. 3. 28, 29.
- ✓ *Upon the Lords Prayer, called, A Guide to go to God.* 1626
- ✓ *Gods three Arrows, Plague, Famine, and Sword, on Num. 16. 44, &c. 2 Sam. 21. 1. Exod. 17. 8.* 1631
- ✓ *The extent of Gods Providence, November 5. on Matth. 10. 29, 30, 31.* 1631
- ✓ *The Dignity of Chivalry, on 2 Chron. 8. 9.* 1626. 1631
- ✓ *The Saints Sacrifice, or a Comment on Psal. 116.* 1631
- Two Treatises, 1. *The Sabbaths Sanctification*, 2. *A Treatise of Apostacy*, on Luke 15. 31.
- ✓ *The Saints Support: A Sermon before the Commons in Parliament, on Nehem. 5. 19.* 1642
- Mercies Memorial, November 17. on Exod. 13. 3.*
- ✓ *The Progress of Divine Providence: A Sermon before the House of Lords, on Exod. 36. 11.* 1646
- A Funeral Sermon, on Ezek. 24. 16.*
- The Right way: A Sermon before the Lords, on Ezra 8. 21.*
- ✓ *Two Catechismes.*
- ✓ *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.* 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1636

My Reverend Friend Master *Thomas Gough*, eldest Son to this famous Doctor, desired me to insert this Life, amongst these other Worthies contained in this Volume.

THE



*The Life and Death of Master Thomas Gataker,  
who died Anno Christi, 1654.*

His Paren-  
tage.



After *Thomas Gataker*, or *Gatacre* (for so he wrote himself till of later years to prevent miscalling, occasioned frequently by the view of the Letters, he changed it into *Gataker*) was a branch of a very ancient Family, so firmly by Gods Providence planted in *Shropshire*, that the Stock hath continued in the same House, carrying the Name of its owner, and known by the Title of *Gatacre-Hall*, by an un-interrupted succession from the time of King *Edward the Confessor*.

His Father, Master *Thomas Gatacre* (being a younger Son of *William Gatacre*) was designed by his Parents to the study of the *Law*, in order whereunto he was admitted a Student in the Temple: And during his abode there, he, occasionally went to visit some of his Kindred, who were then high in place, and power, whereby he was often present at the examination of some Christian Confessors of the Gospel, in those bloody times wherein Satan armed all his Forces to suppress that dawning light which threatened ruine to his Kingdom of darkness.

The harshness and cruelty of those proceedings, together with the constancy of those weak, yet sincere Christians, who with the evidence of truth, and resolution of minde maintained faith and a good conscience, were very prevalent with him to facilitate his entertainment of that purer Doctrine of the Gospel which began to shine into his soul.

This being apprehended by his Parents, fearing his change in Religion, they sent him over to *Louvaine* in *Flanders*, and to win him to a compliance with them in Religion, they settled upon him an estate in a Lease of an hundred pounds *per annum* in old Rents: but like *St. Paul*, Phil. 3. 8. He counted all outward advantages as nothing in comparison of the knowledge of Jesus Christ.

His Father therefore perceiving how fixt and unmoveable he was in his choice of Religion, in which yet he had nothing to except against, but only the novelty of it, he recalled him into *England*, and in great displeasure revoked his former Grant of rool. *per annum*, which yet could not be affected without his Sons Consent: But this young Disciple had already learned the hard lesson of self-denial, and of forsaking all to follow Christ, and therefore to preserve his Conscience pure and intire, he gave up that which was intended as a baite to Apostacy. But the Lord, who hath promised to his faithfull followers reparation and satisfaction for all their losses for his sake, raised him up Friends, by whose assistance, and encouragement, he pursued his studies at *Oxford*, and in process of time, when, not onely the clouds of ignorance



rance and superstition were dispelled, but also those bloody storms in the *Marian* dayes were blown over, he took upon him the publick Ministry of the Gospel, and he was household Chaplain to that great Favourite, *Robert Earl of Lecester*, and afterwards Pastor of *St. Edmunds* in *Lumberd street, London*: In which Parsonage house by his wife (who was of an honest Family of the *Pigots* in *Hertfordshire*) amongst other Children, he had this *Thomas*, who was His Birth  
born September the 4. *Anno Christi* 1574.

In his Childe-hood he was so addicted to those means which his Parents His Educa-  
applied him unto, for the implanting in him the seeds of good Litterature, that tion.  
he rather needed a bridle, than a spur: For his love of learning (equal to that admirable capacity, wherewith the Father of Lights had furnished him) was so active in the acquiring of it, that his Father was fain often gently to chide him from his Book. Neither were his nimble wit, sharp judgement, and vast memory perverted to be the instruments of that debauchery wherewith the corruption of our Nature doth too often stain and deflowre our first dayes: For he had a lovely gravity in his young Conversation; so that what *Gregory Nazianzen* said of the great *Basil*, might be averted of him, *That he held forth Learning beyond his age, and a fixedness of manners beyond his Learning.*

Having happily finished his *Tyrocinnia* of first-exercises in the *Grammar-Schools* His remove  
(wherein he overcame by his strange industry) the difficulties which those times to Cam-  
(destitute of many helps which our present dayes do enjoy) conflicted withall, bridge.  
and out-stripped many of his fellows which ran in the same course; so that before he had compleated sixteen years, viz. *Anno Christi* 1590, he was by his Father placed in *St. Johns Colledge in Cambridge.*

Not long after his settlement there, his Father (being called by God to receive the reward of his labours) left him, not wholly destitute, and yet not sufficiently provided for any long continuance of his studies in that place. But God who hath engaged his truth and mercy to the upright, and even to his seed also, *Psal.* 112. 1, 2. (especially when the Son doth not degenerate, nor thwart the Providence of God, by a forfeiture of his title to the Promises, provided Friends and means for him, who was by an hidden Counsel then designed to be an instrument of doing much service to the Church of Christ. Thus the fruit was not nipped in a promising bud, by the Frost of want. Gods Pro-  
vidence.

Now not from meer favour, but from merit (upon the proof of his Learning) he was chosen *Scholler* of that worthy Society, wherein he continued his studies with unwearied diligence, and happy success, till he, with abilities answerable to his Degree, commenced Master of Arts. For an instance of his industry, take this, viz. That he was a constant Auditor of that eminent Light of Learning, Master *John Boys*, who read a *Greek Lecture* in his bed to certain young Students that preferred their nightly studies before their rest and ease. The notes of those Lectures he kept as a treasure, and being visited by Master *Boys* many years after, he brought them forth to him, to the no small joy of the good old man, who professed that he was made some years younger by that grateful entertainment. His indu-  
stry and  
preferment

About this time was contracted that streight friendship betwixt our Master Gataker, and that faithful servant of *Iesus Christ* Master *Richard Stock*, which continued to the death of this Reverend Minister, as appears by Master Gatakers testimony given unto him at his Funeral.

An evidence of that good esteem which Master Gataker had now acquired, His remove  
for his Learning and Piety, was this, That a Colledge being then to be erected to Sidney  
by the Munificence of the Countess of *Suffex*, the Trustees of that Foundress Colledge.  
(being persons eminent for Prudence and Zeal) did choose him for one of that Society, and they transplanted him into that new Nursery of Arts and Religion, being confident that he would (as indeed he did by *Christs* assistance) prove very fruitfull both for the ornament and benefit of that Seminary.

Indeed

Indeed they laid hold of him before the House was fit for Inhabitants, fearing lest so fair and promising a Flower should be taken up by some other hand. But while the Colledge was in building (that he might not lose any opportunity of doing good) he retired himself to the house of Master *William Aylofes* in *Essex*, who had prevailed with him to instruct both himself in the *Hebrew* Language, and his eldest Son in that Literature which was proper to his age.

His abode  
in *Essex*.

His im-  
ployment  
there.

In this Family, partly by his own inclination, and partly by the encouragement of the Governours thereof, he performed Family Duties for the instruction and edification of the whole household, expounding to them a portion of Scripture every morning, that the Sun of Righteousness might as constantly arise in their hearts, as the day brake in upon them. In this Exercise, whereby he laboured to profit both himself and others, he went over the Epistles of the Apostles, the Prophecie of *Isaiah*, and a good part of the Book of *Job*, rendering the Text out of the Original Languages, and then delivering cleer Explanations, and also deducing usefull Observations.

Doctor *Stern*, the *Suffragan* of *Colchester*, on a time visiting the Mistress of the Family (to whom he was nearly related) happened to be present at one of these Exercises, at which time Master *Gataker* explicated the first Chapter of *St. Pauls* Epistle to the *Ephesians*, which is known to be most pregnant of Divine Mysteries: But this Portion of holy Writ he treated upon with such happy Elucidations, that the judicious Doctor was much satisfied with his pains therein, and admiring the endowments of Master *Gataker*, exhorted him instantly to be Ordained to the work of the Ministry, whereby those his gifts might be authoritatively exercised for the publick good, and improved for the building up of the Church, and withall, offered him his assistance in that business: But Master *Gataker*, well weighing the burden of that Calling, and judging modestly of his own abilities, which he conceived disproportionable for that Office (to the full discharge whereof the Apostle hath set, *tis inav<sup>o</sup>. Who is sufficient?*) thanked the Doctor for his kind offer, but deferred the matter to further consideration: But afterwards by the advice of the Reverend Master *Henry Alvey*, formerly his Tutor, and whom in this business he now took for his counsellour, upon his remonstrance of divers reasons, and the importunity of Doctor *Stern* afresh re-iterated, he assented to be Ordained by the said *suffragan*.

His Ordination.

His return  
to *Cambridge*.

His diligence.

The Fabrick of *Sidney-Sussex* Colledge being now finished, he betook himself to the station, and employment whereunto he was before designed, and to the work depending thereon, wherein his pains in seasoning young Students with principles of Piety and Learning, were both great, and very successful: For some of them that watered their Gardens at his Spring, or kindled their Lamps at his Light, grew up to great eminency, as Master *John Hoyl*, and Master *Thomas Pell*, who were afterwards worthy Fellows of that Society.

About that time there were certain persons in the University, zealous of promoting the glory of God, and of gaining souls to *Christ*, that lay in a sad condition through the defect of Pastors able to teach, and lead the people in the wayes of truth, life, and peace, especially Master *Abdias Ashton* of *St. Johns* Colledge, and Master *William Bedel* of *Emanuel*, who set on foot, a design of preaching in places adjacent to *Cambridge*, even to a considerable distance. These men invited Master *Gataker* to be a partner in this good employment, who being drawn, and encouraged by them, preached every Lords day at *Everton* (a Village in the meeting-confines of *Cambridge*, *Bedford*, and *Huntingtonshire*) where a decrepid man (who was reported to be sixscore and ten years old) sustained the name of Vicar, *Vix magni nominis umbra*. Here a Family of the *Burgoines*, resident in that place deserveth this honou-

His Ministerial  
employment.



honourable remembrance, that Mr. Roger Burgoine during that time, used Master Gataker with great humanity, and respect, which by him was construed to be an effect of his Piety.

After he had thus religiously imployed himself for the space of half a year, manifesting his publick spirit therein, he had some causes that moved him to retire from the University at the motion of Master Ashton before mentioned, who had been his Tutor, whereupon he removed to Sir William Cooks Family, then resident in London. His remove to London.

This place and imployment occasioned a more publick discovery of his Ministerial Gifts, with the singular approbation of many persons of note, not onely for their outward estate, but also for their affection unto, and judgement in Religion. Hereupon the Lecturers place of *Lincolns-Inne* falling void, some principal persons of that Honourable Society (who had been his Auditors occasionally elsewhere) made addresses unto him, inviting him unto that place, offering their assistance, and alledging the facility of his Introduction by the Lord Chief Justice Pophams interressing himself in the business, whom they knew to have loved his Father Master Thomas Gataker (being once his intimate friend, and contemporary in the study of the Law) and to favour this his son very highly for his own worth and work in the Ministry: But he, according to his usual modesty, declined the undertaking of it, and resisted the importunities even of his Friend Master Stock; till Doctor Mountague, Master of *Sidney-Colledge*, repairing to London, and being made acquainted with the design in hand (though he had it in his thoughts to invite Master Gataker back to the Colledge, that he might read an *Hebrew Lecture* which had a Salary annexed to it by the Lord Harrington, yet) laying that aside, he pressed Mr. Gataker with Arguments, and Authority, encouraging him against his own diffidence, and so wrought him at last to an assent, that without any suit made by him, the Lord Popham should recommend him to that Society. His call to Lincolns-Inne.

Thus was he chosen Preacher at *Lincolns-Inne*, where he spent ten years to the great advancement of Piety amongst them, and with an happy Reformation of some abuses of the *Lords day*, as he himself testifies in his *Apologetical Discourse* against Lilly, p. 16, 17.

But notwithstanding that engagement, Master Gataker did not totally abandon the Family of Sir William Cook, to whose Lady he was near by blood, and dear to them both upon the account of his pious and profitable labours amongst them. Therefore in the Vacation-times being disingaged from his attendance at the *Innes of Court*, he resided in that Family, exercising his Ministry either in their Chappel, or in the Parish Church as occasion offered it self; and this he did with an *Apostolical* minde, not for filthy lucre, but freely, making the Gospel a burden onely to the Dispenser of it; yet such was the care and piety of that Religious pair, that they also would not serve God with that that cost them nothing: For afterwards, in consideration of those his pains freely taken amongst them, they settled upon Master Gataker an Annuity of 20 l. per annum, which also he received for some few years, but afterwards he saw reason to remit it to the Heire of that Family, forbearing to make use of his right he had to it, and forbidding his Executor to demand any Arrears of that Annuity.

This is mentioned the rather to shew the generous temper of this holy man of God, who aimed at the spiritual good of others, more than at his own temporal advantages, and how infinitely he was removed from the sordid acquisition of gain, or the prostitution of his sacred Function unto secular designs, which may stop the mouth of malice, and the impudent clamours of some, whose consciences being either gauled or cauterized; spared not to traduce him for coverousness: But his own pen wrote the best Apology, as indeed (according to that of *Nazianzen*) they that will give him a just Character, have need of his Eloquence. His self-denial.

Whilst he attended on that Flock at *Lincolns-Inne*, Sir William Sidley, a learned

learned *Mecenas*, and pious Patron of the Church, proffered him a fair Benefice; and when Mr. *Gataker* declined the burden of a Pastoral charge, and pleaded an unwillingness to be removed from those worthy Gentlemen (of whose favour he had such good experience) he endeavoured to persuade him that by taking an assistant, all those inconveniences would be salved, and so he needed not to desert that Society, which in *Term time* only required his labours and attendance: But Master *Gataker*, who poised the burden in the balance of the Sanctuary, alwayes judged one cure of souls to be sufficient for one man, and therefore ventured the unkinde resentment of the Noble Gentleman upon his refusal, rather than the multiplying of preferments to himself.

His remove  
to *Rother-*  
*hithe*.

After ten years labours profitably employed at *Lincolns-Inne*, not onely to the great benefit of the then living servants of God, but also for the behoof of posterity, especially by that his learned Tractate of *Lots*, there, and then conceived, and formed (wherein what satisfaction is given to conscience in many cases, let the judicious acknowledge.) Master *Gataker* thence removed to undertake the Rectory of *Rotherhithe* in *Surry*, of the grounds, motives, and manner whereof he himself hath largely given an account to the world in his *Apologetick* against *Lilly*, p. 44, 48. of which this is the sum;

The Rectory of *Redrith* in *Surry* (as it is commonly called) being void, and one of an infamous life, labouring hard to succeed in it (in order to which, before the former Incumbents death, he had set on foot a transaction with the mother of certain Orphans in whose hands the Patronage was supposed to rest) some of the Religious Inhabitants, valuing the means of Grace above all their other outward enjoyments, casts their eyes, and thoughts upon Master *Gataker*, to gain whom, to their own intreaties, they added the mediation of his good Friend Master *Richard Stock*, who, when he had by many reasons remonstrated unto him that God did give him a clear call to that place, whose honour, and Ordinances might suffer prejudice by the intrusion of an unworthy man if he should refuse the call, he at last suffered himself to be persuaded, and prevailed with to undertake that charge; which being represented to Sir *Henry Hobart*, the Kings Attorney General by Master *Randolph Crew* (afterwards Lord Chief Justice) Sir *Henry* that before favoured other pretensions to gratifie some Tenants of his in that Parish, yet now did readily imbrace the motion concerning the setting of Master *Gataker* there, according to his own contentment; and withall wrote a Letter to the Bishop for the removal of all obstructions that lay in the way, or that might hinder his acceptance of the presentation of Master *Gataker*, which, being signed with all the hands of the three brethren, who had right to that *Advocation*, was rendred on his behalf.

The report of this his removal was no welcome news to many of that Honourable Society, who would fain have retained him, and some of them offered an enlargement of his maintenance for an argument to keep him, and others of them represented the consistence of both employments by the help of an assistant: But he that made not his Ministry a meer trade of living here, as *Gregory Nazianzene* complained that some did in his time, and too many do in our times, would not multiply his burdens, when he deemed himself unfit for the least, and would not suffer himself to be wrought to any other resolution.

His indu-  
stry.

Therefore *Anno Christi 1611*, commending his former charge to the Grace of God, he betook himself to the sole attendance of that Flock of which now the Holy Ghost had made him the Overseer; and his industry in the discharge of his duty there was both constant and great, notwithstanding that he was almost perpetually troubled with the head-ache, wherewith God had exercised him from his very youth, and for which he had only this poor comfort from his Physician, Doctor *Goulston*, his singular good friend (with whom



whom he communicated his studies upon *Galen*, and to whom he contributed his assistance for the Edition of some parts of *Galen* who often told him, that the incurable disease of age would be the onely remedy of his distemper, because together with the abatement of natural heat, his indisposition would grow less vigorous and violent.

To the work of his Ministry in publick upon the *Sabbaths*, he added a *Catechetical* weekly Lecture on *Frydays* in the evening, which was designed by him, to lay the foundation of saving knowledge in the hearts of the children, of whom a certain number every Lecture day did give an account of their knowledge by set Answers to Questions delivered out to them aforehand for their instruction (this course of holding a *form of sound words*, agreeable to the Doctrine of the Gospel consigned in holy Writ, of what importance it is, we may gather from that ignorance, and those errors which have invaded the Church in these our times; which mischiefs can hardly be imputed to any thing so much as to the neglect of that usefull duty of *Catechizing*.) But that exercise was performed by him with such an accurate, and methodical explication of the whole *Body of Divinity*, that Christians of riper years, and of long standing in *Christs* School, did resort to be partakers of those discourses, wherein their well-exercised senses did find not only *milk fit for babes*, but also *solid meat* suitable to *grown men in Christ*.

This course he continued till he had compleated a perfect *Summary of Divinity*, and gave it over when he saw that the least part of his Auditory consisted of those for whose sakes he principally intended this work; his Parishoners being grown at least to a neglect of his free labours in that kind.

Master *Gatakers* constant retirement in his study caused him to make choise of an help meet for him that might oversee his Family, which was a necessary act of prudence; and therefore not long before he left *Lincolns Inne*, he married the widow of Master *William Cupp*, to whose two daughters he was so providently kinde in their education, that he disposed of them in marriage to two Divines of note in the Church, and continued such a fatherly love to them, and theirs, that the world mistook them for his own children. That wife dyed in child-bed of a son that did bear the Fathers name, who after that he had seen the most remote parts of the world, wherewith we keep commerce, returned home to his Father, and dyed in peace.

The same motive still being in force, he after a decent interval of widow-hood, chose for himself the daughter of a Reverend Minister, Master *Charles Pinner*, who was brought up in the worthy, and Religious Family of Master *Ellis Crisp*, brother to Mistris *Pinner*; and it pleased God to give him a Son by her, whom in process of time he Dedicated unto God in the work of the Ministry, but immediately to take away the mother, so that the mothers *Funeral*, and the childs *Baptisme* were celebrated together. Thus our wife and gracious Father tempers the cup for his children, lest they should surfer upon earthly enjoyments, as they might easily do if they were unmixed with occasions of sorrow.

Then did Master *Gataker* remain for many years in a disconsolate condition, till at last he adventured and married a Gentlewoman of a very considerable Family, being sister to Sir *George*, and Sir *John Farwell*, and of a good esteem for knowledge and piety. By her he had three children, whereof a son, and a daughter were carried to the ground before their mother, but the third yet lives to walk by the light of her Fathers life, and Doctrine. This his third wife being of a Contemplative mind, fell into a consumption, which so wasted her Body, that her soul took its flight from thence into Heaven.

Last of all, he took to wife a Citizens widow, whose comfortable conversation he enjoyed for the space of four and twenty years, but without any issue by her. His love to her was one motive that induced him to remove

out of his Parsonage house into another Habitation of his own revenue. For, supposing that she might survive him, he would make a convenient provision for her, that she might not be subject to the curtesie of another for her removal; and that affection extended it self in his great liberality to many of her kindred that were in need of help and support from him, and that both in her life time, and since her decease.

He survived her two years within a few dayes, and because he numbred his dayes with wisdom, and thereupon presumed that the time was approaching wherein his soul should be married to the Lamb, he would not endure to listen to the motion of some, who would have advised him to a new entanglement in the world.

Having thus related his several Marriages in a continued Narrative, let us now step back to take notice of some passages in time that went before the last of them.

He views  
the Low-  
Countries.

*Anno Christi 1620.* having a justifiable curiosity to see our neighbour Churches in the *United Provinces*, and something of the *Spanish Provinces* in the *Netherlands*, he took advantage of the Truce between the King of *Spain*, and the *Hollanders* for a free passage between both Countries. Thereupon with his entire friend, Captain *Joshua Downing*, and an old acquaintance, Master *Roger Hughes* (his *Mason*, whose house he frequented at *London*) he took his voyage, taking also along with him a Nephew of his, who was a young Student, to be a partner with him in his Travels. His mother being then alive, had some fears, lest he being a known and noted Adversary to the *Papish* cause (which he had mortally wounded with many and sharp weapons) should suffer inconvenience from that generation of Vipers, whose violent, and virulent malice often prompts them to base courses of secret revenge; But God was his guide, his *Sun*, and his *Shield*, and so prospered his journey, that within a months space (for they took Boat *July* the 13, and returned safe *August* the 14,) he had viewed the most considerable places in the *Low Countries*. In this his travel he gave better satisfaction to the *English Church* in *Middleburgh*, where he gave way to the importunity of Friends, who were desirous to hear him, as well as glad to see him, than he did to the *English Papists* in *Flanders*, with whom he had divers debates, wherein he drove some to a confusion whom he could that draw to a conversion.

He is chosen  
to the As-  
sembly.

*Anno Christi 1642.* A violent fit of the Colick assaulted him, and brought him to the very brink of the Grave; but it pleased God to bring him back again that he might do him further service. For the year ensuing, before he had well recovered his strength, he was called by the Parliament to sit as one of the *Assembly* which was summoned to be consulted with about Religion; where his endeavours for promoting truth, and suppressing error, were sincere and serious: And his study of peace with modesty was in this remarkable, that when his Reasons delivered concerning *Christs* obedience in order to our Justification (wherein he differed from his Brethren) could not obtain assent from the *Major* part, which determined the Question contrary to his sense, his great love of unity imposed upon him silence, and wrought likewise upon him resolutions, not to publish his discourses upon that subject from *Rom* 3. 28. that so he might not publickly discover dissent from the Votes of that Reverend *Assembly*. I wish there had been the like prudence and modesty in some others, who profess themselves to differ but in circumstances.

His Self-de-  
nial.

During his attendance upon the work of that Convention, the Earle of *Manchester* (being acquainted with his great worth, and fitness in regard of his Learning of all kindes for *Academical* transactions) offered him the Mastership of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, which is the greatest preferment in that University. For that Noble Lord being intrusted by the Parliament with the

Reforma-



Reformation of that *Academy*, was not passionately transported with a blinde partiality of mens persons upon any sinister respects, but desired to prefer them whom he judged most worthy, and most hopeful to do *Christ* service in that place, and therefore being perswaded that Master *Gataker* might (both in regard of his gravity, and vast Scholastical abilities) be a choise ornament to that University, and a fair copy for others to write by, he was very desirous to place him there. But this good man though often importuned by many Friends to accept of the motion, according to his accustomed modesty, with many thanks to the Noble Earle, refused to undertake that place, though of much honour, service, and outward advantage; Pleading, together with his unworthiness, the weakness of his body by reason of age, and thereupon his inability to take journies: and because he looked upon himself, as having one foot in the Grave, he humbly desired, that a younger man might be thought upon, more likely to be longer serviceable than himself, in a place of so great eminency and trust.

And indeed the sense of his own weakness was not a vain presage of his decayes; for not long after he was again surpris'd by the Colick, which before had shaken him, and made his crazie Body less able to endure new conflicts, and these were so sharp, that his recovery appeared desperate, not only to his other Friends, but even to his *Physicians* also. Yet it pleased God though he chastened him sore, not to give him over unto death. For his studies, which seemed to be his meat and drink in his health, were his *Physick* also when he was sick: For whilst he was confined to his chamber, he prepared for the Press his *Dissertation de Tetragrammato*, and a *Grammatical* discourse *de Bivocalibus*; and though this for the subject be not comparable to the other, yet it may be averred, that what he did by the by, and for the refreshment of his languishing Body, and minde, was of more worth than the main work of many Students.

His Dissenters.

After a long time that he had been a Prisoner in his own house, he, by Gods assistance recovered so much strength as that he was able to go to Gods House: and now he believed himself bound to imploy his Ministerial Gifts in Gods service, and therefore he again adventured into the Pulpit, where he spent himself so far that he strained a veyn in his lungs, for which (being then about Seventy three years old) he was let Blood, by which, and other good means, God was please d to carry him through that danger.

When he had recruited his veyns and sinews with fresh abilities, he, being unwilling to fall under that Woe, 1 *Cor.* 9. 16. for not preaching the *Gospel*, acted more according to the willingness of his Spirit, than was proportionable to the weakness of the flesh, whereupon he fell into a relapse of spitting Blood (for which he again permitted a veyn to be opened) which laid on him a necessity of forbearing the Pulpit; yet would he never forgoe the administration of the *Sacraments*, nor his usual short discourse at *Funerals* suitable to the present occasion (whensoever he was solicited thereunto) though even those shorter exercises of his lungs were painful to him, and wasted that oil, which, like a burning light, he spent for the enlightning of others.

The main of his time was now spent in his study, and that was not designed as a meer entertainment of himself in a quiet privacy, but to the publick benefit of the Church for the present, and for posterity, as appears amongst other works, by those exquisite *Annotations* upon the Prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and the *Lamentations*; and we should have gained more by his later industry, if the malicious slanders of the enemies of the truth had not diverted his time, and studies to some necessary *Apologies*.

Neither did he, when he was by the hand of God disabled to preach, betray his Flock into the hands of Wolves, that would make a prey of precious souls, nor desert it. For being troubled, left the foundation that he had laid

His care of his Flock.

laid (after the example of the wise *Master-builder*, *St. Paul*) should either not be built upon, or destroyed, he retained the title of *Rector*, with a charge beyond the Revenue (as it was sometimes proved) till provision might be made of a faithfull, and Orthodox Minister, to whom he might comfortably devolve both the burden and the benefit.

His family  
employ-  
ment.

To his care of feeding his Flock in publick, very agreeable was his diligence in instructing his Family in private; For on *Fryday* nights weekly after supper, he used to expound that short *Catechisme* which he had published for the use of his Parishioners; in which course he so laid forth the Nature and Attributes of God, the state of man, both intire and corrupt, the means of his Fall, and Recovery; the nature of Faith and Repentance, with the Doctrine of the Sacraments; that his Parlour was one of the best Schooles for a young Student to learn Divinity in; and indeed his house was a private Seminary for divers young Gentlemen of this Nation, and far more Forreigners, who did resort to, and sojourn with him, to receive from him direction, and advancement in their studies; and many who afterwards were eminent in the Churches, both here, and abroad, were brought up under his eye, at least, as *Paul* was at the feet of *Gamaliel*.

Persons bred under him *English* Persons of note that had been his assistants, were *Master Young*, *Master Goodal*, *Master Symonds*, (of whom yet in these latter times of Division, *Master Gataker* hath been heard to say, *It was pity that our Church had lost him*, intimating his turning aside to wayes of separation) *Master Grayle*, and others who are yet living labourers in Gods Vineyard.

Forreigners

Of Forreigners that sojourned with him, and were as ambitious of being entertained by him as if they had been admitted into a University; these were some, *Master Thylein*, who was afterwards a Reverend Pastor of the *Dutch Church* in *London* (whose son was brought by his Mother but a fort-night before *Master Gatakers* decease, intreating the same good office in the behalf of him, which the Father had with much comfort enjoyed) *Master Peters*, *Master Andrew Demetrius*, *Master Hornbeck*, *Master Rich*, *Master Swerd*, *Master Wittefrangel*, *Master Severinus Benzon*, *Master Georg de Mey*, *Doctor Treschovius*, &c.

His great  
memory.

The strength of *Master Gatakers* memory was extraordinary, as may appear by this, that though he used no *Common-place Book*, yet had he in readiness whatsoever he had read, as is manifested by his manifold Quotations in all his works.

His great  
Learning.

His Gifts for edification may be conjectured by his works which are ex-  
rant, in which he hath shewed himself like the ingenious and industrious Bee for his rare extraction of all manner of knowledge from almost all Authors, and the solid digestion of it first, and then storing it up the publick good. His *Polite Literature* was admired by the great Lights of Learning abroad, as the excellent *Salmasius*, and others with whom he held correspondence. And the exercise of it, with condescension to children, hath been enjoyed with wonder and pleasure at his Visitation at *Tunbridge School* with the Right Worshipful Company of *Skinners*, the worthy Patrons thereof; and that which made all his knowledge both usefull and grateful, was, that he was neither vain in ostentation, nor morose, or illiberal in reservation of it. But beyond all, he sacrificed his Talents to God, while he made *Hagar* serve *Sarah*, and contributed the *Egyptian* spoils, all his forreign learning, towards the building of the Tabernacle: For with a strange felicity, he made his Human Literature (both his *Moral* and *Critical* studies) to become subservient to Religion, and instrumental to the explication of heavenly Truths.

His Graces of sanctification were very eminent in every condition, to all purposes, and towards all his Relations. In the private course of his life, his Piety, Humility and Charity were very remarkable.

His



His Piety appeared, not only by his diligence in Preaching, but also by his own frequenting Gods Ordinances dispensed by others; in order whereunto he did once a week at least, repair to some Lecture in London, so long as he had liberty to look beyond the bounds of his own Parish: He manifested his Piety also by his strict, careful, and conscientious observation of the Lords dayes, which he wholly consecrated (except the seasons of repast) unto holy duties, and imployments; and besides, he was free in his Contributions upon divers occasions to the maintaining of the Lords house of Prayer: And because there is a Connexion between sacred persons and things, his love to godly and faithfull Ministers may be looked upon as an act of Piety, as well as of Charity.

His Piety.

Another evident instance of his Zeal for Gods Glory, was, his constant consideration of the state of Gods Churches abroad, with a diligent enquiry how it fared with them, and a tender sense of their affliction, which begat his Meditation on *Amos 6, 6.* entituled, *Sorrow for Sion*: As also his earnest desire of a Reformation of things amiss amongst our selves, was doubtless acceptable unto God, though this sinful Nation is yet unworthy to have it accomplished. One special effect and property of his Piety was, that holiness of life expressed in a Constant tenor of good duties, with the abridgement of his liberty in things indifferent especially of Recreations (for he understood no Recreations besides study, and made the pleasanter part of his study, the sawce to the more severe) that he might give no scandal to the good, nor encouragement to the bad; alledging often those two golden Rules of *St Paul*, *All things are lawfull, but all things are not convenient or expedient; And all things are lawfull, but all things edifie not*, 1 Cor. 9. 6. & 10. 23.

His Zeal.

His holy life

His Humility appeared,

1. In that low esteem he had of his own gifts, which yet all others that knew him admired: He was a true *Moses*, that took not any notice of that shining lustre of his own countenance. Like a fair ear of Corn loaden with grain, he bended his head down-wards: For he had nothing of the *Pharisaical* temper, either to advance himself, or to vilifie his Brethren of meaner gifts.

His Humi-  
lity.

2. In his freedome from ambition of outward advantages. For he declined not only large means in the Country, but also both Ecclesiastical Dignities and Courtly preferments. For he studiously waved the counsel of some who had given notice of him to that hopeful Prince *Henry* (whom God only shewed to this Land, and then snatched him away to himself) and had it in their design to make way for his being admitted Chaplain to his Highness; and for the same reason he constantly declined publick appearances, inasmuch as he could not, without much reluctancy, be drawn by those who had most interest in him unto more solemn Assemblies.

3. In his meek conversation with, and condescension to the meanest Christians: For he refused not familiarity to converse with the poorest Christian that repaired to him for counsel or satisfaction in their doubts.

His Charity was large, though for the most part secret, both in giving, and forgiving to poor persons: For he would not permit it to blaze, only allowed it to shine when his example was requisite to lighten and lead others to glorify God, and gratifie men. In redemption of Captives, relief of poor Protestants, especially of the Ministry, to the repairs of publick and common losses, and general calamities, and to the setting forward of any good work he was strangely liberal, the fruit whereof the Lord returned into his own bosome, according to that promise, *The liberal soul shall be made fat*. Yet did he not so exhaust himself in his life, but that in his last Will and Testament he did also bequeath unto the poor of the Parish of *Redditch* 50*l.* To ten of his Brethren in the Ministry, whose wants and necessities, especially if occasioned by the iniquity of the times, he gave 50*l.* 4*l.* 6*d.* each of them 5*l.* and to eight Ministers

His Charity

Ministers

Ministers Widows 5 l. apiece, in all 40 l. to them. Thus his good works both went before him, and followed him also unto Heaven, whereby also he hath left behinde him the perfume of a good name, for the imitation of them that survive.

**His Justice.** Justice is presupposed unto *Charity*: For God hates robbery for sacrifice, *Isa* 61. 8. And Master *Gataker* was exactly just in giving every man his due, though very frequently he remitted of his own right, so that he was, according to the *Hebrew* phrase, a *just man*, that is, a kinde, equitabler person, of a milde disposition, no severe exacter of his own, and a free dispenser of Gods gifts, so that his *Righteousness endures for ever*, both to his honour upon earth, and to his happiness in Heaven.

**His Prudence, and Faith.** In, and about his death, to which the course of his declining dayes leads us, his Patience and Faith were very eminent; The latter attended with a deep sense of his own sins, which he acknowledged unto God, and to himself was that Confession needful: For as to men, his Conversation was, as a Bishops ought to be, *Irreproveable*, 1 Tim. 3. 2.

**His Sickness.** The first step to his decease (for *morbus est via ad mortem*, sickness is the rode way to death) was a fainting fit that surprized him on *Fryday* night, *July* the 7, or rather on *Saturday* morning, *July* the 8, yet of this he made no great account (for he disturbed not the rest of a servant by calling for assistance) because he had at sundry times such faintings, wherein he gave Nature leave to work out her Victory over those Vapours, or Viscous humors that oppressed her. Yet thus far he made use of it, that he compared his infirmity to that of *Seneca*, which, according to his relation, the *Physitians* of that age called, *meditationem mortis*, and wished that it might prove to him a preparation to his dissolution. The indisposition, not ceasing with the fit, discovered it self within a short time to be a *Tertian Ague*, which how gentle soever, yet falling upon a person of his age, and *Crazie* temper (who had long supported a weak frame with a very regular course of dyet) made his condition doubtful to his *Physitian*, who was one of learning and worth, that employed his best care and skill about that Patient, whom he looked upon as a considerable person to the whole Church.

**His preparation for death.** *July* the 17, Having published his *Will*, and taken such order as he thought fit for the settlement of his outward estate, he composed himself to God; his *Tertian* growing too strong both for Nature and Art, resolved it self into an almost continued *Feaver*, the extream heat whereof was very painful unto him; yet during those conflicts he shewed a sweet calmness of minde, a heart weaned from the world, to which he had no affection, though his memory exactly served him for ordering his charity even to the last; and in one word, he represented a soul wholly submitting to Gods good pleasure.

He professed more than once, that no outward thing troubled him so much, as the condition of that Reverend Minister Master *Saint-hill*, who had but lately undertaken that charge at *Redrith* upon the uncertain Title of Master *Gatakers* life, which now failing so soon, besides the expectation of his Friends, that Minister he foresaw was like to be unsettled, and thereby to suffer some inconvenience.

Though Friends, and *Physitians* gave him encouraging words at their visits, yet he, being sensible of his inward decayes, could not be flattered into vain hopes of long continuance here, earnestly contending that he was not to expect Miracles. His expectation of Gods dismissing of him hence, was so fixed, that being consulted whether he would appoint any one person to perform the last office for him? He not startled at the Question, appointed that Mr. *Ash* should be intreated to do that work, because he had done the same at his last wifes Funerals; and one opportunity casually offered it self to set forward that design. For *July* the 18. Master *Ash*, out of his kinde respect to Master *Gataker*, sent him



him two *Funeral Sermons* preached by him, one at Master *Whitakers*, the other at the interment of Doctor *Spurstons* only childe. This gave occasion to Master *Gataker*, in the return for that favour, to request the last that he could be capable of.

Upon the receipt of a Letter to that purpose, Master *Ash* on the *Saturday* following, visited his dear and dying Friend, who then told him, that he found him conflicting with his last Adversary; and that though he knew the sting was pulled out, yet nature would struggle. These, and other of his expressions, Master *Ash* presently wrote down, and related them at the end of his Sermon. His words to Master *Ash*.

That day in the afternoon being *July* the 22. he called for some Papers of Master *Baxters* which were sent to him by the Author, with a desire of his judgement concerning them. He wished some short Notes (for the perusal of them had been his last work) to be read over to him, in which he altered something: And having dictated a Letter to that his Learned and Reverend Friend, he appointed that that, with the Animadversions inclosed, should be sent to him. So vigorous was his minde in a Body drooping, and dropping into the dust. His return to Master *Baxter*.

He had now given over the use of *Physick* as to any prolongation of his life: For he said that he would struggle no more, because he found that what was prescribed for the refreshing of nature, did rather oppress it, and therefore he was resolved to wait the Lords leisure. An ancient servant that waited on him, desiring leave to rectifie the bed-cloaths, and saying withall, Sir, your head doth not lye right; he answered, *It will lye right in my Coffin*. He waits for Death.

*July* the 25. at one a clock in the morning, Death began to seize on his left foot, from which the spirits retiring, he felt the deadness of that part, and a very sharp pain in the part of the leg adjoining to it. Hereupon he called for his Son, and told him, *He feared that he should have a difficult death*. He then commanded two Surgeons to be sent for to look upon his leg, whom he required to tell him, whether or no his Foot were any whit discoloured. It seems he had conceived some fear of a *Gangrene*, but being satisfied by them that there could not be any ground for such an apprehension, he rested with patience. In the evening of that day being visited by Master *Saunders*, and lying in great anguish by reason of the violence of his heat, he prayed for pity and patience; support here, and a comfortable issue. Death seizeth on his Leg.

*July*. 26. Early in the morning, being full of pain, gasping, and panting, he cryed out, *How long Lord, How long? Come speedily*. But though Death had made an encroachment upon his outward perishing part, yet his inward man felt no decay. For with a full use of reason, he that morning ordered the continuance of a weekly relief to certain poor persons, as also of some small monethly Pensions to some widows for a season: He also caused his *Physitian* to be consulted with, about taking something that might procure rest, and was erected to a more cheerfull disposition: He also enquired after News, and discoursed freely, yet confessed himself to be in pain. The vigour of his natural Parts.

About three a clock that afternoon, feeling some great change after the putting forth of Nature, he called his Sister, Son, and Daughter, to receive his last charge, and when they were come, he thus spake unto them, *My heart fails, and my strength fails, but God is my Fortress, and the strong Rock of my salvation: Into thy hands therefore I commend my soul, for thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth*: Then turning his discourse to his Son, he said, *Son, you have a great charge, look to it: Instruct your wife and family in the fear of God, and discharge your Ministry conscientiously*. To his Sister (a Gentlewoman two years elder than himself) he said, *Sister, I thought you might have gone before me, but God calls for me first, I hope we shall meet in Heaven, I pray God to bless you*. His Daughter he admonished, *to minde the world less, and God more, for that all things without Piety, and the true fear of God are nothing worth*. He advised also that his Son *Draper* (being a man of means) His last charge to his Relations.

means) should entertain some godly Minister into his house to teach his children, and instruct his family. He exhorted them all to love and concord, which (he said) he hoped the rather, because he had clearly settled his estate, so as to prevent differences. He enlarged himself in each of these a little, wishing them all to lay to heart, the words of a dying man. After this he desired that all should withdraw, and leave him to his rest, which he hoped was at hand: But all his conflicts were not yet accomplished.

His Death.

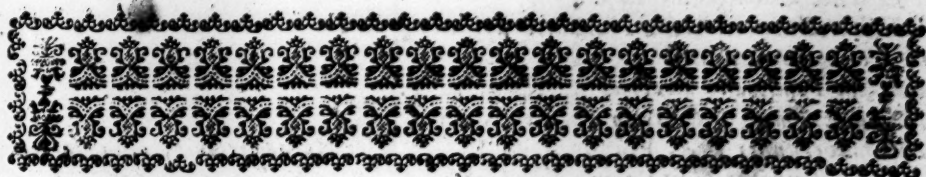
July the 27, His voice began to be less intelligible, the putrid preternatural heat having furred up his mouth, as is usual in Feavers; yet both his understanding, and senses were very quick and active: About six of the clock in the evening he called for his Son to recommend his soul unto God by prayer, and endeavoured to express what he desired, but could not do it so clearly as to be well understood; yet by his gestures he gave assurance that he understood perfectly, and concurred fervently with the devotions used on his behalf. Within an hour after, Nature being quite spent, he gave up the Ghost, and was translated into that Rest which he so often and earnestly had desired to find in another World, because he could obtain none in this.

Thus after forty three years inspection of this pious and diligent Pastor of *Redrith*, he left his Flock, returning to the great, and chief Shepherd of our souls, from his gracious hands to receive an *incorruptible Crown of glory*, having almost compleated fourscore years.

His Character.

For his Person, the express whereof (though he was often importuned by dear Friends) he would never allow to be taken either by pencil, or sculpture. He was of a middle stature, of a thin body, and of a lively countenance, of a fresh complexion; that looked young when he came to preach at *Lincolns Inne*, and yet was grey betimes, which made him to be thought elder than he was, because he had long appeared ancient in the eyes of the world; of a choicely temperate dyet; of a free and cheerful conversation, addicted much to study, yet not secluding himself from fit company. He was of a quick apprehension, sharp reason, solid judgement, vast memory, which (through Gods mercy) continued fresh to the last of his dayes. He was *Helluo librorum*, one that did not vainly encrease his Librery for ostentation; but chose Books for use, which also he made of them so happily, that he had conquered a strong portion of learning, which he made to serve him upon all occasions. He was not so great a treasurer, as a free dispenser of those riches of the mind, which he did communicate readily, expeditely, and clearly. He was an ornament to the University; and of that Society designed for the study of the Law; A Light of the Church, the salt of the place where he abode; A loving Husband; A discreet Parent; A faithful Friend; A kinde Neighbour; A courteous entertainer of strangers; A candid encourager of Students; A stout Champion for the Truth, yet a lover of peace, preserving the unity of Charity even where there was a difference of judgement; An Adversary to novel fancies, as well as to antiquated superstitions in Religion; of a Christian Magnanimity in despising the world, and therefore resolute, through *bad report*, as well as *good*, to maintain a clear conscience. In brief, he was a faithful Shepherd, and a fit mirror for Pastors, as well as an exact pattern for people; who having almost compleated eighty years departed full of dayes; but *being dead, yet speaks* in his living Monuments of sound Learning.





*His Printed Works are these:*

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*Eleazers Prayer, being a Marriage Sermon.*

*A good Wiſe Gods gift.*

*A Wiſe indeed.*

*Marriage Duties.*

*Deaths Advantage.*

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*The Annotations upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Lamentations, which was his work in the great Notes upon the Bible.*

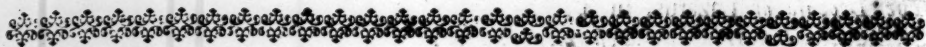
*Adversaria Miscellanea; in quibus Sacrae Scripturae & aliorum Scriptorum lux redditur. Edente Carolo, Thomae Gatakeri filio. Fol.*



A Pious Epigram of Master Gataker, being a just expression of the intimate frame of his Soul; which was made by him, not long before his Death.

*I thirst for thirstiness, I weep for Tears;  
Well pleas'd I am, to be displeas'd thus:  
The only thing I fear, is want of Fears;  
Suspecting I am not Suspicious.  
I cannot choose but Live, because I Die;  
And, when I am not Dead, how glad am I!*

*Yet, when I am thus glad for sense of pain,  
And carefull am lest I should careless be;  
Then do I grieve for being glad again,  
And fear lest carelessness take care from me.  
Amidst these restless thoughts this rest I finde,  
For those that rest not here, there's rest behind.*



Many Epitaphs were made for him after his Death: amongst Which I shall make choice only of one or two.

On the Death of that Reverend, and eminently-Learned Divine,  
Master Thomas Gataker.

*Who's this that lates thus breathless? Doleful sighs!  
The worthy Gataker; That beauteous Light  
Hath left our Hemisphere. Ah! He is gon,  
Who was the Glory deem'd of Helicon.*



The Muses joy is fled; a Magazine  
Of Learning's here blown-up. The Sisters nine,  
Could they but rate their loss (such hath it been)  
Wish Tears, they'd make an other Hippocrene.  
Poor House of Clay! Oh, how it empty lies!  
The Furniture's remov'd to Paradise.  
Angels have hence convuls'd the Jewel-minds  
Nought but the Cabinet is left behind.  
Adieu young Nestor; Seldom have we seen  
A Head so gray, and Parts so fresh and green.  
His speech to deck, such Flowers he could bring,  
In Age's Winter, one would swear 'twere Spring:  
But now for Florid Language, we may find  
Dumb Rhetorick with silence cries her mind,  
Oh! mind your latter ends; Death's sometimes late;  
But who could ere his Life perpetuate?  
We thought his Preaching done, but here we have  
One Sermon more, and for his Text, The Grave:  
Be faithfull, you, who Sions-Walls do keep,  
Watch-men themselves must once be laid to sleep.

W. Tyne, Fellow of St. John's  
Colledge in Cambridge.

Ad Tumulum Tho. Gatakeri, Londinatis,  
S. S. Theol. Bacc.

Exuvie cujus? GATAKERI Plura referre  
Haud opus: Ad laudes vox ea sola satis.

Guil. Dugard, Scholæ Merc.  
Sciss. Moderator.

THE



*The Life and Death of Master Jeremy Whitaker,  
who died Anno Christi, 1654.*

His Birth.



*Jeremy Whitaker* was born at *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*, Anno Christi 1599. In which place also he was trained up in the *Grammar-School*; and it seems that the Lord betimes did draw forth his love towards himself; For even whilst he was a School-boy, his affections did flow out towards those who were most religiously disposed, in whose company he used frequently to go

His early seeking God eight or ten miles to hear a wakening-soul-warming Sermon; He used also to joyn with them in Prayers, and other holy exercises and duties; And being able to take Sermon Notes, both understandingly, and largely, he was very helpful to those private Christians in repeating what they had publickly heard, being from his child-hood full of affections in whatsoever business he undertook. Thus this Plant of Gods own setting, did both blossom, and put forth fruit quickly, which Providence did afterwards make a very fruitful Tree.

His esteem of the Ministry.

Whilst he was at the *Grammer-School*, though his Father endeavoured often, and earnestly to divert his thoughts from the Office of the Ministry, yet was he unmoveable in his desires to be a Minister, and he never afterwards repented of this his choice; but would all his life long upon all occasions, magnifie that his Office, insomuch as he hath often been heard to utter this speech, *I had much rather be a preacher of the Gospel, than an Emperour*; and when a motion was once made to him to be the Head of a Colledge in the University, he readily returned this answer, *My heart doth more desire to be a constant Preacher, than to be the Master of any Colledge in the world.*

His remove to Cambridge.

When he was sixteen years old, being well grounded at the *Grammer School*, he was sent to the University of *Cambridge*, and admitted a Sizar in *Sydney-Sussex-Colledge*, where he soon discovered, and was taken notice of, and much valued for his pregnant parts and Scholarship.

His remove to Okeham.

At twenty years of age he Commenced Batchelor of Arts, and a while after he was sent to *Okeham* (the chiefest Town in *Rutlandshire*) there to teach the Free-School.

At that time there was one Master *William Peachy*, the Minister at *Okeham*, a godly man, and a painful Preacher of the Gospel, and Eminent for his skill in the sacred Languages, who dearly loved, and highly valued our Master *Whitaker* from his first acquaintance with him; which he manifested by proffering to him his Daughter in Marriage, as Master *Whitaker* hath since told some of his Friends; He was the rather inclined to accept of the motion, because she was the Daughter of a pious, painfull, and learned Minister of the Gospel; And occasionally hath told his Friends, that he was the better pleased with his choice, because of that Relation.

About



About four years after his coming to *Okeham* he married *Chephizibah*, the Daughter of the said Master *Peachy*, by whom God gave him four Sons, and three Daughters. All his Sons he designed for the Ministry, but it pleased God in his life time, to take one of them away whilst he was a Student in *Cambridge*; The other three survived, and he lived to see two of them Ordained, and set apart for the work of the Ministry; The third he appointed to be educated for the same work.

His Marriage and Children.

Having staid about seven years at *Okeham*, he was removed to a Pastoral charge at *Stretton* in the same County, where he continued about the space of thirteen years.

His removal to *Stretton*.

Whilst he continued School-master at *Okeham*, he undertook and preached a weekly Lecture there, besides many Sermons which he preached occasionally in neighbouring Congregations: And during his abode at *Stretton*, besides his Pastoral employment, wherein he preached twice every Lords day, he also constantly preached his weekly Lecture at *Okeham*, and was a principal prop to hold up some other Lectures in the Neighbourhood. His manner also was to set apart every *Holy-day* (if there were but one in the week) as a day of seeking God in reference to the necessities of the times, and no man was more free, and frequent in assisting in dayes of Humiliation in private, both in *Rutlandshire*, and in the adjacent Counties when-soever he was called, and invited thereunto.

His great Pains.

His frequent Fasting.

Such was his love to *Christ*, that his publick employments (though many and great) did not take him off from attending his Family duties, nor from more private exercises of communion with God; His ordinary course in his Family was, together with Prayers, to expound some part of the holy Scriptures, and that twice every day, besides other parts of Scripture which he daily read in secret; so that usually he read all the Epistles in the *Greek Testament* twice every fortnight; Yea, when by reason of extremity of pain, and weakness, he could not read himself, he herein employed others for his help. Hence it came to pass that he was a man mighty in the Scriptures, like unto *Apollos*, *Act. 18. 24.* as was observed by all that conversed with him, or that heard him Preach or Pray, and this course he earnestly commended to the practice of his dearly beloved eldest Son, as an excellent means to make him both a ready, and a profitable Preacher.

His Family duties.

Whilst he lived in *Rutlandshire*, came forth the Book allowing Sports on the Sabbath, which he refused to read, though it was with commands and threatening pressed upon him. And afterwards when he was called to give in his answer about a contribution amongst Ministers to maintain the War against the *Scots*, he openly told the Bishop, or his Chancellor, that his conscience would not permit him to do it. This his answer exposed him to the hazard of losing both his Living and Ministry, as the times then were; Whereupon one of his neighbours, through misguided love, (compassionating him and his Family) payed the money required, and subscribed Master *Whitakers* name without his knowledge. This was long concealed from him; but when he came to the knowledge of it, he expressed his dislike with many complaints, and much grief of heart.

His Zeal and Courage.

As he had early, so he had constant vigorous workings of Heart towards the calling and work of the Ministry, and that upon this ground, because he alwayes conceived, that therein a Christian might enjoy most fellowship with *Christ*, and have opportunities of doing him the best service, and he often considered *Christs* speech to *Peter*, *If thou lovest me, feed my Sheep; feed my Lambs*, *Joh. 21. 15, 17.*

His delight in the Ministry.

He was never so well pleased with any employment as when he was about the works of his Ministry: In the Pulpit he was (as it were) in his own Element, like a Fish in the water, or a Bird in the air. Though many times he went thither halting, and full of pain, yet did he not manifest any sense of distemper whilst he was in the Pulpit.

When

He is chosen to the Assembly.

He is chosen to Mary Magdalens Bermondsey.

His great Industry.

He was a Universal Scholar.

His Zeal and Courage.

When an *Assembly of Divines* was to be chosen to consult, and advise the Parliament about *Ecclesiastical* affairs, he was, for his Eminent piety and learning, nominated for one, and how usefull and advantageous he was to those affairs, is well known to all that were Members of that Assembly; And when Providence had thus brought him to *London*, he was (as *Paul*, 2 Cor. 11. 23.) *In Labours more abundant*, than many, yea than most others.

Not long after his coming to *London*, he was called, and chosen to the Pastoral charge of *Mary Magdalens Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, about which he consulted with many godly and judicious Ministers, and with their consent and approbation accepted of it, after which, for the most part, his task was to preach constantly four Sermons every week, two in his own Charge, one at *Westminster*, and one at *Christ Church London*; and after he had laid down his *Christ-Church* Lecture, at the importunity of the Inhabitants, he took up one at *Stepney*, besides his preaching two Lectures quarterly at *Michaels Cornhill*: Add to these his preaching monethly at the morning Exercises, or else he assisted on the Fast dayes in the conclusion of those Exercises; besides his many occasional Sermons, as for preparation to the Sacrament in his own Church, and at Funerals, both at home and abroad; yea, it is truly reported of him, that he would never deny any request for preaching and praying, if God gave him bodily ability, or other unavoidable occasions did not necessarily hinder him. Many week dayes he preached twice, even then when he attended the work of the *Assembly of Divines*, to wit, the morning Exercise, either at *Westminster*, or else where, and upon some other occasion in the afternoon of the same day. This may minde us of the commendation which *St. Paul* gave of *Epaphroditus*, Phil. 2. 30. *For the work of the Lord he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life.* So its well known to multitudes, that this might fitly be applied to painfull Master *Whitaker*; yea many conceived that his painfull diseases, which hastened his removal from us, were occasioned, and encreased by his many constant, and indefatigable labours in this kinde:

And though he Preached so often, yet were not his Sermons jejune, wordy, empty Sermons; but alwayes full of Scripture strength, savoury, and affectionate, as his Auditors can well testifie.

Neither is this to be wondred at, if we consider that he was a universal Scholar, both in the Arts, and Original Languages: By much study he had digested the whole body of Divinity; He was well acquainted both with the Fathers and School-men: An acute and solid Disputant, excellently versed in Cases of Conscience, and second unto none in his acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures.

Since our times of wofull desertion and *Apostasie*, both from Gospel-Truths and practices, he would undauntedly both in private Conferences; and in his publick Ministry express his dislike, yea his detestation thereof, to the faces of them, how great soever, who too much favoured *Heresies*, Errors, and Ranting courses, though he knew that thereby he did run the hazard of procuring many frowns to himself.

He refused to sign and subscribe the late Engagement, though thereby he was in danger of losing his Lecture at *Westminster*; and if his Sermons preached there upon *Eph. 2. 2, 3.* concerning mens walking according to the course of this world, &c. Fulfilling the lusts of the flesh, &c. could be collected, and published, it would thereby appear, that Master *Whitaker*, out of his zeal for Gods glory, and love to his Lord *Christ*, was of an undaunted courage, and full of Christian magnanimity. One further testimony whereof we have in this following Story:

Since these stormy times began, wherein the liberty and livelyhood of Ministers hath been so much maligned and struck at, as he was riding with one of his



his intimate friends by *Tiburn* (which he had not seen, or not observed before) he asked what that was? and being answered, that it was *Tiburn*, where so many Malefactors had lost their lives; he stopped his Horse, and uttered these words with much affection, *Oh what a shame is it that so many thousands should dye for the satisfaction of their lusts; and so few be found willing to lay down their lives for Christ! Why should not we in a good cause, and upon a good call, be ready to be hanged for Jesus Christ? It would be an everlasting honour, and it is a thousand times better to dye for Christ, to be hanged, or to be burnt for Christ, than to dye in our beds.*

He did often, and zealously defend the Office of a Gospel-Ministry both in publick, and in private, and that especially amongst those persons; and in those places, where (as he conceived) there was most need. In one of his morning Lectures at *Westminster*, this passage came from him with much affection, *Though* (said he) *I have read, and heard of some good men, who unadvisedly in their passion, have persecuted the persons of some godly Ministers (as Aha was angry with the Prophet, and cast him into prison) yet I never knew, I never read, nor heard of any godly person who durst oppose the Office and Calling of the Ministry.* And whereas at the end of his Sermon, a Souldier (expressing himself to be dissatisfied with what he had spoken) came to him in private, and asked him, whether he meant this of the Ministry of *England*, as now Constituted? He returned him this answer, *Although I will not justify the calling of every individual Minister in the Church of England (as you dare not justify the Saintsip of every member in your Independent - Congregations) yet I will be ready, when, and where you please, to maintain the Office and Calling of Englands Ministry at this day.*

And that he continued unmoved, and unchanged in his judgement, and esteem of the Ministerial Calling to the last, may be manifested by this passage in his last *Will and Testament*, which is here set down in his own words, and written with his own hand, *For my Son Jeremiah, my desire is, that he be bred a Scholar, and that the Lord would spiriually incline his heart, freely to give up himself to the Lord to serve him in the work of the Ministry, which Calling and Employment (though now despised) I do esteem above all others in the world, and do commend it to all mine, that if the Lord bless them with Sons, they would commend this Calling to their Posterity.*

And truly this deserves seriously to be considered, whether there be not herein much to credit and encourage the Ministry of the Gospel, that a learned man, and so eminent for piety, who also had throughly studied the Controversie of the times, and had heard and read what could be said against the Ministry, should yet upon his Death-bed give such a Testimony unto it, when he daily expected to make up his account before God, and also give such great encouragement to his Posterity, to addict themselves to this calling now, even now, when such disgrace is cast upon it, and when the Ministers settled maintenance is threatened to be taken from them? And may not those men, who knew Master *Whitakers* worth, be hereby awed and moved to take heed how they oppose or slight that Calling of men, whom he, living and dying, judged to be so highly honoured by God himself? To this also adde, that it was an *Ordained Ministry*, which he thus valued, which appears by these two lively Testimonies; 1. In that he joyned with that *Classis* whereof he was a member in Ordaining of Ministers. 2. In that he had an hand in the Book not long since published by the Province of *London* in the defence of such a Ministry, not onely by his assent to it, but also by his assistance in drawing it up.

As Master *Whitaker* loved God dearly, so God loved him, which he manifested by those graces wherewithall he enriched him; and truly, love-tokens to him, are real Messengers of his love that sendeth them; and what surer signs can

we have of Gods love, than when he bestows upon us the Graces of his Holy Spirit? Now of these the Lord had given him a more than ordinary measure; And besides what hath been said before, there were five Graces more which were very Orient, and shining in his Crown.

His tender-  
heartedness.

1. His tenderness of heart: Who ever knew a man of a more melting frame of heart before God, whether in Confessions, Petitions, or Thanksgivings? Is there any one living that can say, that I have at sometimes joyned with him in Prayer, and he shed no tears? How did his own sinfulness (though it was no more than the ordinary imperfections of the fairest Saint upon earth) the evils of the times, and the testimonies of Gods displeasure breaking out upon us, break his heart into pieces? We may truly believe that for the space of many years, he did never come off from the serious consideration of these things with dry eyes; and how many Thousands be there of Gods children, that would account it a sign of much love from *Christ*, if they could find such thawings in their frozen Breasts?

His Meek-  
ness.

2. His meekness of spirit, with which precious Jewel he was richly adorned: Who ever saw him transported by passion, on a fire, through foolish anger, or disguised by discontent? Though his zeal would wax hot, and burn in him, for God and his Glory; yet he was a man of a cool spirit, and meek, like *Moses*, in all his own concerns; and this he hath often manifested in a remarkable manner, when disputing with men of dissenting Principles and opinions, yet his spirit was so even, that their unhandsome provocations could not discompose him, and drive him into passion.

His Patience

3. For his Patience, he may well be called a second *Job*. Many who saw him under those racking pains in his last sickness, so frequently reiterated, and so long continued, were confident that God did put him, and keep him in his Furnace to be a pattern of patience unto Posterity. It is confessed, that he did roar many times till his throat was dry; but who ever heard him speak any one word of murmuring or discontent, because of Gods afflicting Providence? He himself indeed would sometimes through tenderness of Conscience charge himself of impatience, because he made a noise in his extremity: but that expressed onely Natures sensibleness, not sinful frowardness; and when (accusing himself causelessly) he was minded of *Christs* roarings, yet free from all sin, he would be silent.

I confess indeed, that in his desires to be dissolved, he would take up *Jobs* complaint, *Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul? which long for death, but it cometh not, and dig for it more than for hid treasures, &c.* For my sighing cometh before I eat, and my roarings are poured out like waters, *Job* 3. 20, 24. But he alwayes concluded with submission to the good pleasure of God. When he had been asked how he did? This was frequently his answer, *The Bush alwayes burning, but not consumed; and though my pains be above the strength of nature, yet they are not above the supports of Grace.*

His spirit of  
prayer.

4. The Lord was pleased to vouchsafe him such a measure of the Spirit of Grace and Supplications, that his soul was never out of tune for that service. Most of his words when he was under torment, were holy complaints and prayers to God. It will not be impertinent or unprofitable, if I here set down some of them.

*O my God, help! Father of mercies, pity! Do not contend for ever! Consider my frame, that I am but dust! My God that hath made Heaven and earth, help me! Oh, give me patience, and inflict what thou wilt! If my patience was more, my pain would be less. Dear Saviour, where are thy bowels? Why dost thou make me an astonishment to my self and others? Why dost thou cover thy self with a thick cloud, that our prayers cannot pass? Blessed is the man that endureth temptation. Lord this is, a sad temptation, stand by me, and say, It is enough! Am I not thy Servant? Consider Lord that I am thy servant. O these bitter waters of Marah! Lord drop sweet comfort into these bitter waters*  
of



of Marah. O the blood of sprinkling, Lord, the blood of sprinkling, Lord! That blood which extinguisheth the fire of thine anger; O that it might allay my burning pains! I am in a fiery Furnace: Lord be with me as thou wast with the three Children, and bring me out refined from sin! when I have sailed through the Ocean of these pains, and look back, I see that none of them can be wanting. I flye unto thee, O God, hide me under the shadow of thy wings till these terrible storms be overpast.

5. God added Humility as a Crown to all his other Graces, which yet shone bright in the eyes of all that were acquainted with him: Indeed he was clothed with Humility: And hence it was that he would converse so familiarly with the poorest Christians, and with them who were of the lowest parts for knowledge, even with babes in Christ. This his ordinary expression of himself before God, did clearly demonstrate his great humility, *Poor worm! Sinful wretch! O pardon my transgressions for they are very great.* Hereupon he would weep much, when he was told how much he was prayed for, wondering at Gods goodness, that so sinful a wretch, and worthless a creature should have so much interest in the hearts, and prayers of the people of God. And his language in his Will speaks how little he was in his own eyes; The words are these, *I desire that at my Funeral there may be no pomp; but that so poor a worthless wretch may be privately laid in the ground.*

His Humility.

And as his Graces were many, so were his Comforts many, and great, which God vouchsafed as singular manifestations of his love to this his dear Servant, and Child. O what Kisses of Christs Mouth, and what imbraces from the Arms of his Love were bestowed upon this Saint of the most High: He enjoyed all along his afflicted condition, an uninterrupted assurance of Gods Fatherly love in Christ. In his addresses unto God, he constantly claimed propriety in God, calling him, *my God, and my Father.* His inward peace, and joy were the support of his heart under all his grievous, and grinding pains. He was confident of mercies mixtures with all his greatest distempers, not at all doubting of the sanctification of them to him through Grace. Thus he spake many times in his applications unto God, *Consider, and save me, for I am thine. How long, how long Lord, shall I not be remembered, yea I am remembered blessed be thy Name. This is a fiery Chariot, but it will carry me to Heaven: Blessed be God that hath supported me hitherto; and he that hath delivered, will yet deliver. Thou Lord never forgettest them that put their trust in thee.* Alwayes when the extremity of pain was over, he would with smiles speak of Gods mercies. Though trembling took hold upon him when his violent pains began, yet would he with confidence say, *Now in the strength of the mighty God, I will undergo these pains: O my God put under thine everlasting Arms, and strengthen me.* Many times he told a bosome friend of his, that notwithstanding all his rentings and roarings (from which he expected no deliverance but by death) he would not for a thousand worlds change estates with the greatest man on earth, whom he looked upon as in a way of sin, and enthralled thereto. And this much he speaks Gods Fatherly indulgence towards him, that Satan could never shake his confidence, nor assault his hopes all the time of his Irsome, Irsome distemper. And this was further very remarkable, that he counted all these inward cheerings, the fruits of Prayers that were made for him, though God saw cause to deny that ease, and recovery to his Body which was so much begged; and withall, he valued those spiritual cordials, and refreshings, far beyond deliverance from the Gout, and the Stone, yea and Death it self.

His Comforts Faith and Joy.

These things are the rather mentioned, to prevent that discouragement, or offence which some may be too apt to take at the violence, and continuance of his wasting and tormenting pains, notwithstanding his own godliness, and the uncessant prayers, both ordinary and extraordinary, which were made unto

God in his behalf; For he found the sweet fruits of them in his own bosome, even when he felt the continuance, and increase of his Bodily grief.

His love to the Saints.

Another thing very remarkable in holy Master *Whitaker*, was his love to his fellow Christians; he was a man made up (as it were) of love. His delight was in the Saints upon earth, whom he esteemed most excellent, and their society was a constant cordial to his spirit. His frequent visits of them that were in trouble, and his stirring up of others to the like practice, were testimonies of this his cordial love; which indeed was not verbal, but real. He was also abundant in works of charity, few men of his estate did equalize him therein. He would often say, *It is a brave thing when a man, together with a full estate, hath a charitable heart.* Sometimes upon special occasions he hath given away all the money that he had in the House. It was not unusual with him to give twenty shillings to a poor Saint, and he had many Experiences of Gods gracious returns in such cases. By his last *Will* he gave twenty pounds to the godly poor of his own Parish.

His Sympathy.

There were two Cases wherein his loves were most enlarged to the people of God, whereof you may take these two Instances; The one when the sufferings were publick. He often told an intimate Friend of his, that *Englands* late breach with *Scotland*, and the Blood that was shed, together with other sad consequences thereof, had taken such impression upon his heart, that the sorrow would never be removed till his death; and the sufferings both in *Holland* and in *England*, in our late Sea-fights, were an heavy burden upon his spirit. The other Case was in respect to the inward perplexity of such as were afflicted in minde; having moved a special Friend of his the week before his death, to bestow a visit upon one in that condition, the very morning before his death (when speech was grievous to him in respect of his great weakness) he asked him, whether he had remembered the party that was troubled in spirit? which was a remarkable evidence of his strong love to such. And besides what hath already been mentioned, I might here set down his many wrestlings with God to prevent the flood of troubles which he apprehended the Protestant Churches were now in danger to be overflowed withall; as also his compassionate respect to Congregations in the Country, which were like sheep wandring upon the barren mountains without a Shepherd.

He was much beloved.

And as his love flowed forth to the Saints, so was theirs no less towards him: Nor to speak of the many frequent, and friendly visits of godly men and women in the Neighbour-hood round about him; there was scarce ever heard of any man that was so much prayed for both in publick and in private; both upon ordinary and extraordinary occasions, as he was. There was no particular case so frequently, so affectionately spread before God in most of the Congregations about *London* as his. Three dayes were set apart by Ministers, and many other praying Friends to seek God in his behalf, one in private, and two in publick, which also were observed much better than such dayes usually have been of late; yea, in remote Countries, besides the ordinary Prayers made for him, there were some Fasts kept also with special reference to his afflictions. The multitude of people, that came to his Funeral, with the many weeping eyes, did clearly shew how much he was beloved. Here might also be remembered the readiness of the *London* Ministers to supply his place at home, and his Lectures else-where, as also the willingness of his Fellow-lecturers at *Westminster* to preach for him there, when he himself by reason of weakness could not possibly do his own work, but its needless; for still every where, upon the naming of Master *Whitaker*, love is some way discovered by such as had any knowledge of him.

Whilst he was able, he never neglected his Ministerial service; He hath often



often gone upon Crutches unto the Congregation of his own people, to fulfil his Ministry; Yea, once at least he adventured to Preach at *Michaels Corn-hil*, when he was scarce able to get into the Pulpit, and his Friends with much difficulty help him out of the Church home-wards; And at other times when his legs would not serve him, he used to ride to Church. And when he was by extremity of pains taken off from his Ministry, he would sometimes profess to some special Friends, that the pain felt was not so grievous to his spirit, as his inability, by reason thereof, to mannage his wonted work: Indeed it was his meat and drink, to be doing the will of his Heavenly Father. Many times these were his words, *If I could but preach, I should be much better*; And he would rejoyce with cheerfulness and thankfulness, when in the times of his weakness he found not himself more distempered by his preaching, and would mention such experiences, as arguments to move; and induce his Friends to yeeld to his preaching when they dissuaded him from it as prejudicial to his health.

His delight  
in Preaching

Anno Christi 1654, about the beginning of November, the violent pain of the Stone, did in such a manner arrest him, that from that time he continued Gods prisoner, confined to his Bed or chamber, till he was set free by a long expected, and much desired death. Most Physicians in the City were consulted with, and were from time to time very ready to serve him with their advice, who did unanimously conclude, that his sharp pains proceeded Originally from an Ulcer in the Kidnies, but immediately from an Ulcer in the neck of the Bladder, caused by a continual flux of Ulcerous matter dropping down upon that part; and by reason of the acuteness and quickness of the sense there, his pains were almost continually in that place, though the fountain of them was from the Kidnies.

His sickness

About two moneths before his Death, his pains grew more extreame, yet Divine indulgence vouchsafed at some times some mitigation of them, and intermission both in the night and day: But notwithstanding the long continuance and extremity of them neither his Faith nor Patience did abate; yea, they much encreased, and grew higher; and as he grew nearer his end, so his longings for death were much increased, yet accompanied with holy submission to the good pleasure of his gracious Father.

These were some of his expressions, *O my God, break open the Prison door, and set my poor captive soul free! But enable me willingly to wait thy time! I desire to be dissolved: never did any man more desire life, than I do Death! When will that time come, that I shall neither sin more, nor sorrow more? When shall mortality put on immortality? When shall this earthly Tabernacle be dissolved, that I may be clothed upon with that House which is from Heaven? Blessed are the dead which dye in the Lord; for they rest from their labours, and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.*

His holy  
Speeches.

So great was his love to his God and Saviour, that he maintained and expressed high estimations, and honourable thoughts of his Majesty, when he was under the most tormenting providences: He feared nothing more, than lest he should do or speak any thing that should redound to the dishonour of his Name. These were some breathings of his large love, when through pain he was as in the fire, or upon the rack: *Good Lord keep me from dishonouring of thy Name by impatience! Oh, who would not even in burnings have honourable thoughts of God! who that knows thee, would not fear thee, O Lord, love thee, and honour thee? Lord, thou givest me no occasion to have any hard thoughts of thee! Blessed be God, there is nothing of Hell in all this! Blessed be his Name for Jesus Christ, and the Revelation of the everlasting Gospel! Who knows the power of thy wrath? If it be so heavy upon thy servant here, how heavy shall it be to all those who shall endure it without mixture? Blessed be God for the peace of mine inward man, when my outward man is full of trouble! This is a bitter Cup, but it is of my Fathers mixture, and shall I not drink it?*

yea

yea Lord, through thy strength I will: This is my burthen, and I will bear it.

Upon any abatements of his excruciating pains, he was constantly much in blessing God, using these, and such like expressions: *O! what a mercy is it that there is any mitigation, any intermission! Lord make me thankfull. And turning himself towards those that stood by, he would bespeak them thus; O help me to be thankfull! O list up a Prayer for me that I may be thankful! O what a Mercy is this! How much worse might this affliction have been! I might have been distracted, or laid roaring under disquietness of spirit: By these, and many such like expressions, and workings of his spirit, who perceiveth not the sparklings of his love to God? And to a dear friend he often said, Brother, through mercy, I have not one repining thought against God.*

The Sabbath seven night before God released him, though his pains were very sharp, yet he bestowed most part of the time of publick Ordinances, in prayer, together with those that were about him, and his Petitions were most in the behalf of Ministers, that God would cloath his Ordinances with his own power, and enable his Ministers to speak to the souls of his people. Then did he also with many tears bewail his detainment from the Sanctuary, and Sabbath-opportunities of doing, and receiving good, which had been his delight: Professing also, that his being taken off from service, was a greater affliction to him than all his bodily pains. And because this apprehension (to wit, of his present unserviceableness) did much afflict him; this therefore was often suggested to him (which the Lord pleased to make a relief to his spirit) viz. that now by the practice of Faith, Patience, Contentment, and spiritualness (which he had formerly preached to, and pressed upon others) he was very profitable unto them who visited him, and might also prove very advantagious unto others who might be acquainted therewith, through Gods grace by *Christ*.

His tormenting Pains.

So great was his tender respect to his Friends, that when his pains were coming with violence, he would intreat them to withdraw from him, that they might not be grieved with his roarings; and he used often to bless God, that his compassionate Friends were not necessitated to abide within the reach of his dolefull lamentation.

As his death drew more nigh, so his fits of pain were more frequent, either every half hour, or many times every quarter, yea two or three in a quarter of an hour, which did exceedingly abate his strength.

The night before God took him out of this vale of tears, Master *Ash* hearing that he was not likely to live another day, went early in the morning to take his leave of him, whom his soul loved, at which time he found his bodily strength much decayed; and perceiving that he could not speak without much difficulty, Master *Ash* spake the more unto him in reference to the approach of his happy hoped for change, and his discourse (through Gods mercy) was very refreshing to his spirit. He told him also that many of his Friends intended to set apart that day in seeking the Lord for him, and asked him, in what things especially he desired to be remembered before the Throne of Grace? His answer was, *Do not complain, but bless God for me, and intreat him to open the Prison door.* Then Master *Ash*, laying his hand upon his cold hand, covered with a clammy sweat, took his farewell of him with an aking heart; and upon his departure from him, the last words which Master *Whitaker* spake to him were these; *Brother, I thank you, I pray God bless you, and I bless God for you.*

That day was spent in addresses to God for him at *Peters Cornhill*, where Master *Newcomen* quickned and guided our prayers in his Sermon upon *Joh. 11. 4. Lord, Behold he whom thou lovest is sick*, and Master *Fenkin* endeavoured to moderate, and regulate our sorrows from *Luke 23. 38. Weep not for me.*

His Death. Thus his friends having by prayers and praises (on his behalf) given him



to God and having prepared their hearts for the loss of him, the Lord was pleased that evening to take him to himself, *June 1654.* being above Fifty five years old.

After his death, Master *Holiard* opened his Body in the presence of Dr. *Cox*, Doctor *Micklethwaite*, and Doctor *Bevoir*; (some other more ancient Doctors would have been there, if, either their being out of Town, or present urgent occasions had not hindered) being opened, they found both his Kidnies full of Ulcers, and one of them was swelled to an extraordinary bigness through the abundance of purulent matter in it. Upon the neck of his Bladder, they found a stone, (which was about an inch and an half long, and one inch broad, weighing about two ounces when it was first taken out) and withall, they found an Ulcer which was gangrenized, and this was judged to be the cause of his Death. All other parts of his body were found firm and sound.

He was so humble, that he feared lest Gods people praying for him, should speak too well of him before the Lord.

He was a self-denying man, never daring to look after great matters in this world; whereby he condemned many whose self seeking in earthly advantages, renders them very offensive and unfavoury in the Church of *Christ*.

"Master *Calamy* speaking of him, saith; If I should enter upon his Commendations, I might truly say what *Nazanien* doth of his Sister *Gorgonia*; "that I have more cause to fear, lest I should speak below, than above the truth: For he was a burning and a shining light in this our *Israel*: A Messenger, and an Interpreter one amongst a Thousand: A *Bazaleel* in Gods Tabernacle: A true *Nathaniel*, that by his Integrity, Humility, Constancy, Charity, Publickness, and Peaceableness of Spirit, and by his Diligence, and Faithfulness in Preaching the Gospel, made his life both amiable and desirable. I will say of him, as it was said of *Athanasius*, that he was "*Adversus omnes Martyres*, an Adamant, and a Loadstone. To all that conversed with him, he was as a Loadstone to draw their hearts to love him: But in the cause of God, and in reference to the truths of *Christ*, he was "as an unconquerable Adamant. He was a *Jeremy*, both in mourning for, and in witnessing against the sins of the times. He was a second *Whitaker*, though not so eminent in Learning, as to be (what is said of him) *Mundi miraculum, Academia Oraculum*, The miracle of the world, and the Oracle of the University; Yet he was (which is also said of him) found in the Faith; one that had no private opinion, that did not *in veteri via novam semitam quarere*, seek out new paths of his own, but kept the old way, and the old path. That had a great Wit without any Mixture of Mad-ness.

"He preached no less by the heavenliness of his Doctrine, than by the holiness of his Life; Yea he Preached as effectually by his Death, as by his Life or Doctrine; For so great was the patience which God measured out to him, that though in his extremity of torments he groaned, yet he never grumbled. Though he often mourned, yet he never murmured; Nay, though he often roared by reason of the greatness of his pain, yet he always justified and magnified God therein; And this he did so constantly, and in such a measure, that, as it is said of *Job*, so it will be said by the Saints that succeed us, for their mutual consolation, and encouragement, *Ye have heard of the Patience of Whitaker*: He had indeed an ulcerated flesh, but a sound and whole Spirit, and that enabled him to bear his infirmity: He had a stone in the Bladder, but a very soft and tender heart: He had a gangrene in his Body, but a sound soul, unstained by sin. I heard him often say with thankfulness, that under all his bodily sufferings, he had a blessed calmness, and quietness in his Spirit, that God spake peace unto him, That though he roared for pain, yet the Devil was chained up from roaring upon him.



On the Death of my dear Friend,  
**Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker**

**I**F Death be but a servant, sent to call  
 The souls of Saints to their Originall:  
 Dear Saint! thine was a Noble soul, to whom  
 Three Messengers were sent to call thee home!  
 A Stone, an Ulcer, and a Gangrene too,  
 Three Deaths to hasten that which one should do!  
 'Twas not because thy soul was deeper set  
 Than ours, within its house of clay; nor yet  
 Because thou wert unwilling to depart  
 Thither, where long before had been thine heart:  
 They were not sent to hale by violence,  
 A soul that lingred when 'twas called hence.  
 God shew'd how welcome one Death was to thee;  
 Who didst so meekly entertain all Three.  
 Thus many Deaths Gods Israel did inclose,  
 The Sea before, behinde a Sea of Foes;  
 On either side the jaws of Mountains high,  
 No way from Death, but unto Death to flye.  
 Not to destroy them, but to let them see  
 The power of love, which then would set them free.  
 Thus Jobs four Messengers which did relate  
 The doleful story of his ruin'd state:  
 And his three Friends which acted Satans part  
 (He on his flesh, and these upon his heart)  
 Who by disputing him unto a curse,  
 Would make his spirits torments far the worse,  
 Were by Gods wise disposal sent to show  
 The strength he on his Champion would bestow.  
 Thus Painters put dark grounds where they intend  
 To overlay with finest gold, and lend  
 By deeper shadows lustre to that face,  
 On which they mean their choisest skill to place.  
 Thus workmen season much with Sun and wind  
 Those greatest beams which must the building binde,  
 Whilst smaller pieces haply are put in  
 When they come bleeding from the wood, and green.  
 Oft where is greatest grace, God's pleas'd to send  
 Great conflicts those great Graces to commend.



As the six fingred Giants sword did bring  
 The more renown to little Davids sling.  
 The vanquish'd Lion, and the conquered Bear  
 Prepar'd that Holy Head a Crown to wear.  
 The Angel wrestled first, and then did bless  
 And made the greater servant to the less.  
 Pain was too great for thee, Gods grace for pain,  
 And made the greater serve the less again.  
 Thy pains serv'd thee for glory, and did fit  
 The Head on which a Crown of life must sit.  
 This is Gods method to fetch joy from grief,  
 To turn our sorrows unto our relief,  
 To save by killing, and to bring to shore  
 By the ships planks which was quite broke before.  
 And thus a barren womb first took the seed  
 Which did six hundred thousand people breed.  
 That seed too, must from knife and Altar rise,  
 And be before a fire a Sacrifice.  
 Great Preacher of thy Heavenly Fathers will,  
 Thy tongue did many years with Manna fill.  
 Thy life out preach'd thy tongue, O blessed strife!  
 Thy sickness the best Sermon of thy life.  
 Before each Doctrine must be prov'd a new,  
 Thine end was one great proof that all was true.  
 Before thou preach'd by weeks, but now by hours,  
 Each minute taught thy mourning Auditors,  
 Each patient groan, and each believing eye  
 Was a new Sermon in Brachygraphy.  
 When Nature roars without repining words;  
 Grace in the mouth when in the Bowels swords,  
 In midst of torments to triumph o're Hell,  
 To feel Gods Arrows, yet his Praises tell.  
 Through thickest clouds to see the brightest light  
 In blackest darkness to have clearest sight,  
 And with our Lord to cry, My God, My God,  
 Upon a Cross under the sharpest Rod.  
 This is indeed to preach; this is to show  
 Faiths triumph over Natures greatest woe.  
 Then welcome fiery Serpents, scorching sting,  
 Which did thee thus to th' Brazen Serpent bring.  
 Then welcome Whale, which though his first devour,  
 Renders at last the Prophet to the shore.  
 Well might'st thou bear the stone which Death did throw,  
 Who had'st the White Stone, the Nevv Name to show:  
 Well might'st thou be with such an Ulcer calm  
 Whose soul was heal'd before with Heavens Balm.  
 When spirits wounds are cur'd though Nature groan;  
 An heart of Flesh can heal a back of stone:  
 Let Conscience have her feast, and let flesh roar,  
 This pain shall make the others joy the more,  
 As many times those Flowers most fragrant smell  
 Which nearest to some noysome weeds do well.  
 Thus have you seen the Forge most clearly glow,  
 On which the Smith doth drops of water throw.  
 Keen Frosts make fire the hotter, and deep night  
 Causeth Celestial Lamps to shine more bright.

*And by a dear Antiperistasis,  
 The Childs distress sweetens the Fathers kiss.  
 A wounded body yeelds to a sound soul,  
 The joyes of this do th'others pains controule.  
 As in the day that the Sun beams appear  
 All other lesser Stars do disappear.  
 When Heaven shines, and Divine love doth reign,  
 The soul is not at leasure to complain.  
 Internal joyes his heart so well composes,  
 That they have judg'd their flames a bed of Roses.*

*Master Gataker, Master Whitaker.*

*But what shall England do, from whence are lopt,  
 Two of her richest Acres to Heaven dropt?  
 By loss of these two Acres she's more poor,  
 Then if sh'had lost an hundred Lordships more.  
 'Twere a good purchase to gain these agen,  
 By giving to the Sea all Lincoln Fen.  
 Two little Mines of Gold do far surpass  
 Huge Mannors, where th'whole vesture is but grass.  
 Learn we by them, what all men will once say,  
 One Pearch of Heaven, 's worth the whole Globe of clay.*

ED. REYNOLDS

D. D.

THE





**DR. JAMES USHER**  
 The Life and Death of *James Usher*, Doctor of Divinity, Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *Ireland*, who died *Anno Christi* 1655.



*Alexander* the Great commanded that no man should draw his Picture but *Apelles*, the most exquisite Painter in the world; and that his Statue should not be made in brass by any one but *Lysippus*, the most excellent Work-man in that kinde: So truly, the Life and Death of this great and good man is fit to be written only by the ablest Pen that can be found.

Reverend, and Learned Doctor *Bernard*, who was of my ancient acquaintance above forty years ago in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*, hath written his Life and Death excellent well. Yet as there can never too much be spoken, or written of him, whom all the Christian world did admire for his Religion and Learning, so give me leave out of him, with some other help to set him forth, though not to the life in his native colours as he deserveth, yet according to my ability, that his Name may be enrolled amongst those many other Worthies both ancient and Modern, men famous in their Generations, *burning and shining Lights* in the Church, and very instrumental

to Gods glory, which I have formerly, and now also collected and published.

His Birth  
and Paren-  
tage.

*James Usher*, was born in *Dublin*, the *Metropolis* of *Ireland*, in the Parish of *Saint Nicholas*, *January* the 4. *Anno Christi* 1580. His Father Master *Arnald Usher*, was a student in the Law, one of the Clerks of the Chancery in that Nation, and a person of excellent parts and endowments. His Mother was *Mrs. Margaret Staniburst*, who in her later time was seduced by some of the *Papish* Priests to the *Roman* Religion, they taking their opportunity, whilst this her Son was upon some occasion in *England*; And they, by their subtilty, had engaged her in such vows, that when her Son came back he could not possibly reclaim her, which they have often boasted of in Print; yet her Sons hope was, at least upon her Death bed, to have prevailed for the reducing of her to the Truth: But it pleased God, that she dyed suddenly at *Drogheda*, when he was absent at *Dublin*, whereby, to his no small grief, those his hopes were frustrated and disappointed.

His Grandfather by his Mothers side was *James Staniburst* (whose Christian name he bore) who was chosen three times Speaker of the House of Commons in the *Irish* Parliaments, in the last whereof he made the first motion for the founding and erecting of a Colledge, and University in the City of *Dublin*. He was also Recorder of that City, one of the Masters of the Chancery, and a man of great wisdom, and integrity.

His Uncle was *Richard Staniburst*, a man Famous in *France*, and other Nations for his great learning, which he manifested in several Books published by him, one of them, when he was eighteen years old, between whom, and this Reverend person there passed many learned Letters.

The Col-  
ledg at *Dub-  
lin* found-  
ed.

His Uncle, by his Fathers side, was *Henry Usher*, who was trained up at *Cambridge*, and proved a prudent and learned man: He was afterwards Arch-Deacon of *Dublin*, at which time he was first sent over into *England* to *Queen Elizabeth*, and the Council, with a Petition for preserving the Cathedral of *St. Patricks Dublin*, from being dissolved, wherein he prevailed, the fruits whereof this his Nephew reaped afterwards, being made Chancellor of it, and receiving his subsistence from it for many years. The second time he was sent over by the Council of *Ireland* to *Queen Elizabeth* to procure her Patent for the founding of a Colledge, and University in *Dublin*, wherein he prevailed also: So that the Colledge (of which this worthy person was the first fruits) had it's being from his Grandfathers motion, and his Uncles industry.

He had a brother named *Ambrose Usher*, who, though he dyed young, yet was a man of excellent parts, very skilful in the *Oriental* Languages, who had translated the *Old Testament* from the beginning, to the Book of *Job*, out of the *Hebrew* into *English*, which is still preserved under his own hand; but upon the coming forth of the *New Translation* in King *James* his time, he desisted from making any further progress therein.

His Educa-  
tion.

Our *James* was taught first to read by two of his Aunts, vvho vv ere blind from their Cradles, and so never saw letters, yet vv ere they admirably vv er- sed in the sacred Scriptures, being able suddenly to have given a good account of any part of the Bible. At eight years old he was sent to the *Grammar* School, vv here he had the happiness to meet vv ith two excellent Schoolma-

A special  
Providence.

sters, Sir *James Fullerton*, afterwards Leger Ambassador in *France*, and Sir *James Hamilton* (afterwards, Lord Viscount *Clandeboise*) vv ho vv as Usher of the School. These two learned men vv ere sent over by King *James* out of *Scotland* upon an other design, though they vv ere disguised in this im- ployment: And indeed they came very opportunely by the good hand of Gods Providence, for this youths founding in learning, at such a time vv hen there vv as a great defect of learned Schoolmasters, which he often ac- knowledged as a special mercy of God to him therein.



At ten years old, was the first time that he could remember to have found in himself, any evidences of his saving conversion unto God, which was instrumentally wrought by a Sermon which he heard preached upon *Rom. 12. 1. I beseech you, Brethren, by the mercies of God, &c.* About the same time also meeting with some notes taken from famous Master *Perkins* his Works, (being not then printed) concerning the sanctification of the *Lords day*, proved, through Gods blessing, so effectual with him, that ever after he was the more strict in the observing of it. About the same time also he read over *Saint Augustines Meditations*, which so affected him, that he wept often in the reading of them.

His timely  
Conversion

This young, yet hopeful plant, thus inuring, and accustoming himself to secret duties in his tender years, the Devil, that grand enemy of our salvation thinking to nip him in the bud, assaulted him with divers terrours and affrightments, both sleeping and waking, hoping thereby to discourage, and take him off from the same: But he (with *Saint Paul*) betook himself to prayer, with earnestness to be delivered from these Satanical delusions, and assaults, and at last was heard in that which he feared, by being freed from them, and strengthened against them with more than ordinary courage, and comfort; which made such an impression in him, as that he could not forget it to his old age.

Satans Ma-  
lice.

Prayer Po-  
werfull.

The Devil now finding, that he could not be affrighted out of his course of godliness, made use of another engine, which was to allure him with the bait of pleasure, some of his friends teaching him to play at Cards, where-with he was so much delighted, that it began to prevail over his love to his Book; yea it came in competition with his love to God, and care to serve him, which being seasonably by Gods Spirit discovered to him, he presently gave it over, and never played afterwards.

Satans Sub-  
tily.

Gods mer-  
cy.

At twelve years old he was so affected with the study of *Chronology* and *Antiquity*, that, reading over *Sleidans* Book of the four Empires, and some other Authors, he drew forth an exact *Series* of the times wherein each eminent person lived; and during the time of his abode at School, which was five years, he was thoroughly instructed in *Grammar*, *Rhetorick*, and *Poetry*, wherein he so excelled, and with which he was so delighted, that he was fain to take himself off, lest it should have hindred him from more serious studies.

At thirteen years of age he was admitted into the Colledge of *Dublin*, being the first Student that was initiated into it; and as it seems, it was so ordered upon design by the Governours thereof, upon their observation of his pregnancy, and rare parts, that it might be a future honour to the Colledge to have his name recorded in the *Frontispiece* of their *Admission Book*, and so accordingly he was the first Graduate, the first Fellow, the first Proctor, &c.

His admis-  
sion into the  
Colledge.

At the same time Sir *James Hamilton*, hitherto Usher of the School, was chosen Fellow of the Colledge, and thereby became his Tutor, who oft-times admired his accuteness and proficiency, whereby in a short time he equalized his Instructors. Here he first began to study the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Languages, in both which he afterwards excelled, and made himself in a little time, Master of the Arts, most of which he modelled in a method of his own, especially that of *Musick*.

His great  
Proficiency.

At this time the education, and helps which that Colledge afforded, were very eminent: For though at first there were but four Fellows, yet the Tongues and Arts were very exactly taught to all the Students who were divided into several Classes. Each Tutor read *Aristotles* Text in *Greek* to his Pupils, yea, each Fellow read three Lectures a day, at each of which there was a Disputation maintained either upon the present, or the precedent Lecture.

Lecture, and sometimes they were ordered to Dispute *More Socratico*.

On *Saturdays* in the afternoon, each Tutor read a Divinity Lecture in *Latin* to his Pupils, dictating it (as they did all other their Lectures) so deliberately, that they might easily write after them, to their great benefit and advantage.

His admission to the Sacrament.

His preparation thereto.

At fourteen years old he was judged fit, and admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper; and his usual Custom was, the afternoon before, to retire himself in private, and to spend it in a strict self-Examination, and deep Humiliation for all his sins; wherein he had such Enlargements of Heart, that a stream of Tears flowed from his Eyes, which afterwards he oft recalled to mind, both as a provocation, and Censure of himself: When he was of elder years, there was a certain place, by a waterside whether he oft resorted, sorrowfully to survey his Sins, and with Floods of Tears to confess, and bewail them; wherein he found so much sweetness and Communion with God, that he thirsted for such comfortable opportunities, and it was his usual Custom to spend *Saturdays* in the afternoon in these Duties. Amongst other sins he much bewayled his too much Love to humane Learning, which made him as glad when *Munday* come, that he might renew his Studies, as he was when *Sabbath* Day came, wherein he was to apply himself to the Service of God; and it cost him many Tears, that he could not be more heavenly-minded at that Age.

His skill in Chronology

At fifteen years old, he had made such a Progress in the Study of *Chronology*, that he drew up in *Latin*, an exact *Chronicle* of the Bible as far as to the Books of the *Kings*, which did not much differ from that of his late *Annals*, excepting his enlargements by some exquisite Observations, and the *Syncronismes* of Heathen Story. About this time also he was much afflicted with a strong Temptation, which moved him to question Gods love to him, because he was so free from Afflictions, which was occasioned by some inconsiderate passages, which he met with in some Authors, and long was he under some trouble before he could get rid of it.

His study of the Fathers

Before he was Bachelor of Arts, he read *Stapletons Fortrefs of the Faith*, and therein finding how confidently he asserted Antiquity for the *Popish* Tenets, withal, branding our Church and Religion, with Novelty, in what we dissented from them, he was much troubled at it, not knowing but that his Quotations might be right; and he was convinced that the Ancientest must needs be best, as the nearer the Fountain the sweeter and clearer are the Streams; yet withal, he suspected that *Stapleton* might mis-report the Fathers, or wrest them to his own sense; and therefore he took up a settled Resolution, that in due time, if God prolonged his life and health, he would trust only his own Eyes, by Reading over all the Fathers, for his Satisfaction herein; which work he afterward began at Twenty Years old, and finished that vast Labour at Thirty eight, strictly tying himself to a certain Portion every day, what occasions soever intervened.

Whilst he was Batchelor of Arts, he read divers of the Works of the Fathers, and most Authors which had written the Body of Divinity both *Positively* and *Polemically* in confuting the *Popish* Errors, and had Read many of their Authors also, by which means he was so well acquainted with the state of those Controversies, that he was able to Dispute with any of the *Popish* Priests, as he often did with the Principal of them.

He is designed to the study of the Law.

*Anno Christi* 1598. The Earl of *Essex* newly coming over Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and being Chosen Chancellor of the University of *Dublin*, there was a solemn Act appointed for his Entertainment, and Mr. *Usher* being then Batchelor of Arts, answered the *Philosophy* Act with great Applause and Approbation.

About this time, his Fathers intention was to send him over into *England* to the *Innes* of Court, for the study of the Common Law, which was a great



great Trouble to him, yet in Obedience to his Fathers Will he assented, and resolved upon it; But it pleased God that his Father shortly after Dyed, viz. August the 12. Anno Christi 1608. so that then he being at liberty to make Choice of his Studies, Devoted, and applied himself wholly to Divinity, and therupon was Chosen Fellow of the Colledge, being before incapable of taking the Oath which was required of all Fellows at their Admission, viz. that the present intent of their Studies should be for the Profession of Divinity, unless God should afterwards, otherwise dispose their minds. His study of Divinity

And here again, was another occasion of Disturbance to his mind, ministered to him. For his Father left him a good Estate in Land; but finding that he must have involved himself in many Suits of Law, before he could attain to the quiet enjoyment of it, to the interrupting of his other Studies, he gave up the benefit of it to his Brothers, and Sisters, suffering his Uncle, to take Letters of Administration for that end, resolving to cast himself upon the good Providence of God, to whose Service in the Work of the Ministry, he had wholly Devoted himself, not doubting but he would provide for him; yet that he might not be judged weak, or inconsiderate in that Act, he drew up a note under his hand, of the state of all things that concerned it, and directions what to do about it. His contempt of the World.

When he was nineteen years old, he disputed with Henry Fitz-Simonds, a Jesuit, in the Castle of Dublin, as himself acknowledgeth in his preface to his Book, called *Britanno-mochia Ministrorum*; The occasion of which Dispute was this; The Jesuit, by way of challenge, as it was interpreted, gave forth these words, *That he being a Prisoner was like a Bear tyed to a stake, but wanted some to bait him*: Whereupon this eminent man (for so he was, though very young) was thought fit, and able to encounter him, though at their first meeting he despised his youth, as Goliath did Davids. Mr. Usher proffered to Dispute with him about all Bellarmines Controversies, for which a meeting was appointed once every week, and it fell out that the first Subject proposed was *De Antichristo*, about which they had two or three solempne Disputations, and Mr. Usher was ready to have proceeded further; But the Jesuit was weary of it, yet gives him a tolerable Commendation, and much admired his abilities in such young years: Concerning which he saith, *There came once to me a Youth of about eighteen Years of Age, one of a too-soon ripe Wit, scarce you would think that he could have gone through his course of Philosophy, or that he was got out of his Child-hood, yet was he ready to Dispute upon the most abstruse Points of Divinity*. And afterwards the same Jesuit living to understand more of him, saith, that he was *A-catholicorum doctissimus*, the most learned of such as were not Catholics; being (as it seems) unwilling, or ashamed to call him Heretick. His Disputes with a Jesuit.

Anno Christi 1600. when he was about twenty years old, He commenced Master of Arts, and answered the Philosophy Act, and was Chosen Catechist of the Colledge; in which Office, he went through a great part of the Body of Divinity in the Chappel by way of Common place; and Ministers being scarce at that time, there were three young men of the Colledge chosen out, and appointed to Preach in Christ Church before the State: One was Mr. Richardson, afterwards Bishop of Ardagh, who was appointed to Preach an expository Lecture upon the Prophecie of Isaiah, every Friday. Another was Mr. Welch, afterwards Doctor of Divinity, who was designed to handle the Body of Divinity, on Sabbaths, in the forenoon; The third was our Learned Usher, who was to handle the Controversies, for the satisfaction of the Papists, on the Lords days, in the afternoons; which he did fully and clearly, always concluding with some emphatical Exhortation, that it tended much to the Edification and confirmation of the Protestants in their Principles, as many of them in their elder years have acknowledged. He is Master of Arts, and Catechist.

Having

Having thus Preached, for a while as a Probationer, he refused to continue it any longer, having not as yet received Ordination: He also scrupled to be as yet Ordained by reason of his defect of years, the *Canons* requiring twenty four, and he being yet but twenty one: But by some Grave and Learned men he was told, that the Lord had need of his Labours; and so upon their perswasions and importunity, his Age being dispensed with, according to some former Presidents, he was Ordained at the usual time, the

His Ordination.

*Sabbath* before *Christmas* day, *Anno*, 1601. by his Uncle *Henry Usher*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, with the assistance of some other Ministers.

His first Sermon after it

The first Text, that he preached publicly upon before the State, after his Ordination, was *Rev. 3. 1. Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art Dead*, which fell out to be the same day, upon which was fought the Battel of *Kinsale*, which being a day specially set apart, by prayer to seek unto God for his blessing and assistance in that engagement, and being his first fruits after his entrance into the Office of the Ministry, God might in a more than ordinary manner make his labours efficacious and prevailing; The rest of that Epistle to the Church of *Sardis* he finished afterwards.

Tentation resisted.

It was well known that if the *Spaniards* had gotten the better that day, the *Irish Papists* had designed to murder the *English Protestants* both in *Dublin* and other places, but especially the Ministers. Hence (said he) *arose a Tentation in me to have deferred my Ordination till the event of the Battel had been known, that so I might the better have escaped their fury; but I repelled that suggestion, and resolved the rather upon it, that dying a Minister, and in that Quarrel, I might at least be the next door to a Martyr.*

The *Spaniards* being (as was said before) overthrown at *Kinsale*, and the hopes of the *Irish*, as to that design, being frustrated, they began generally to subject themselves to the Statute, which was now put in Execution, in their coming to Church; and that it might tend the more to their profit, the Lord Lieutenant, and his Council, desired the Ministers at *Dublin*, so to divide themselves, that (in imitation of what he had already begun at *Christ Church*) there might be a Sermon on the the *Lords days* in the afternoon at every Church upon those Controversies. *St. Katherines* (a convenient Church) was assigned for Master *Usher*, who removed accordingly, and duly observed it; and his custom was, that what he had delivered in one Sermon, he drew it up into Questions and Answers, and the next *Lords day*, several persons of Note, voluntary offered themselves to Repeat those Answers, before the whole Congregation, which made them more clear and perspicuous to the *Papist* Party.

A great Reformation.

It pleased God by his, and the Labours of others of his Brethren in the Ministry, not only in *Dublin*, but in other parts of the Kingdome, that the *Papists* came so diligently to Church, that if they had any occasion to absent themselves; they used to send in their excuses to the *Church-Wardens*, and there were great hopes in a short time to have reduced the whole Nation to *Protestantisme*: But on a sudden, the execution of the Statute was suspended, and the Power of the *High Commission Court* (then erected, and used onely against the *Papists*) was taken away; whereupon the *Papists* presently withdrew themselves from the publick Assemblies, the Ministry was discouraged, all good mens hearts were grieved, and *Popery* from that time forward encreased, till like a great Deluge, it had overflowed the whole Nation.

Popery encreaseth.

His Zeal.

Upon this, the Spirit of this Holy Man (like *Pauls* at *Athens*) was exceedingly stirred in him, insomuch as preaching before the State, at *Christ Church* upon a special Solemnity, he did with as much Prudence, Courage, and Boldness, as became his young years, give them his Opinion of that *abominable Toleration of Idolatry*; making a full and clear appplication of that passage in *Ezekiels Vision*, Chap. 4. 6. where the Prophet, by lying on his side, was



was to bear the iniquity of Judah for forty days. *I have appointed thee (saith the Lord) each day for a year.* This (said he) by the consent of Interpreters, signifies the time of forty years to the destruction of Jerusalem, and of that Nation for their Idolatry; and so (said he) will I reckon from this year the sin of Ireland, and at the end of the time, those whom you now imbrace, shall be your Ruine, and you shall bear this Iniquity; wherein he proved a Prophet: For this was delivered by him, *Anno Christi 1601.* and *Anno 1641.* was the *Irish Rebellion*, and Massacre; and what a continued expectation he had of a great judgment upon that his Native Country, I, saith Doctor Bernard, can witness from the year 1624. at which time I had the happiness, first to be known to him; and the nearer the time approached, the more confident he was of the event, though as yet nothing that tended towards it was visible to other men.

A Prediction.

The Body of Divinity, which is printed in his Name, is highly commended by Master Downam, who set it forth, and so it is by a stranger, *Ludovicus Crocius*, who much desired that some English man would turn it into Latine for the benefit of Forreign Churches, but it was not intended by him for the Press. It was begun by him in publick, but finished some years after in private in his Family, constantly instructing them twice a week, unto which Persons of Quality and Learning Resorted, and divers of them took Notes, whereby several Copies were dispersed abroad, some imperfect and mistaken, and many passages are in it which were not his, neither is the whole so polished as his other Pieces, which were published by himself; and indeed, he was displeased that it came forth without his knowledge, yet understanding how much good it had done, he connived at it.

His Body of Divinity.

Shortly after the aforementioned defeat given to the Spaniards at Kinsale, the Officers of our English Army, gave 1800 pounds to buy Books for the Colledge Library at Dublin (then Souldiers were Advancers of Learning) the ordering of which, was committed to Doctor Challoner, and this Lord Primate, who made a journey into England on purpose to buy Books with it. He then met with Sir Thomas Bodly, who was buying Books for his Library at Oxford, and they were very helpful each to other, in procuring the rarest Pieces. In his journey, he visited Master Christopher Goodman, who had been Professor of Divinity in Oxford, in King Edward the sixth dayes, then lying on his Death-Bed at Chester, and he would often repeat some Grave, and wise Speeches that he heard from him.

Souldiers favourers of Learning.

After this he constantly came over into England once in three years, spending one moneth at Oxford, another at Cambridge, in searching the Books, especially the Manuscripts, in each University (amongst which, those of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in Cambridge, he most esteemed) the third moneth he spent at London, intending chiefly Sir Robert Cottons Library, and conversing with Learned men, amongst whom, even in those his younger years he was in great esteem. In his after years he was acquainted with the Rarities in other Nations: There was scarce a choice Book in any eminent persons Library in France, Italy, Germany, or Rome it self, but he had his way to procure it, or what he desired, transcribed out of it; so that he was better acquainted with the Popes Vatican than some that daily visited it. The *Puteani fratres*, two learned Men in Paris, help him much with many Transcripts out of *Thuthanus*, and others, between whom and him, many Letters passed. Now, though the reading of the Fathers all over was a vast work, yet the pains he took out of the common road of Learning in searching of Records, and all the Manuscripts he could get throughout Christendom, together with the knotty Study of Chronology and Antiquity, was equal with, if it did not exceed the other. Many Volumes he also Read only to attain to the Knowledge of the use of Words in several Ages, as *Galen*, *Hipocrates*, &c. and most of the Records in the Tower of London: Besides, there was scarce

His great Diligence.

His Correspondents.

the meanest Book in his own Library, but he remembered it, even to Admiration, and had in his Head readily whatsoever he had Read.

His first preferment.

The first Church-preferment which he had, was given him by Archbishop *Loftus*, a little before his death, which was the Chancellorship of *St. Patricks Dublin*, unto which he took no other Benfice. In that place Master *Camden* found him when he was writing his *Britannia*, *Anno Christi* 1607. and in his observations concerning *Dublin*, faith of him, *Most of these I acknowledge to owe to the diligence, and labours of James Usher, Chancellor of the Church of St. Patricks, who in Various learning, and judgement, far exceeds his years.* In this preferment, though the Law required not his preaching, but onely in his course before the State, yet would he not omit it in the place from whence he received his profits, and though he endowed it with a *Vicaridge*, yet went he thither in person, *viz. to Finglas* a mile from *Dublin*, and preached there every *Lords day*, unless he were detained upon some extraordinary occasions; and the remembrance that he had been a constant Preacher, was a greater comfort to him in his oldage, than all his other labours and writings.

His constant preaching.

His prevalence in Prayer.

His experiments in Prayer were many, and very observable, God often answering his desires in kinde, and that immediately, when he was in some distresses; and Gods Providence in taking care, and providing for him in his younger years, as he often spake of it, so it wrought in him a firm resolution to depend upon God in his latter dayes, what ever extremity he might be brought into.

He is Bachelor in Divinity, and Professor.

*Anno Christi* 1607. when he was twenty seven years old he commenced batchelor of *Divinity*, and immediately after he was chosen Professor of *Divinity* in the University of *Dublin*: At first he read twice a week, and afterwards once a week without intermission throughout the year, going through a great part of *Bel-larmines* Controversies. In this employment he continued thirteen or fourteen years, and was a great Ornament to his place. Three Volumes of those his Lectures written with his own hand he hath left behind him, and it would be a great honour to that University where they were read, and benefit to many others, if they were published.

His strong Memory.

When he performed his Acts for his degree, *Latine* Sermon, Lectures, Position, and answered the *Divinity* Act, he wrote nothing but only the heads of the severall Subjects, putting all upon the strength of his Memory, and present expressions, as also he did his *English* Sermons. His readines in the *Latine* Tongue was inferiour to none in these latter times, which (after seventeen years dis-use, from the time that he left his Professors place) appeared when he moderated the *Divinity* Act, and Created Doctors to all mens admiration.

His Self-Denyal.

The Provostship of the Colledge of *Dublin* falling void, he was unanimously elected thereto by all the Fellows, he being then about thirty years of age, but foreseeing, that upon the settlement of Lands belonging to it, and the establishing of other matters, he should be much impeded and distracted in his studies, he refused it, and so another was sent out of *England* to fill it. The revenues of it were very considerable, whereby we may see how mean, and little the things of the world seemed in his eyes even in those his younger years.

Episcopal subtilty.

About this time the *Irish* Prelates, especially Doctor *Hampton*, his predecessor in the See of *Armagh*, had obtained King *James* his grant for reducing *Ireland* to the same Ecclesiastical Government of the Church of *England*; the principal occasion whereof was this, The *English* Prelates a little before had used a great deal of severity against the *Non-conformists*, their High Commission, and other Courts, and Canons, had driven many worthy and learned men into other Countries, and some of them went into *Ireland*; the *Irish* Bishops being weary of this resort, are desirous to advance their power



to the same height with the *English Hierachy*, combined together, and obtained King *James* his Commission to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Earle of *Belfast*, a famous Souldier and prudent Governour, who was at thistime Lord *Deputy*, and bore the Sword there Eleven years together with very much honour, and esteem in that Nation. For the effecting of this, a great Assembly of the whole Nation was convened. In the Commission the King required them to consult with Master *Usher*, whose learning, judgement, and esteem would much conduce to the promoting of that work: But if he approved it not, the King required that they should proceed no further, for that he would not be the author of any Innovation amongst them.

This reserve troubled the Prelates exceedingly, and therefore they resolved to carry it closely; The Kings Letters to them, they transmitted from one to another, but acquainted not Master *Usher* with them, intending to surprize him when the Assembly was met; they should come prepared and fortified, he would be taken on the sudden. Howbeit God, that intended him for so great a good at that time in crossing their design, that many faithful labourers in his Vineyard might not by this their power be displaced, by a special Providence gave him some light (though but very little) into the matter; and the manner was thus.

Master *Usher* going to visit one of them, found him, perusing the Kings Letter; but upon his coming, he laid it down in his window, closed at both ends, onely there was an open place in the middle, and as they were discoursing together, Master *Usher* glancing his eye upon it, espied his own name, and some other words about himself, of which he could not pick out the meaning; but yet he judged them to be of importance, as *Discipline, Ireland, England, &c.* Master *Usher* thought it not prudence for him to take notice of those hints, neither could he handsomely fish out the business from the Bishop, wherefore he went another way to work; and indeed the surest way, by seeking counsel from God, communicating the matter to Dean *Hill* a very godly man, whom he requested, that with some others, they would seek unto God for his assistance; for he believed that something was in brewing that he might not know of. Herein imitating the practise of wise *Daniel*, Chap. 2. 17, 18.

A special  
Providence.

A holy Pra-  
ctice.

This done, he studied the Rights of the *Irish Church*, some fruits whereof we have in that Learned Piece of his, called, *The Religion professed by the ancient Irish and Britains*. Yet he heard nothing till the Assembly was summoned, and himself the next day was to be present at it; then went he to the Lord *Deputy* to know the occasion of their meeting. The Lord *Deputy* would not believe at first that he could be a stranger to it; but afterwards, when Master *Usher* had assured him that he had no information from the Bishops about it, he was much displeased, and told him, that without him all the rest were but Cyphers, for that the King had referred the whole business to his judgement, whether the power of the *Hierachy* should be established there as it was in *England*.

The next day the Kings Commission and Letters were read in the Assembly, and Speeches were made concerning the excellency of the Kings intention to reduce that Kingdome to one uniformity with *England* in Ecclesiastical Government; they also told him what honour the King had put upon him, whose esteem, Learning and judgement the King so much depended upon for the promoting so great and good a work. Master *Usher* replied, that he believed, that in a business of so great Concernment wherein he was so far interested, the Kings intentions were, that he should have convenient time to consider of it before he delivered his opinion, which he also humbly desired.

The Bishops answered, that his judgement was sufficiently known by his practise, and that they expected no more from him but his consent, and concurrence

currence with them. He replied, that the matter concerned more than himself, *For (said he) if I had all mens Consciences in my keeping, I could in these disputable Cases give Laws unto them, as well as unto my self, but its one thing what I can do, and another thing what all other men must do.*

His Speech  
in the As-  
sembly.

Then they asked of him, if he had any thing to say why they should not satisfy the Kings desire? He, after a short pause, wherein he lifted up his heart unto God for direction, told them, that if they would grant him no longer time, he would as well as he was able, give them his judgement, if that Honourable Assembly would grant him three Requests, 1. A free hearing without interruption. 2. Liberty for him to answer any man that should be unsatisfied. 3. That there might be a final determination of the business at that meeting. These being all granted, Master *Usher* undertook to prove, that such a Jurisdiction could not be introduced into that Kingdome, neither by the Laws of God, nor by the Civil, or Ecclesiastical Constitutions of that Kingdome, nor yet without the violation of the Kings Prerogative in that Nation: All which he performed to admiration. But before he descended to particulars, he shewed the difference between Conformity, as it was set up in *England*, and as it would be, if it were set up in *Ireland*.

*The Kings (saith he) and Queen of England imposed those Ceremonies, that thereby they might decline the charge of Schismatics, wherewith the Church of Rome laboured to brand them, seeing it did appear hereby, that they left them only in such Doctrinal Points, wherein they left the Truth. Again, hereby they would testify how far they would willingly stoop, to win and gain them, by yeelding to meet them as far as they might in their own way: But (saith he) the experience of many years hath shewed, that this Condescension hath rather hardened them in their errors, than brought them to a liking of our Religion: This being their usual saying, If our Flesh be not good, why doe you drink of our Broth.*

*As for Ireland, wherein the English Canons were never yet received, and the generality of the Inhabitants were Popish Recusants, and even in Popish Kings times, there was no reception of the Popes Ecclesiasticall Constitutions, because he encroached upon their temporals, if such Laws now should be set up under so Religious a Protestant King, this would be to set the Pope on Horse-back amongst them, which needed not.*

The success  
of his Speech

The Lord Deputy, when he had finished his Speech, and answered what was objected against it, told him, that he was much affected with every part of his learned speech, but that he was more especially concerned in that which touched upon the Kings Prerogative part; wherein he had discovered such hidden flowers of the Crown, as he thought the King himself knew not; and therefore (he said) as he would endeavour to preserve his Majesties right therein, whilst he was his Deputy, so he would present them to the King, and take care, that it should be very hard for any that came after him to rob him of them.

By this we may easily see, that he was then so far from a Prelatical spirit, that on the contrary he was an Advocate for, and Patrone of godly and conscientious Non-Conformists.

He is Dr. of  
Divinity.

*Anno Christi 1612.* he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, being created by Arch-bishop Hampton, his Predecessor; one of his Lectures for his Degree, was upon the seventy weeks to the slaying of the *Messias*, mentioned *Dan. 9. 24.* the other out of *Rev. 20. 4.* concerning the meaning of the Prophecie, that *the Saints should reign with Christ a thousand years*, which in these times would be very seasonable; but its lost.

Doctor *Hoyle* (who died Professor of Divinity in Oxford, after he had many years been the like in Dublin) said, that when he went out Doctor of Divinity, he thought *Tully* himself could not have excelled him in Eloquence (had



(had he been alive) not only in his composed speeches, but in those which occasionally fell from him upon the by.

Anno Christi 1613. He published his Book, *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione, & statu*, magnified so much by *Causaban* and *Sculetus*, in their Greek, and Latine verses before it. It was solemnly presented by Archbishop Abbot to King James, as the eminent first-fruits of that Colledge at Dublin. Indeed its imperfect, for about three hundred years from Gregory the 11. to Leo the 10. viz. from the year 1371. to 1513. and from thence to this last Century, which he intended (after the finishing of a Book, which he was now about) to have completed: But the Lord prevented him.

Anno Christi 1615. there was a Parliament in Dublin, and Consequently a Convocation of the Clergy, at which time those learned Articles of Ireland were composed and published, and Doctor Usher being a member of that Synod, was appointed to draw them up; they were highly approved of the most Orthodox Divines. They determine according to St. Austin against the Doctrine of the Pelagians: Prove the Man of sin, spoken of 1 Thess. 2. to be the Bishop of Rome; and for the Morality of the Sabbath; of both which this most learned Doctor was very confident, and oft wished that some of our learned men of late had spared their pains when they went about to prove the Contrary. In defence of the last of these, he wrote a most excellent and learned Letter to Doctor Twiss, who had desired his judgement about it.

The Articles of Ireland.

He wanted not enemies, who sought to scandalize him to King James under the Title of a Puritan, which was very odious to the King in those dayes, seeking hereby to prevent his further promotion; but God so ordered it, that it proved an occasion of his advancement; for King James being jealous of him upon that score, by reason of the eminency of his Learning, fell into serious discourse with him, and therein received such abundance of satisfaction, both of the soundness of his judgement and piety, that notwithstanding the opposition made by some great ones, without his seeking, he made him Bishop of Meath in Ireland, which just then fell void whilst he was in England, and the King often boasted that he was a Bishop of his own making.

His enemies

Whilst he was thus Bishop Elect, he was chosen to preach before the House of Commons, February, 18. 1620. in Margarets Westminster: The Sermon by order of the House was printed, and it is a most learned one.

He is made Bishop by the King.

He preaches to the Parliament.

Upon his return into Ireland, he was Consecrated Bishop of Meath at Drogheda by Archbishop Hampton, with the assistance of two Suffragan Bishops, according to the custome; at which time there was given him an Anagram of his Name, as he was then to write himself, which was this, *James Meath, I am the same*; and he made it good ever afterwards. His preferment did not cause him to grow slack in his constancy of preaching, as it did too many, who having caught the Fish, laid aside the Net: But as *Possidinius* saith of St. Austin, he was still the same; which he bound himself the rather unto by the Motto of his Episcopal Seal, *Ve mihi si non Evangelizavero*, Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel, which he continued in the Seal of his Primacy also.

His constant Preaching.

He had many Papists in his Diocese, whom he endeavoured to reclaim by private Conferences, and at length they were willing to hear him preach, so it were not in a Church, which he condescended to, and preached in the Sessions-house, and his Sermon wrought so much upon some of them, that their Priests forbade them hearing him in any place ever after.

His success in his Ministry.

Anno Christi 1622, there were some Papists Censured in the Star-chamber for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, at which time he was called thither to inform

inform them of it before the sentence passed, which occasioned that learned Speech of his upon that subject, since printed with his *English* works.

His answer  
to a Jesuit.

While he was Bishop of *Meath*, he answered a challenge sent him by the *Jesuite Malone*; and his going over into *England* to Print it, occasioned another learned Tractate of the Universality of the Church of *Christ*, and the Unity of the Catholick Faith, in a Sermon preached before King *James* on *Eph. 4. 13. Till we all come in the unity of the Faith, &c.* And Gods providence so ordered it, that whilst he was thus busied in *England*, Archbishop *Hampton* dying, he was made his successour, Primate of *Ireland*, Anno *Christi* 1624. and he was the hundredth Bishop of that See.

He is made  
Primate of  
*Ireland*.

Being thus promoted to the highest preferment his Profession was capable of in his Native Country, he was so far from being puffed up with Pride, that he was more humble, and frequent in preaching, and it so fell out, that for some weeks together, overtoying himself in the work of the Ministry to the overwasting of his spirits, which he did at the request of some *Essex* Ministers, who importuned him to preach on the week dayes, because they could not come to hear him on the *Sabbaths*, he fell into a *Quartane Ague*, which held him three quarters of a year.

His disputa-  
tion with a  
Jesuit.

After his recovery, the Lord *Mordant* (afterwards Earl of *Peterborough*) being a *Papist*, and desirous to draw his Lady to the same Religion, he was willing that there should be a meeting of two eminent persons of each party to dispute what might be in controversie between them. The Lady made choice of our Lord Primate, and prevailed with him, though newly recovered from the aforesaid long sickness, and scarce able to take such a journey. The *Jesuite* chosen by the Earl, went under the name of *Beaumont*, but his true name was *Rookwood* (brother to *Ambrose Rookwood*, one of the *Gunpowder Traytors*.) The place of meeting was at *Drayton* in *Northamptonshire*, where there was a great Library, so that no Books of the ancient Fathers were wanting upon occasion for their view. The points to be disputed on, were Concerning *Transubstantiation*, *Invocation* of Saints, *worshipping* of Images, and the *Visibility* of the Church. Three dayes they were in this Disputation, three hours in the forenoon, and two hours in the afternoon each day; and the Conclusion was this, After the third day of meeting, the Lord Primate having been hitherto opponent, now the Tables were to be turned, and the *Jesuit* according to his desire, was to oppose, and the Lord Primate to answer: But when the time came, and the *Jesuit* was expected, instead of coming, he sent his excuse to the Lord *Mordant*, which was, that all the Arguments which he had framed in his head, and premeditated, so that he thought he had them as perfect as his *Pater Noster*, were now slipped from him, and he could not possibly recover them again; and that he believed it was a just judgement of God upon him, for undertaking of himself to dispute with a man of that eminency and learning without a licence from his *Superiour*. The Lord *Mordant* seeing his tergiversation, upon some further discourse with the Lord Primate, was converted, and became a *Protestant*, and so continued to his death. One *Challoner*, a *Secular Priest*, afterwards writing a book against this *Beaumont* by way of scorn, bids him beware of coming any more to *Drayton*, lest he meet with another *Usher*, to foil him again, to the dishonour of his profession, and himself.

The Lord  
*Mordant*  
converted.

The Lord having made his labours so successful, the Countess of *Peterborough* had him alwayes in great respect, and upon his losses in *Ireland*, and other distresses here, she took him home to her own house, with whom he lived about nine or ten years, and then died there.

Anno *Christi* 1626, in *August*, he went back into *Ireland*, where he was entertained with all the expressions of love and joy that could be.



The discourses which daily fell from him at his Table in clearing difficulties in the Scripture, and other Subjects (especially when learned men came to visit him) tended exceedingly to the edification of the Hearers, so that it might well be said of him, as the Queen of *Sheba* said to *Solomon*, *Happy are these thy servants that stand continually about thee, and hear thy wisdom.* And such was his humility withall, as that he would, in practical Subjects, apply himself to the capacity of the poorest, and weakest Christian that came to him for information, and satisfaction of their doubts. Nay some times, he was more propense to Communicate himself to such, than to others that were more learned; which strangers have wondred at, as the Disciples marvelled at our Saviours talking with the poor *woman of Samaria*, *Joh. 4. 27.* and answering her questions, rather than taking notice of them. Indeed he was a Mirror of Humility: For though he was higher than any other from the shoulders upward, yet might many of his inferiours learn humility of him, as may appear in these few amongst many other examples.

His fruitful  
conference.

His Humi-  
lity.

1. In his publick preaching, no man more denied himself to preach *Christ*, inasmuch as some that affected that frothy way of preaching by strong lines (as they call them) were much ashamed after they had heard him preach in *Oxford*, wherein he reprov'd, and decried the *Corinthian* vanity in this kinde. Also in one passage of his at the Court before the King, he taught the Bishops, and Doctors that then heard him, thus; *Great Schollars* (said he) *possibly may think that it stands not with their credit, and Reputation to stoop so low, &c. But let the Learnedest of us all try it when we will, and we shall finde, that to lay this ground work right, that is, to apply our selves to the Capacities of a common Auditory, and to make an ignorant man to understand these Mysteries in some good measure, will put us to the trial of our skill, and will trouble us a great deal more, than if we were to discuss a Controversie, or handle a subtle point of Learning in the Schools.* He was indeed another *Paul*, who determined to know nothing but *Christ, and him crucified.* Neither was his speech or preaching with the enticing words of mans wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit, and of power, *1 Cor. 2. 2, 4.*

Examples of  
it.

2. In his private Conversation he framed himself to the capacity of the meanest that conversed with him. He had an excellent gift of expressing himself both in *Latine* and *English*, and as he could soar with the *Eagle* in *Polemick* Discourses when he met with *Giants*, so he would stoop to the lowest *Pigmies* in practical Subjects, and would apply himself to the poorest and weakest Christians. He was no *Dictator*, nor would impose upon other mens judgments or Consciences, but was as ready to receive from others, as to impart to them, and would much incline to vulgar Christians, rather than unto others that were more learned.

3. In his demeanour and behaviour he had high thoughts of others, and as low of himself, and that in every condition of his Life, both in prosperity and adversity. Godly persons of what rank soever, had great power with him, he would put them in his Bosome, Visit them in their Sicknes, Supply their Wants, Beg their Prayers, and Countenance their Cause and Persons. In his passage for *Ireland*, he sometimes lay at *Nesson* for wind, where sundry times he Preached to a plain Country Auditory: And whereas there were in that part of the Country (where I lived about five years when I first began my ministry) divers plain Christians, which were never called but by their Christian names, yet indeed were such as had not a bare form, but the Life and Power of godliness in them, so that I was never acquainted with more Knowing Christians, for men and women of their Rank; these he grew into familiar Acquaintance with, would entertain them in his Chamber, Discourse with them, Answer their Questions, and satisfy their Doubts: And when he was made Archbishop, some of them told him, that now they must know their distance, and durst not be so familiar with

Pfal. 16. 3.  
& 119. 63.

with him as formerly: To whom he answered, That he was the same man still, and they should be as welcome to him as formerly, and accordingly used the same familiarity with them as he had wont to do: And when he lay at *Chester*, he would as soon Preach at the request of Master *Ashbrook*, and Mistress *Kirkman* (a godly Woman of the meaner ranck, whom I well knew) as at the intreaties of the Mayor and Aldermen of that City, whereby he Demonstrated, that *his Delight was in the Saints*, and that he was a *Companion of all them that feared God*; and this indeed was one Reason that he Rose so High; He *Honoured God*, and therefore *God Honoured Him*, 1 Sam. 2. 30.

Whilst I lived in *Warwickshire*, not much before the long Parliament begun, my self with two other Neighbour Ministers, made a journey to *Oxford* (where he then was) on purpose to desire his judgment in some Cases where-in we could not so well satisfy our selves; we found him at his Lodgings in *Christ Church*, where, before he would admit any speech with us, he caused us to put on our Hats, to sit down by him, and then to speak our Mindes; when I told him that we were come to request his judgment in some Difficulties, he presently stopped me, saying, Master *Clarke*, I shall freely tell you my judgment in any thing but about the *Et cetera* Oath, concerning which I did speak occasionally, declaring my mind about it: and I have newly received a Letter from two Doctors (whose Names I forbear to insert out of Respect to them) who take me up as if I was a School-boy, (and withal he pulled the Letter out of his pocket) adding, that in that regard he would say no more about that matter, &c. I replied, that we were sufficiently satisfied about that Oath, but the Questions we had to propound were of another Nature, wherein he gave us very full and clear Satisfaction.

His frequent Prayers.

His Custome was to Pray four times a day, in, and with his Family; in the Morning at six a clock, in the Evening at eight, and before dinner and supper in his Chappel, at each of which he was always present. On *Friday* in the afternoons, there was constantly an hour spent in his Chappel, in Catechizing upon the Principles of Religion, for the instructing of his Family; and on *Sabbaths* in the Evening, the Sermon which he had Preached in the forenoon, was Repeated in his Chappel by one of his Chaplains.

His Industry.

In the Winter Evenings, his constant manner was to spend two hours in comparing of old *Manuscripts* of the Bible, in *Greek* and *Latine*; in which work, five or six assisted him, and the *varie lectiones* of each were taken by himself with his one Hand.

A Toleartion of Popery desired.

*Anno Christi* 1626. in *Michaelmas* Term, there were some Proposals made, and offered to be assented to by the *Irish Papists*, upon condition of a more full Toleration of their Religion, for the raising and maintaining of five hundred Horse, and five thousand Foot; wherein the *Protestants* also must have borne some share: To consider hereof, a great Assembly of *Papists* and *Protestants* of the whole Nation was appointed in the Lord Deputy *Faulklands* time. The place of their meeting, was in the Hall of the Castle in *Dublin*. At which time the Bishops, by our Lord *Primates* invitation, met at his House, where he, and they, drew up, and unanimously Subscribed a Protestation against the Toleration of *Popery*; A Copy whereof, because it deserves perpetual Remembrance, is here inserted.



*The Judgment of the Archbishops, and Bishops of Ireland, concerning the Toleration of Popery, which is applicable also against the Toleration of other Heresies.*

"The Religion of the *Papists* is Superstitious and Idolatrous, their Faith and Doctrine erroneous, and *Heretical*, their Church in respect of both *Apostatical*. To give them therefore a Toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their Religion, and profess their Faith and Doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects; For,

The Bishops judgements against it.

"1. It is to make our selves accessary, not only to their Superstitions, Idolatries, Heresies, and in a Word, to all the abominations of *Popery*, but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced People, which perish in the Deluge of the *Catholic Apostacy*.

"2. To grant them a Toleration, in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set Religion to sale, and with it, the souls of the People, whom *Christ* our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious Blood. And as it is a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence, the Consideration whereof we commend to the Wise and Judicious; Beseeching the Zealous God of Truth, to make them who are in Authority, Zealous of Gods Glory, and of the advancement of true Religion; Zealous, Resolute, and Courageous against all *Popery*, Superstition and Idolatry, Amen.

*Ja. Armachanus,*

*M<sup>g</sup>l. Cashlen,*

*Anth. Medensis,*

*Tho. Hernes. and Lagblin,*

*Ro. Dunensis, &c.*

*Georg. Derens.*

*Rich. Cork, Cloyne, Rosses,*

*Andr. Alachadens.*

*Tho. Kilmore, and Ardagh,*

*Theo. Dromore,*

*Mic. Waterford and Lysm.*

*Fran. Lymerick.*

"This Judgment of the Bishops, Doctor George Downham, Bishop of Derry, at the next meeting of the Assembly, which was April the 23. 1627. published at *Christ Church* before the Lord Deputy, and Council in the midst of his Sermon, with this Preamble, viz.

"Are not many amongst us for gain, and outward Respects, willing, and ready to consent to a Toleration of false Religions, thereby making themselves guilty of a great Offence, in putting to Sale not only their own Souls, but also the Souls of others: But what is to be thought of Toleration of Religion, I will not deliver my own private Opinion, but the judgments of the Archbishops, and Bishops of this Kingdome, which I think good to publish unto you, that whatsoever shall happen, the World may know that we were far from Consenting to those Favours which the *Papists* expect.

After he had published it, the people gave their Votes with a general Acclamation, crying *Amen*. The judgements of the Bishops prevailed so much with the Protestants, that now the Proposals drove on very heavily, and after much Debate of things, the Lord Deputy finding the Discontents of both Parties encreasing, desired our Lord Primate, as the fittest Person, both in regard of his esteem in the Assembly, and being a member of the Council, and therefore concerned in promoting of the Kings business, to sum up the state of things, and to move them to an absolute grant of some competency that might comply with the Kings Necessities, without any such Conditions; with which, upon their Answer, he would cease moving any further; which (upon very little warning) he did with much Prudence, according to his double Capacity of a Privy Councillour, and a Bishop: A Copy of which

Speech desired of him by the Lord Deputy, was immediately transmitted into *England*: But it not being prevalent with the Assembly, to induce them to supply the Kings wants, it was dissolved.

Lord Faulk-  
lands esteem  
of him.

Not long after, the Lord Deputy *Falkland* being called back into *England*, when he was to take Boat at the Water side, he reserved our Lord Primate as the last Person to take his leave of, and fell upon his Knees on the Sands, and begged his Blessing, which Reverend respect shewed to him, gained a greater Reputation to himself, both in *Ireland* and *England*; and indeed from his younger years, the several Lord Deputies had always a great esteem of him.

His Incessant  
pains.

It was no small labour to him to answer those many Letters, which came to him from foreign Parts, and our own Nations upon several Occasions, some for resolution of difficulties in Divinity, others about Cases of Conscience, and practical Subjects. Twelve of the most Eminent Divines in *London* (who at his being here, were wont to apply themselves to him as to a Father, as Doctor *Sibbs*, Doctor *Preston*, &c. between whom, and him there were most entire Affections) wrote to him for his directions about a Body of practical Divinity, which he returned them accordingly.

His care of  
the Ministry

He much endeavoured the augmentation of the maintenance of the Ministry in *Ireland*, and for that end he had obtained a Patent for Impropriations to be passed in his Name, for their use as they should fall, but it was too much neglected by themselves, whereby his Desires were frustrated.

His constant  
Preaching,  
and Catechizing.

He preached every Lords day in the forenoon, never failing unless he was disabled, by sickness, in which he spent himself very much: In the afternoons his directions to Doctor *Bernard*, his assistant, were, that before publick Prayers he should Catechize the youth, and that after the first, and second Lesson, he should spend half an hour in a brief and plain opening the Principles of Religion in the publick Catechisme; and therein he directed him to go, first through the Creed at once, giving but the sum of each Article, the next time, to go through it at thrice, and afterwards to take each time one Article, as they might be more able to bear it; and to observe the like proportionably in the Ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments: The good Fruit of which was apparent in the common people upon their coming to the Communion, at which time, by order, the Receivers were to send in their Names, and some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it. His order throughout his Diocese to the Ministers, was, that they should go through the Body of Divinity once a year, which he had accordingly drawn out into fifty Heads. When any publick Fast was enjoined, he kept it very strictly, Preaching always first himself, and therein continuing at least two hours, in a more than ordinary manner enlarging himself in Prayer; The like was done by those that assisted him in the Duty.

His expences  
in Books  
and Manuscripts.

His expences for Books was very great, especially whilst he enjoyed the Revenues of his Archbishoprick, a certain part whereof he laid aside yearly for that end, but especially for the purchasing of Manuscripts and other Rarities, as well from remote parts of the World, as near at hand. He was the first that procured the *Samaritan Bible* (which is onely the *Pentateuch*) to the view of these Western parts of the World. It was sent him from *Syria* by the way of *Aleppo*, Anno Christi 1625. He had four of them sent him by a Factor whom he employed to search for things of that nature; and these were thought to be all that could there be had. One of these he gave to the Library of *Oxford*: A second to *Leyden* (for which *Ludovicus de Dieu* returns him publick thanks in a Book that he Dedicated to him:) A third he gave to Sir *Robert Cottons* Library: And the fourth, after he had compared it with the other, he kept himself. The Old Testament in *Syriack*, another Rarity also, was sent him from those Parts not long after.

A Prediction.

It might happily seem incredible unto some, to relate how many years ago, he confidently foretold the changes which since are come to pass both in *Ireland*



land and England, both in Church and State, and of the poverty which himself should fall into, which he oft spake of in his greatest plenty.

In his Book called *Ecclesiarum Britannicarum Antiquitates*, p. 556. he hath this remarkable passage, after he had largely related the manner of the utter destruction of the *British Church*, and State by the *Saxons* about the year 550. as he found it in *Gildas*, he gives two reasons why he was so prolix in setting it down, 1. That the Divine Justice might the rather from thence appear to us, the sins of persons of all sorts and degrees being then come to the height, which occasioned, not onely shaking of the foundations of the *British Church* and State; but the very destruction, and almost utterly overturning of them. 2. That even we now might be in the greater fear that our turn also is coming, and may be minded of that of the Apostle, *Rom. 11. 22. Behold the goodness and severity of God: On them which fell, severity, but towards thee goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: Otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.*

He often acknowledged that sometimes in his Sermons he hath resolved to forbear speaking of some things, but it proved like *Jeremiahs* fire shut up in his bones, that when he came to it, he could not forbear unless he would have stood mute, and proceeded no further. He was very bold and free in the exercise of his Ministry, sparing sin in none, yea even before Kings he was not ashamed to do it. He often (to his utmost) stood in the gap to oppose Errors and false Doctrines; he withstood to the face any Toleration of Popery and Superstition, by whomsoever attempted: He was so fervent in his preaching, that that of the *Psalmist* might be applied to him, *The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up.*

Jer. 2. 9.

His Zeal against Popery.

Anno Christi 1624, he spake before many witnesses, and often repeated it afterwards, that he was perswaded that the greatest stroke to the Reformed Churches was yet to come, and that the time of the utter ruine of the *Roman Antichrist* should be, when he thought himself most secure, according to that Text, *Revel. 18. 7. When she shall say, I sit as a Queen, and shall see no sorrow, &c.* His farewell Sermon, in, or very near the place where he had lived in England, was then much observed upon *Jam. 1. 25. Sin when it is finished brings forth death*; wherein he spake of the fulness of the sins of this Nation, which certainly would bring great destruction: Adding, that the *Harvest of the earth was ripe*, and the *Angel was putting in his sickle*, *Rev. 14. 18.* applying also that of the *Epha* in the Vision, *Zach. 5.* when it was filled with wickedness; and that of the *Amorites*, who when their iniquities were come to the full, were destroyed. He often also hinted the same in his private discourses, and many that heard them, laid these his sayings up in their hearts, and by what hath already fallen out, do measure their expectations for the future.

Predictions.

At the last time of his being in London, he much lamented, with great thoughts of heart, the wofull dis-unions, and the deadly hatred which he saw kindled in the hearts of Christians one against another, by reason of their several opinions in matters of Religion; & observing how some opposed the Ministry, both to Office and maintenance: Others contemned the Sacraments: Others raised, and spread abroad *Damnable Doctrines, Heresies, and Blasphemies*: Upon which considerations he was confident, that the enemies which had sown these up and down the Nation, were *Priests, Friars, and Jesuits*, and such like *Popish Agents*, sent out of their Seminaries from beyond the Seas in sundry disguises, who increasing in number here in London, and elsewhere, do expect a great harvest of their labours, and he was perswaded, that if they were not timely prevented, by a severe suppressing of them, the issue would be either an inundation of *Popery*, or a *Massacre*, or both; adding verball, how willing he was, if the Lord so pleased, to be taken away from that evil so come, which he Confidently expected, Unless there were some speedy Reformation of these things.

He lamented our Divisions.

His Humi-  
lity.

*Anno Christi 1634.* A little before the Parliament began in Ireland, there was a Letter sent over from the late King to the Lord Deputy, and Council; for determining the question of the precedency between the Primate and Archbishop of Dublin; the question was nothing as to their persons, but in Relation to their *Sees*. This good man out of his great humility, was hardly drawn to speak to that Argument; but being commanded, he shewed in it a great deal of Learning, and rare observations in matters of Antiquity, so that the business was determined on his side, who afterwards by another Letter (procured without his seeking) had the precedency given him of the Lord Chancellor. These things took little with him, but were rather burdens to him who was not in the least elated, or puffed up thereby. At that Parliament, he preached the first day of it before the Lord Deputy, and the Lords and Commons, in St. Patricks Dublin. His Text was, Gen. 49. 10. *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law giver from between his feet till Shiloh come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be.*

At the beginning also of the Parliament *Anno Christi 1639.* he preached before the same Auditory on Deut. 33. 4, 5. *And Moses commanded us a Law, even the Inheritance of the Congregation of Jacob, and he was a King in Jerusalem, when the heads of the people, and the Tribes of Israel were gathered together.* Both which Texts as they were pertinent, so were they handled with rare Judgement and eminent Learning.

His Labours  
successful.

The Lord was pleased to make his Labours very successful, some few instances whereof, I shall here set down; some of which I had from my Reverend Friend Master Stanly Gower, the last from my own knowledge.

His Pru-  
dence.

A Lords eldest son, who from his cradle had been trained up in Popery, but was of excellent parts, and learning, was at last prevailed with by his Father, to sojourn for a while with this learned Prelate in Drogheda; The prudent Prelate studied nothing more than how he might take him by craft (as the Apostle did the Corinthians, 2 Cor. 12. 16.) and therefore did not presently fall into discourse with him about his Religion, but recreated himself for a time in discoursing with him about some Philosophical questions, and School-points, in which studies he perceived the Gentleman was well versed, and took much delight in them: This he continued, till at last he gained so far upon his affections, that of his own accord he moved some discourse about matters of Religion; and then finding him studious, he did not presently go about to instruct him in the Truth, but sought to puzzle him with doubts about his own Religion; By this means the Gentlemans Conscience began to be awakened; nor were his scruples removed, though he had recourse to a Monastery hard by, where they were debated; so that at last he came with tears to the Learned Primate for satisfaction, and he promised to deal faithfully with him; But (saith he) *those whom you trust do not so, for they will not suffer you to see with your own eyes, nor to understand the Scripture, but according to their Churches Commentaries.* Then did he advise him to go amongst them, and to ask them, whether he that understood the Originals might examine their Interpretations, and to bring him word what they said. Accordingly he did so, and brought him word, that they were divided in their judgements.

Then did the learned Prelate wish him no longer to trust to their implicit Faith, and he would demonstrate to him how much they perverted the sense of the Scriptures, and abused the writings of the Ancient Fathers, whilst they sought to make the world believe that the Fathers and Councils were wholly for them, and against us: And if (saith he) *you distrust your own learning and reading, and will make choice of any other, who you think can say more, I will make this good which I have said before the best of them all.*

This



This was an introduction to much confidence which the Gentleman had in him; and it pleased God after much temptation which he had to the contrary (as he confessed) to direct him to betake himself to prayer; after which time, he acknowledged that he understood more of the way of truth, both when he conferred with the Primate, and when he meditated apart, than ever he could attain to before; and the issue was, that he came into the Church unlooked for of the Primate, and after Sermon, made a confession of his Faith, offering to Seal the truth of it (if they pleased to admit him) by receiving the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which was then to be administered.

Prayer  
powerful

The *Papists*, especially the *Priests* were so enraged hereat, for losing such an one of whom they conceived so great hopes, that they made much disturbance, inasmuch as the Gentleman, for safety, was sent over into *England* to *Oxford*, that he might decline their fury; and the forces of the City were raised to prevent the present danger: and the Lord *Deputy* hearing of it, sent a Troop of Horse, and (as it was said) thereupon dissolved one of their *Monasteries*. Another was this,

The Lady *Falkland*, about the time of the late *Queens* coming out of *France* to be married to King *Charles*, turned *Recusant*, and on a time was gotten into the company of Father *Fisher*, Father *Sweet*, and Father *Sweetnam* in *Drury Lane*, and by some means or other, Doctor *Feathly*, and Master *Gataker* were procured to meet them there; the Lord *Savil*, Brother to this Lady, as he also was going that way, accidentally met with Doctor *Usher*, and intreated him to go along with him to this meeting; The Bishop consented, and by the way requested the Lord *Savil* at their first entrance privately to give notice to his Sister, the Lady *Falkland*, that she should take no notice of him, and saith he, *I will do the like to the Ministers*, and as for the *Jesuits*, *I believe, they know me not at all*.

At their first entrance, they found them engaged about *Image-Worship*; the *Jesuits* denied that they gave them Divine worship; the Ministers were proving that they were no fit *Mediums* to worship God by. After they had ragged at it, and were wearied, and ready to give over that Question, Bishop *Usher* said, *But Gentlemen, pray you tell me, do not you give them Divine worship?* they answered, no: *How then* (saith he) *will you be tried?* they answered, By the Council of *Trent*. *Indeed* (said the Bishop) *that Council doth require the giving of worship to them, but who shall expound what that bonour, and worship is, and assure us that it is not Divine? Will you be determined by Thomas Aquinas?* they said, Yes. Then was the Book sent for, and he turned presently to the place where he concludes, that the same reverence is to be given to the Image of Christ, as to Christ himself, and by consequence, seeing Christ is adored with the worship of *Latria*, his Image also is to be adored with the same worship. Now (said the Bishop) have you any higher worship than the *Latria* that you give to God? Upon this one of the *Jesuits* whispered to the Lady *Falkland* to know his name that thus disputed: she answered, that he was a Country Minister. No (quoth the *Jesuit*) there is more in him than in both the other. *Try him* (said she) *further*.

His Disputations with three *Jesuits*.

That Question being laid aside, that of Free-will was taken up; the Bishop sat silent as before, whilst the state of the Question was Convulsed between the Ministers and *Jesuits*, and much ado there was about it, so that they had like to have broken off, without coming to any issue; the Bishop seeing that, said, *Gentlemen, if you will give me leave, I will bring you in the point in difference presently by this similitude. If you make Free-will to be the Horse, I will make Grace to be his Rider. Now true it is, my Horse can go of himself, but he knows not whether I intend to go: Besides, he is dull, and tired, and I spur him on; my spur doth not properly go, but it makes my Horse to go. You may easily*

They are  
foyled.

Another  
Disputation

easily apply it: But the *Jesuits* had enough, and listd not to encounter him any farther, pretending a necessity to be gone, and so left the place; So mightily it pleased God by him to convince them.

Another was this: A *Protestant* Knight in *Ireland*, had prevailed so far with his Lady, who was then a *Papist*, as to admit of a Parley about their Religion, and she made choice of one for her, that was called amongst them, *the Rock of Learning*. The Knight made choice of this our Primate to encounter him, and upon the day appointed many persons of note were there assembled; the learned, and prudent Primate before the Disputation began, spake thus to the Lady, *Madam* (said he) *let us know the end of our meeting. Is it that this Gentleman, and I should try our Strength before you? If so, then it is like that we can speak Languages, and quote Authors which you do not understand; how then will you know who gets the better? Therefore this is not our end: If this Gentleman desires to shew his learning and reading that way, if he please to come to the Colledge of Dublin, where there are men that will understand us both, and can judge between us, I shall willingly deal with him at those weapons: but now our business is something else: It is supposed that we two, whom your Husband and you have chosen, can speak more for the defence of our Religion than you that chose us, and your desire is to know, by hearing our discourse in your own Language, how to rectifie your judgements. Now therefore I will give you a rule, which if you please to remember, you shall be able to discern which of us two have the truth on our side, and it is this:*

The Points we will discourse of shall be such, without some knowledge whereof no man in an ordinary way attain to the end of his Faith, the salvation of his soul. In these you may easily lose your selves, not onely by *Heresie*, which is a flat denying of them, but by Ignorance also, by a bare not knowing of them. The word of truth contained in the Scriptures, is the rule both of Faith and Life, common to small and great, concerning these things: Now whilst we keep to the true sense of the Scriptures in these points, you may understand us both; but when we shall fly to suble distinctions to evade plain Texts, or flye from the Scriptures to take sanctuary in Authors which you know not, assure your selves that we are at a loss, and seek Victory rather than truth. Keep this Rule *Madam*, in your minde, for this Gentleman dares not deny it to be a true one, and then you will be the better for our meeting. And now Sir (said he to the *Jesuit*, her Champion) *I am ready to engage with you in any such points.*

The Dispute was began, and after a short encounter, the *Jesuit* was driven to those shifts; whereupon the Primate said, *Madam, do you understand my Argument that I propounded to this Gentleman?* She answered, *Yes, and do you* (said he) *understand this Gentlemans answer?* She answered, *No indeed, It is too high for me: But* (said the Primate) *I do, and can answer him in his own way, but then you would not understand me neither: Therefore Sir* (said he to the *Jesuit*) *I pray you help the Lady to understand your answer as she doth my Argument, then I will further reply.* But it pleased God within a while, so to disable the *Jesuit* from proceeding, that he left the place with

A special providence. shame; and the Lady by this, and some further Endeavours, became not only a good Protestant, but a very gracious woman.

The last Instance I shall give of the successfulness of his Labours, is this, About twelve or thirteen years ago, we had an Ordination of Ministers in our seventh *Classis*; at which time (according to our custome) we called in the young Men that were to be Ordained one after another, and examining them about the Work of Gods Grace in their hearts, three of them acknowledged that they were Converted by Gods blessing upon the Labours of this our Lord Primate, whilst he preached at *Oxford*, where they then were Students about the beginning of the Parliament. Anno

The success  
of his Mini-  
stry.



*Anno Christi* 1640. He came out of Ireland into England, being invited thereto by some eminent Persons, wherein the special Providence of God did Manifest it self for his Preservation, it being the year before the Rebellion brake out in Ireland; as if (according to the Angels speech to Lot) nothing could be done there till he was come hither, and escaped to this his Zoar.

A special providence.

His Library (which was very great) in the first year of the Rebellion, viz. 1641. was in Drogheda, which place was besieged four moneths by the Irish Rebels, and they made no question of taking it, and some of their Priests and Friars talked much what a Prize they should gain by that Library; but the Barbarous multitude spake of burning it: But it pleased God to hear the Fastings, and Prayers of his People within, and in a wonderful manner to deliver them, and so all his Books and Manuscripts were sent him that Summer to Chester, and from thence, were brought very safe to London.

The sufferings he now lay under were many and great. All his personal Estate was lost, and that which belonged to his Primacy in Ireland was destroyed, only for the present he was Preacher in Covent Garden.

His sufferings.

*Anno Christi* 1641. The great business of the Earle of Strafford came in agitation, upon which a Scandal was raised of him, by a rash, if not a malicious Pen in his *Vocal Forrest*, as if he had made use of a pretended distinction of a personal and Political Conscience, to satisfy our Gracious King that he might Consent to the beheading of the said Earle, telling him, that though the first resisted, yet he might do it by the second; but to clear him of this, a person of quality affirmed under his hand, that some years agoe a rumour being spread of the death of this Reverend Prelate (whose loss was much lamented at Oxford) when this Concerning the Earle was then by one objected against him, the King answered that person in very great passion, and with an oath Protested his innocency therein. Besides, he left under his own hand a Relation of that whole business, a true Copy whereof followeth.

A Scandal cleared.

"That Sunday Morning wherein the King Consulted with the four Bishops; viz. of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle) the Archbishop of Armagh was not present, being then preaching, as he then accustomed to do every Sabbath in the Church of Covent Garden, where a Message coming to him from his Majesty, he descended from the Pulpit, and told the Messenger, that he was then, as he saw, employed in Gods business, which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon the King to understand his pleasure: But the King spending the whole afternoon in the serious debate of the Lord Straffords Case with the Lords of his Council, and the Judges of the Land, he could not before evening be admitted to the Kings presence.

"There the Question was again agitated, Whether the King in justice might pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earle of Strafford. For, that he might shew mercy to him was no Question at all, no man doubting, but that the King without any scruple of Conscience might have granted him a pardon, if other reasons of State (in which the Bishops were made neither Judges nor Advisers) did not hinder him. The whole result therefore of the Bishops determination, was to this effect; That herein, the matter of Fact, and the matter of Law were to be distinguished; that of the matter of Fact, he himself might make a Judgement, having been present at all the proceedings against the said Lord; where, if upon hearing all the allegations, on either side, he did not conceive him guilty of the Crimes wherewith he was charged, he could not in justice condemn him. But for the matter in Law, what was Treason, and what was not, he was to rest in the opinion of the Judges, whose Office it was to declare the Law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his Subjects, &c.

Upon

Offers  
made to  
him from a-  
broad.

Upon his losses in *Ireland*, and the straits he was brought into here, two Offers were made unto him from Foreign Nations; the One from Cardinal *Richlieu*, onely in Relation to his eminent learning, with a promise of large maintenance, and liberty to live where he pleased in *France* amongst the *Protestants*. The other from the States of *Holland*, who proffered him the place of being *Honorarius Professor* at *Leiden*, which had an ample stipend belonging to it; but he refused both.

And now by reason of the disturbance of the times, he was perpetually removing, having with *St. Paul*, no certain dwelling place, and some of those evidences mentioned by that great Doctor of the Gentiles to prove himself to be the Minister of Christ, were applicable to him, *2 Cor. 6. 3. &c. In much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in tumults, or tossings to and fro; in labours, in watchings, and fastings. By honour and dishonour: by evil report, and good report: as deceivers, and yet true: as unknown, and yet well known: as dying, and behold we live: as chastened and not killed: as sorrowful, and yet always rejoicing: as poor, yet making many rich: as having nothing, and yet possessing all things, &c.*

He goes to  
Oxford.

*Anno Christi 1642.* He obtained leave of both Houses of Parliament, to go to *Oxford* for his study in that Library. *Anno Christi 1644*, the late King coming thither, he preached before him on the fifth of *November*. His Text was *Nehem. 4. 11. And our Adversaries said, they shall not know, neither see, till we come in the midst amongst them, and slay them, and cause their work to cease.* In his Sermon he advised his Hearers to put no repose in the *Papists*, who (saith he) upon the first opportunity will serve us here, as they have done the *Poor Protestants* in *Ireland*, which much offended some that were there present.

And into  
Wales.

He is abu-  
sed by Souldiers.

In *March* following he went from thence into *Wales* to *Cardiff* in *Glamorganshire*, where for a time, he abode with his Daughter: But *September, 16. Anno Christi 1645*, he removed from thence to *St. Donnets*, (the *Lady Stradlings*) and by the way meeting with some Souldiers, they used him Barbarously, plucked him off his horse, and brake open two of his Trunks full of Books, taking them all away: amongst these he lost two *Manuscripts* of the History of the *Waldenses*, most of his Books he recovered again; but these *Manuscripts*, though the meanliest clad, he could never hear of, which gave suspicion that some *Priest* or *Jesuit* had lighted upon them. The loss of them grieved him much, they being of use to him for the finishing of that Book, *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successione, & statu.*

His Sick-  
ness.

Not long after he fell into a painful sickness, wherein he bled four dayes together, so that he swooned, and all hope of life was past, and a rumour was spread abroad that he was dead, which occasioned grief to many; and it was so far believed at Court, that a Letter came over for a successor in his Primacy in *Ireland*: But it pleased God that he recovered, and *June 11, Anno Christi 1646*, he came to *London*, where the Countess of *Peterborough* gladly received him.

He is chosen  
to *Lincolns*  
*Inn*.

After a while, he was chosen to be preacher to the Honourable Society of *Lincolns Inn*, where he continued divers years with great honour, and respect from them, till at the last, losing his sight, so that he could not read his Text, and his strength decaying, he was advised by his Friends to forbear; and to reserve himself, and the remainder of his strength for the writing of Books, which were yet expected from him. No spectacles could help his sight, onely when the Sun shone he could see at a window, which he hourly followed from Room to Room in the house of his abode: In *Winter* the casement was often set open for him to write at. This Summer he Conceived would be the last, wherein he should make use of his eyes; the *Winter* following he intended to have an *Amanuensis* to write for him, and a Competent Salary was intended for him whom he should choose to that Work: But the Lord was pleased to prevent it by taking him to the sight of himself.

After



After he had left *Lincolns-Inne*, he was prevailed with to preach in several places, as in *Graies Inne*, Nov. 5. Anno 1654, which he then thought might have been his Last Sermon, and it was taken as an Honour by that Honourable Society, whereof he had been admitted a Member at a Reading above thirty years before: He preached also at the Temple at Master *Seldens* Funeral, and at two other places in the City, both which the Lord was pleased to make very effectual in the Conversion of divers that were his Hearers: And indeed seldome did the Sword drawn by him, return empty. The last Sermon which he preached was about *Michaelmas*, Anno 1655: at *Hammer-smith*.

His last Sermon. 1655.

He Complained that he was much troubled, finding himself unable to continue his Ministry; his thoughts were on it in the day, and his dreams in the night; and though he had been a preacher about fifty and five years, and so, like the *Levites* might well be excused from this service of the Sanctuary, and have employed himself (as his manner was) in directing of others, yet he resolved, if God Continued his life the Summer following, to return to it again in some small Church or Chappel.

He sought not great things for himself: In the time of his distress by reason of his Losses in *Ireland*, the Parliament for some years was bountiful to him; but the two last years of their sitting, it fell out to be suspended. But after they were dissolved, the care of him was renewed by the Lord Protector, by whose Order a Constant Competent allowance was given him, which was Continued till his death, besides very Considerable summes extraordinary.

All that knew him, found him very Communicative, not onely of his studies for the advantage of their mindes, but of part of his stipend, for the relief of their Bodies; and indeed in works of charity he more needed a bridle, than a spur.

His Charity

He was not so severe in his judgement about Episcopacy, as to disown other Reformed Churches, but declared that he loved and honoured them, as true Members of the Church-Universal, and was ready for the Ministers of *Holland*, *France*, &c. to testifie his Communion with them.

He owns other Reformed Churches.

He was a man of a most Exemplary Moderation, Meekness, Humility, and Ingenuity. Anno 1641, he drew up an Expedient to Accommodate some of our differences in Ecclesiastical Affairs, which some Moderate men of both parties were ready to subscribe. But in matters of Doctrine for the substantial, it was often his Charge, that Ministers should not preach any thing, as to please men, but God, who hath put them in trust, 1 *Thess.* 2. 4. For such as seek to please men, are not the servants of Christ, Gal. 1. 10. And in defence of those truths, no man was more resolute and constant than he, not giving place by way of subjection, no, not for an hour, Gal. 2. 5. but in Circumstantial, he thought it to be our duty with St. Paul, to please all men, and not ourselves, in all such things, 1 *Cor.* 10. 31. to edification and concord. He was in these things alwayes the same, holding fast the form of sound words in Doctrine and practice to the last.

A Peacemaker.

His Zeal.

The night before he left *London*, Oh! the humble expressions he used of his own unworthiness, demeaning himself as if he had been the least of Saints, which he uttered with many tears: He wished those about him to prepare for afflictions and trials, which he was perswaded, were not far from them. Having abode at *London* one and fifty dayes, for so it was punctually noted by himself in a Book, it being his Custome, with *David* so to number his dayes, both for the place where, and the manner how he spent them, he returned to *Rygate*, February, 13. 1655, to the Countess of *Peterboroughs*.

His Humility.

His last  
Sickness

March the 20 following, was the first day of his sickness, upon which day (as every day) he had been well busied. Most part of it, as long as he had light, he had spent at his study, proceeding in his *Chronologia sacra*, clearing all the doubts in his *Annals* of the Bible, in which he had gone as far as to the Book of *Judges*, where the last words he wrote were these, *Hic praterea notandum*, but returned not to make any further progress. From his study he went to visit a sick Gentlewoman in that Family, and prescribed to her most excellent preparatives for death, with other most holy advice in practical matters, in which he spent three quarters of an hour, but in such an heavenly manner, as if, like *Moses* upon Mount *Nebo*, his eyes had been strengthened to take a prospect of the heavenly *Canaan*.

That night about eight a Clock, he first Complained of his hip, judging it to be a spice of the *Sciatica*, which he had been troubled with about five and thirty years before, Contracted by sitting up late in the Colledge Library at *Dublin*; but by the application of an Ointment, he was presently eased of that pain, so that he took some rest that night. In the morning he complained of a great pain in his side, whereupon a *Physitian* was sent for, who used such means as he judged fit for him; but the pain Continuing, and his spirits decaying, he wholly addicted himself to prayer, only upon the abating of the torment, he advised those about him, in health to prepare for sickness, and death, that then they might have nothing else to do but to dye; and after a short settlement of the things of this world, he took great content in his approaching death.

His Death.

A Minister there present assisted him with his prayers, but afterwards he desired to be left to his own private prayers. The last words he was heard to utter (which was about one a Clock in the afternoon, and a little before his death) were these; praying for the forgiveness of his sins, he added, *But Lord in special forgive my sins of Omission*: Herein he had his wish, which he often used, that he might dye as holy Master *Perkins* did, which expired with crying for mercy and forgiveness.

But did he pray for pardon of his sins of Omission? and yet he was a person that was never known to omit an hour, but was alwayes employed in his Masters business, either in preaching, reading, writing, or hearing others (as of late) to read to him; either resolving doubts, or exhorting, instructing, and Counselling such as came to visit him; yet did he die with this humble expression, *Lord forgive my sins of Omission*. A speech that may give us all matter of solemn meditation, and imitation.

March the 21. Anno Christi 1655. this glorious Sun set, and from earth was translated to Heaven, having been Primate of *Ireland* just one and thirty years, and a Preacher five and Fifty years, and having lived about seventy five years. What he had to leave was only his Library, and divers imperfect Copies of his intended Works, which death prevented his finishing of.

His Funeral.

The Lord Protector (as he was then called) gave him an honourable burial at the publick charge, in the Chappel of *Henry* the seventh at *Westminster*, and extended to his, what was before intended for himself in the grant of some of the Lands belonging to the Primacy of *Armagh* for the terme of one and twenty years.

His Learning admired.

He was highly admired, and much honoured by all the famous Lights of his time through the Christian world. *Spanhemius*, Divinity-Professor at *Geneva*, Anno Christi 1639, in his Epistle Dedicatory to him, before his third Part *Dubiorum Evangelicorum*, spends above two leaves in extolling him: Some of his expressions are, *Your very great parts, Most excellent Usher, are known, not onely within your own Country, but in ours, and wheresoever else there is honour given to Piety, or price set upon learning, &c.* He speaks much of his Charity to strangers, his Humility, Piety, Works, his Library, of which he



he made such use for the publick good, that it was not so much his own as the Library of all learned men: *In a word* (saith he) *the name of Usher with us is a name of Piety and Vertue, it is of great Renowne at our Geneva, &c.*

Gerard Vossius frequently admires him as a man of vast Learning, worthy of an everlasting Monument. *The high merits* (saith he) *of this most excellent, and throughout most learned man, both of the Church, and of the whole Commonwealth of Learning, deserve an everlasting grateful memory: A man so excelling in the knowledge both of Humane and Divine things, that I cannot speak any thing so high of him, but his worth doth surpass it.*

Bochartus and Simplicius, call him frequently, *Magnum Usherium*; Usher the Great.

Morus in his Oration at Geneva dedicated to him, styles him, *The most Excellent servant of God; The most Reverend man of God; the Athanasius of our Age. Thy breast* (saith he) *is a breathing Library: Thou art to Britain as Austin was to Hippo: Farewel Britains great Honour.*

Ludovicus de Dieu in his Animadversions on the *AAs*, dedicated to him, entitles him, *To the Excellent Prelate, worthy of an Eternal memory, &c.*

Paulus Testardus Blesensis styles him, *Seculi, & Ecclesia decus eximium*; the greatest honour of the Church and Age.

Arnoldus Bootius, saith of him, *That he did excel with a most singular Judgement in the Oriental Languages, and in all other abstruse, and deep Learning: Venerable to all Europe, whose Authority prevails much with all men, &c.*

Master Selden saith of him, *The most Reverend Prelate James Usher, a man of great Piety, singular Judgement, learned to a Miracle, and born to promote the more severe studies, &c.*

Doctor Prideaux calls him, *The most rich Magazine of solid Learning, and of all Antiquity.*

Doctor Davenant speaks thus of him, *A man of singular Piety, abounding with all manner of Learning.*

Sir Roger Twisden acknowledging the assistance he had from him in his History, saith thus, *This we owe to the most worthy Archbishop of Armagh, in whom, with incredible Learning, and rare knowledge of Antiquity, his most courteous Conversation, and wonderful sweetness, in instructing the unskillful, mixed with a certain serious Episcopal gravity, were seen to strive one with the other, &c.*

There was an eminent Character given of him by the whole University of Oxford, in the year 1644, by solemn Order in the Convocation, which was given in charge to sixteen eminent persons, of whom seven were Doctors chosen with the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, to see his Effigies cut, and an Elogium worthy of him, to be prefixed to his Annotations on Ignatius his Epistles (there then in the Press) and at the charges of the University, and in the publick name of it. Indeed it was omitted to that Book, but was afterwards affixed to his Book *De Symbolis*; the Elogium is this, *James Usher Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, the most skilful of Primitive Antiquity, the unanswerable Defender of the Orthodox Religion, the Maul of Errors, in preaching frequent, eloquent, very powerful, a rare example of an unblameable life.*

His Character.

Yea for his learning, his very Adversaries being Judges, those of the Church of Rome have acknowledged. A certain Jesuit in a Book called *Hibernia Vindicta*, writing against Dempster, a Scotchman, who had undervalued the Irish for learning, after he had reckoned up many Learned men of his own, and other Orders of that Nation, at length he addes this of our Primate, *And if I should put in men of a different Religion, I might truly say, Scotland ne-*

His Learning acknowledged by Papists.

never saw another Usher, whose sublime wit, and most curious behaviour, I wish that unlucky education amongst Sectaries had not been his step-mother. Divers others of his Popish Adversaries might be mentioned, but I forbear, and shall adde onely the Testimony of Doctor William Chappel, sometime Fellow of Chirsts College, in Cambridge, and afterwards Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, who was very judicious, and a great learned man: He gave three reasons why he thought our Primate to be the greatest Schollar in the Christian world.

1. Because of his rare Natural parts, having a quick Invention, a prompt Wit, a strong Memory, a clear Understanding, piercing Judgement, and a ready Utterance. Seldome (said he) do all these meet in an eminent degree in the same person; but in him they so Concurred, that it is hard to say in which of them he most excelled.

2. Because few men had made so rich an improvement of these parts; nor indeed had such means, by reason of the choice Libraries which he had the use of, viz. his own, Doctor Challoners, the University Library at Dublin, which he had frequent access unto, besides the University Libraries, and Sir Robert Cottons, in England. He had also taken indefatigable pains in studying, and that for many years together, which few other mens bodies and brains could bear.

3. Because in these, and in the University beyond the Seas, he was so esteemed; and whosoever conversed with him, found him a skilful Linguist, a subtile Disputant, a fluent Orator, a profound Divine, a great Antiquary, an exact Chronologer; and in brief, a living, and walking Library: Inomuch that the greatest Professors admired the Concatenation of so much learning in one person.

### A Catalogue of the Books published by him.

*De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successione & statu*, in 4°.

*Epistolarum Hybernicarum Syloge*, in 4°.

*Historia Goteschalci* in 4°.

*De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britanicarum*, in 4°.

*Ignatii Epistolæ cum annotationibus*, in 4°.

*De Anno Solari*, Macedonum, in 8.

*Annales Veteris Testamenti*, in Fol.

*Annales Novi Testamenti &c.* in Fol.

*Epistola ad Cappellum de variantibus textus Hebraici Lectionibus*, in 4°.

*De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum versione Syntagma*, in 4°.

*A Sermon before the House of Commons*, Feb. 18. 1618.

*A Declaration of the Visibility of the Church*, in a Sermon before King James, June 20. 1624.

*A Speech in the Castle in Dublin* the 22 of Nov. 1622.

*An Answer to Malon the Jesuit*, in 4°. 1631.

*The Religion professed by the antient Irish and British*, in 4°. 1631.

*Immanuel, or The Incarnation of the Son of God*, in 4°. 1639.

*A Geographical Description of the lesser Asia*, in 4°. 1644.

*Confessions and Proofs of Doctor Reynolds, and other Protestant Divines about Episcopacy*, in 4°. 1644.

*A Discourse of the Original of Bishops, and Archbishops*, in 4°. 1644.

*His small Catechisme reviewed*, in 12°. 1654.

*His Body of Divinity*, in part his, but published without his consent, in Fol.

*A Method for Meditation, or a Direction for hearing the Word.*

*Annals of the Old and New Testament, with the Synchronismes of Heathen Story to the destruction of Jerusalem*, in Fol.





The Life and Death of Master Richard Capel,  
who dyed *Anno Christi* 1656.



After Richard Capel was born in the City of Gloucester, *Anno Christi* 1586, of good Parentage, descended from an ancient Family of the Gentry of his own name, in Herefordshire, and of alliance to the Lord Capel, (but he had learned with brave Philpot, to tread that under his feet.) His Father was a stout man, and an Alderman of that City; A fast friend, first to Master Thomas Prior, and afterwards to Master John Workman, (having had a principall hand in drawing of him thither)

His birth & parentage.

both of them men of great sufficiency for the preaching of the Gospel, and instruments that the Lord made much use of, for the advancement of the true saving knowledge of himself, and for the setting up of the seal, and substantial power of godliness in that City, during the time that they exercised their Ministry there. His elder Brother yet lives, and is an Alderman in that place.

After he had been trained up at School, and well fitted for it, he was sent to the University of Oxford, where his diligence, and proficiency was such, that he was chosen Fellow of Magdalen Colledge, and had the breeding up of some there, who afterwards proved excellent, and eminent Scholars: as Doctor Frewen, (who was alwayes a thankfull man to him for his education) and famous Master Pemble, who ended his dayes at his house, &c. His attendance at Court upon the chiefeest favourite (in the dayes of that learned King James) gave him opportunity of advancement, if his thoughts had been bent that way: But he sought not great things for himself, yet continued at Court till the death of Sir Thomas Overbury, that learned Knight, and his very good friend, and then he bad adieu to that course of life.

His Education.

His Preferment at Oxford.

His attendance at Court.

As for his inward storms they were very many, and exceeding bitter, (which also were accompanied with many bodily infirmities, which attended him in his younger years) but it was well for him that he bore the yoke in his youth: and there was none that knew so much of his temptations and desertions, as that eminent, and learned Divine, Doctor Harris, by reason of that intimate acquaintance he had with him in those dayes (being his kinsman) which also was occasioned the more, by the often recourse he had then into those parts, for the fetching of some spirituall refreshing from that man of God, Master John Dod, who was both able, and willing, to speak a word in season to a broken and contrite heart.

His Temptations.

His excellent parts.

For the eminency of his parts, there were very few that could match him. The most, even of our most high-flown Eagles, have commonly some peculiar gift wherein they most excell, and by it do very good service to *Christ*, and his Church: But this man had Grasped all good Learning, and made every thing his own so evenly to see to, that he was very expert in the same, and would (with *Cato* the elder) be up in the height, in all that ever he was to act in.

*Melancthon* used to say, that *Pomeranus* was the *Gramarian*: That himself was the *Logician*: That *Justus Jonas* was the Orator: But that *Luther* was all in all: here was one that was not inferior to *Luther*. If he pleased to turn to the School, or to Case-Divinity: to *Augustine*, or *Chrysostome*: to *Galen*, or *Hippocrates*: To *Aristotle*, or *Tully*: To *History*, or *Philosophy*: To *Arts*, or *Tongues*, who could tell but himself, which of them he was best versed in? He was a very living Library, a full store-house of all kind of good Literature, no less than a little University, the mirror of those parts, and above the envy of most. The least draught of his *Pencil*, would have told any *Protopogenes*, he had been the *Apelles*. He excelled in all that ever he would set his hand to, unless it were in his utterance in the publick Congregation, and therein indeed he had a great defectiveness.

His knowledge of the Times.

God gave him great understanding of the times to know what *Israel* ought to do. He stood upon the Watch-tower, and saw what was hid from most mens eyes, and being quick of scent, in the fear of the Lord, he gave timely notice to some that stood in place: which had it been heeded, we had never been so fearfully pestered with those *Hydraes* heads that are now starting up afresh daily, to the great disturbance of our people.

A Universal Scholar.

*Simler* said of *Melancthon* at his going from the University of *Tubing*, that none of the learned men there, how many soever they were, had so much learning, as to know the great learning that was in that man. Too too many amongst us were even sick of the same disease, that knew not the depth that was in this mans Brest. There were many men in this one man, even all Scholarship *Epitomized* in this profound Clerk: And yet for all this, he had that great blessing, which he himself observed as a singular favour vouchsafed to Doctor *John Reynolds*, that great Oracle of *Oxford*, that he never set on foot any manner of new opinion.

His Modesty.

The like is observed of Learned Doctor *Whitaker*, filed the Oracle of *Cambridge*, and the miracle of the world. A mercy that most men of superlative parts use not to be too rich in. There is scarce any strong brain, without some strong fancy. If the great wits of our times had kept themselves close to the steps of these rare Divines, we had never seen the sorrows that we now sigh and groan under, and would be glad to be rid of if we knew how.

His excellent Preaching.

For the excellency of his preaching he excelled most men. He was an Interpreter one of a thousand. His understanding was strangely opened, for the understanding and opening the Scriptures. He would bolt out that out of the holy Book of God, that would not come into any other mans Consideration; yet it should be genuine, and evidently appearing to be the drift, and meaning of the Holy Ghost.

His Communicativeness.

An intelligent man could never sit at his feet, or be in his Company, but he should meet with that there, that would never fall from any other mans mouth, nor ever drop from any other mans Pen. His words were as *Goads*, and as *Nails fastened by the Master of the Assemblies*. They were edged with so much reason, re-enforced from the lively Oracles, that they could not fall to the ground in vain. It's no marvell therefore that the Cream of the whole Country where he lived (as they could have opportunity) would hang upon his Ministry.



Yet he used to be very plain in all his expressions. He would not deliver what he had from God in an unknown tongue, nor yet in words, and phrases which were too spruce and trim. He had learned his lesson well of that great Apostle, and Doctor of the *Gentiles*, who came not with enticing words; nor with any other, but such as the very *Catechumens*, the youngest beginners, might understand. He kept close to the footsteps of our choicest Worthies: as famous Master *Dod* (who used to say, that so much *Latine* was so much flesh in a Sermon) Master *Cleaver*, Master *Hildersam*, and such other holy men of God, led by the self-same Spirit. He would deliver the whole, and wholesome truths of God, in such an holy, and wholesome way, that it bred very good blood in the hearts of his hearers. He would stoop so low as to speak to the poor Country people in their own proper dialect, so as they could not but even see, and feel, and find out God, and be occasioned to speak of him all the week after. If he meet with a deep Mystery, he would make it plain to the shallowest Capacity. Whatever Subject he fell upon, he would handle it so *Divine-like*, that the hearts of his Auditors would be wrapt up into Heaven, whilst they heard him winding, and turning a point of Divinity, like a *workman* that needed not to be ashamed.

His plain  
Preaching.

Whereas, now adayes, whilst some of our great Divines, seem to be too much taken up with quaint, and *Historicall* flourishes, there is a sensible decay of the power of God amongst us. An *Exotick*, or strange tongue in the publick Congregation (whatever men think of it) is set out as a sign of Gods displeasure, *1 Cor. 14. 21, 22.* It feeds such humors as should rather be purged out. It had no good effect in the Church of *Corinth.* Mens wits will wax wanton, when they be not over-awed by the plain power of Gods Word. When Preachers keep not close to the very words of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, *1 Tim. 6. 3.* and to the *Doctrine that is according to godliness*: But love to be tampering with another Doctrine, though not with another in the main; but even in the manner of delivery only, (as when it favours too much of the pomp of humane Eloquence (saith *Calvin*) when it differs from the stile of the Holy Ghost, (saith *Danaus*) the people be in danger of turning aside to vain jangling, to perverse disputings, desiring to be teachers, and such like matters. The Gold upon the Pill may please the eye; but it profits not the patient. The Paint upon the Glas may feed the fancy; but the room is the darker for it. The Sword of Gods Spirit can never wound so deep, as when it's plucked out of these gaudy Scabbards. Nakedness deforms too too many in these dayes; but it is the best garnishing, and Ornament, the truth can have. A sober dress best becomes a grave Matron. There be words as well as things which the Holy Ghost teacheth, *1 Cor. 2. 13.* The Arrows fetched out of Gods own Quiver will pierce the deepest, and make the people fall the soonest under *Christ.* The weakness of God is stronger than men. Pauls weapons were mighty. The sincere milk of Gods Word will make Christs Babes to grow best.

Note.

This curious age is too too much given to the affectation of words, and phrases, and cadencies: and holy Doctor *Jerome* was wont to say, That great affectation, and good affections seldome go together. The swelling words of vanity may tickle the ear, tip the tongue, and please in matters of discourse: But when it comes to push of Pike, they afford but little comfort. Master Capel had another manner of wisdom than that of words. He was an able Minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit, that hath given, doth give, and will give life, *2 Cor. 3. 6.* Having this hope then, he used great plainness of speech; and by the manifestation of the truth, he commended himself to every mans conscience in the sight of God, and thereby hath so well seasoned the Country where he lived, that the fruit of it (without doubt) will remain, and be seen many years after.

His

His fervent  
prayers.

His Prayers were lively, and fervent. He was a man that had a very large measure of that *Spirit of grace*, which is a *Spirit of Supplication*. He was to well fitted with abilities to open his mind to God, as if (with Blessed *Bradford*) he had been almost ever upon his knees. He could tell his own Errand, or any other mans, at the Throne of grace, with as good freedom, and to as good purpose, as any man living. He would not be *rash with his mouth* when he came before God, nor set out what he had to say there, with painted Eloquence, or Court-like Complement: but his mouth used to be filled with such savoury Arguments, as very well became an humble Suppliant. He was far from those *battologies*, and miserable extravagancies, that too many prayers are stuffed with. He would pour out his soul to God at all manner of times, upon all manner of occasions, with all manner of Prayer, and Supplication, and with that admirable variety of all sorts of quickening and feeling meditations, that it would even ravish the Hearts of those who had the happiness to be partakers with him therein.

Set forms of  
Prayer law-  
ful.

Yet for all this, he was clear in his opinion for the lawfulness of the use of set Forms of Prayer, according to the tenet of all our best, and most judicious Divines, and according to the practice of all Churches, even the best reformed; saith Master *Rogers*, now, and in all former ages. So saith Master *Hilderham*: yea, and Master *Smith* himself, saith upon the *Lords Prayer* (though as then he was warping, and afterwards wandred far in the ways of Separation) that it was the practice of the ancient Church, and of all the Reformed Churches in *Christendome*: of the Churches immediately after the Apostles; nay (saith he) of the Church in the time of the Apostles, as may probably be gathered out of 1 Cor 14. 26. This hath also been the practice of the best lights that ever were set up in the Churches of *Christ*. It is very well known that the flower of our own Divines went on in this way, when they might have done otherwise if they had pleased, in their Prayers before their Sermons. Nay, Master *Dod* himself would seldome end his devotions in his own Family but with the use of the *Lords Prayer*. Nay, yet more, Master *Carrwright* (*Hist. Christ. p. 3. p. 535.*) thinks it very probable that *Christ* his own self made use of a set Form at meales.

It is not good to cast stones of offence in the way of our weak Brethren, who being of meaner parts, want ability, memorie, and audacity to conceive Prayer, especially before others, that they be not taken off from, nor disheartened in this so comfortable, and necessary a service of God: nor may we lay a trap, or snare for our own feet. Who knoweth what times may pass over him? If God should plunge us into the Ditch, and leave us labouring in the Noose, the lostiest of us all may be fain to take relief from, and to make use of these poor contemptible props, and crutches (as some deem, and call them) When the soul is so troubled that it cannot speak; but *Chatter* only like a *Crane*, and *Swallow*, *Psal. 77. 4.* When it is so full of grief, that it can do no more than sigh, and groan, and make a confused noise, as *Psal. 55. 2.* it will then be glad to catch at any thing to give it self vent by. Doctor *Harris* tells us of a second *Bradford*, that in time of his distress, was fain to adopt Master *Bradford's* words, and to spread them before God as his own, because he had said more for him (as he thought) than he could say for himself. I knew (saith mine Author) a rare, and eminent Divine indeed, that would be as often upon his knees as any man that ever I conversed with, that would sometimes be in such damps, that he had no more to set before God to give his heart ease by, than the words of *David* in the one and fiftieth *Psal. Well might then this knowing Divine of ours, that had been so tossed with tempests, be tender of that, that might be so usefull for poor trembling hearts in a stormy day.*

Get to God therefore as thou canst. Sad judgements be upon our people. Spiritual judgements are the sorest judgements. What if thou hast but the same words? as *Christ, Mat. 26. 44.* thou maist be heard as he was, *Heb. 10. 11.*

The



The Song of *Moses* was a *New Song*, because tendered to God with New affections, *Rev.* 14. 3. and 15. 3. What if thy petitions be broken, and Confused? as *Exod.* 14. 10, 11, 12. *This poor man cried*, saith *David*, *Psal.* 34. 6. when he was in a poor case indeed, like a *Bedlam*, *1 Sam.* 21. 13. and yet he was heard.

The little lisping children have sometimes a grant of their Requests, when those that are of greater maturity seem to be set aside. Whilst *Moses* held up his hands (though in a poor way) *Israel* prevailed. Who can tell what God may do? *Abraham* left asking, ere God left granting, even for a filthy *Sodom*. Remember Master *Latimers*, once again, once again: Tug, and wrestle. We may come to see, and our people may be made to know, that their heart is turned back again to the God of their Fathers, *1 King.* 18. 37. But to return to Master Capel.

He was of a sound, and settled judgement. He pitched at first upon a good foundation, and being nourished up in the words of Faith, he continued in the things he had learned, and been well assured of, knowing from whom he had received them, as *1 Tim.* 4. 6. He was well grounded in his opinion: one that stood like a brazen wall, as firm as a very Rock in the midst of all the dashings and Clashings of tempestuous times. He saw with a clear eye through all the painted glosses of those that were given to change; and therefore was not moved at all with any thing that was said or done in that kinde; he was true to his Religion, and clave close all along to his first principles, holding fast the Faith that was once, and (as he himself would often express it) but once delivered to the Saints. He lived and dyed a true Orthodox Divine, according to the known Doctrine of the Church of England. He knew full well, for all the great talk of the Gospel, as though it were but newly dropt out of the clouds, that there is not any other Gospel, but the everlasting Gospel, *Rev.* 14. 8. that was preached before unto *Abraham*, *Gal.* 3. 8. and hath been entertained all along still by Gods faithful people; and shall be so continually to the end of the world. Yet some there be that are no mean pretenders to the Gospel, and notwithstanding the same, are in great danger of perverting the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, as *Gal.* 1. 7.

His sound judgement.

His constancy.

This constant, and stable man was set up as a sure Sea-mark. Let us stand to his steps though we stand alone. God and a good Conscience are alwayes good company. *Elijah* was but one, yet did he very good service. One *Athanasius* in the East; one *Hillary* in the West; was of mighty great use in a staggering time. What if we meet with stormes. It is but a poor Religion that is not worth suffering for. It will turn to a Testimony, *Luke* 21. 13. When the wilde humour is spent, men will return home again. A Statue of *Mercury* will be looked upon then. Those poor silly souls that be tossed to and fro, and whirled about, and about, again with every wind of Doctrine, *Eph.* 4. 14. will be glad of such a sight in the day of their Visitation; whereas they which know, or should know more of God, be not steddly in their steering, but vary in their course, poor bewildred hearts will be at their wits ends, not knowing which way to turn, nor to whom to go, nor whom to walk after.

The danger of inconstancy in Religion.

As there is but one God, so there is but one Faith, and one Baptisme, and one way to eternal life; and one Rule for us all to walk by; why be we not then all of one Heart? why walk we not all in one tract? So many men as we see, so many minds there be. Every Moneth almost produceth a new Faith. It is easie to swim with the Tyde: To perswade the Heart of the Resolute of that that is favoured by the Times, and yet to pretend still that it is from more Light. We may talk of the Spirit, but it's certain that Schisme is a fruit of the Flesh. The old way is the good way, *Jer.* 18. 15. He shall stumble, and ensnare his feet that swerves from the Antient Paths. What is got by gadding? Men itch for change still, and there is no rest but with our first Husband, *Hos.* 2. 7. It is good to be all of one minde in God. Where there is, not Unity in Judgement, there is scarce Unity in Affections.

We are too fierce against such as close not with our Notions. It was *Bell, Book, and Candle* once; It is not much better now. Wilde fire flies amain: We cannot all cut to a thread; there will be some Variation in the Compass: But whilst we aim at the white, the odds is to be passed by without bitterness. Why should there be such huge Rents and Divisions in the Church? Where is our mutual forbearance? We have not yet learned our Lesson well, to wait one for another till God shall reveal it, *Phil. 3. 15.* Whilst we be so sharp in our contests, Satan makes his Markets: Religion goes to wrack; our differences are widened. Some are ready to give up all, seeing there is no better *Harmony*: Others could well wish themselves out of the world, that they might be delivered (as *Melancthon* said) from the implacable difference, even amongst some Divines. Oh! that we could hearken unto God, who would have the truth followed, but in love, *Eph. 4. 15.* If the Word will not prevaile, the Cross will come, and make a *Hooper* and a *Ridley* imbrace one another.

How to be  
constant  
therein.

Let us fall upon that one, and onely solid way of God, it will ever be our glory. Get we to God, he can stablish our unresolved hearts, *2 Cor. 1. 21.* See that the judgement be so rightly set, *Isa. 33. 6.* and the heart so firmly knit to God, and his Truth, and then we shall not waver. Tamper not with opinions, *2 Pet. 3. 17.* nor with opiniative men, *1 Tim. 5. 6. Rom. 16. 17, 18.* Nor yet with Books that scatter Tares. This grave, and prudent Divine gives a very good caution to this purpose in his *Treatise of Temptations*, from famous Master *Dod*, a man of vast experience. *An honest heart may be sorely puzzled with a forked Argument.* The Martyr could dye for *Christ*, that could not dispute for him. Some pretend that they must try all things: But they speak besides the Book. Who will try Rats-bane, or a sharp Sword whether it will pierce into his Bowels? Some think that they can withdraw when they see danger; but Satan is subtle: Venome will get in before we be aware, and error will stick, and eat like a *Gangrene*. What gets the Fly that playes with the Candle? They that nibble at the bait shall hardly escape the hook. Again, Gingle not with tearms that be improper in matters of Religion; they favour of singularity, breed rents and divisions between Preachers and people, and take off the minde from things more Essential. Learned men have observed, that *Hereticks* gat great advantage by the unwary speeches of the Fathers. Some of *Calvins* expressions that were not so well pondered, have done no great good to some in our times. *Nestorius* fell into his *Heresie* by defending an improper speech of his; and *Eutyches* thinking to mend it, fell into the other extreame. Doctor *Thomas Taylor* speaks much to this point to very good purpose in his *Progress to Holiness*, p. 134. 135. 154. and concludes, that if we will keep the faith of our Fathers, we must keep the words of our Fathers.

His single-  
heartedness

Our Master *Capel* was a man of a single heart: He was (with *Jacob*, *Gen. 25. 27.*) a plain man, i. e. A down-right honest man, as the Original signifies. A very *Nathaniel*, an *Israelite* indeed, *Joh. 1. 47. in whom*, (though there was some infirmity) yet *there was no guile*. He had much of the *wisdome that is from above*, and was as far from Hypocrisie as most men living. If all others were of his temper. *Momus* had no need to complain of the want of a window into any mans Breast. He was what he was indeed, and in truth, without dissimulation: He was very high in his conformity to those *Primitive Christians*, *Act. 2. 46.* and left a brave President to all that would be what they should be in this particular.

Hypocrisie  
complained  
of.

We of this doubting and deceitful Generation had need to look about us; and see what was here set before us in very Legible Characters, that we may learn to be more above board in our dealings. We are faine into an age, like that of the Prophets, wherein every one hath too much of the Hypocrite. We may well cry, *Help Lord, for the faithful fail: with a double Heart and double tongue*



*tongue do they ſpeak.* The moſt be for all Tides and Times, as mutable as the Weather-Cock: For any manner of *Mode*, ſo as they can ſerve their own turns by it. Some can be any thing but what they ſhould be. We have need to *beware of men* where every Brother will ſupplant. *The Hypocrite with his mouth deſtroies his Neighbour*, Prov. 11. 9. It is indeed good to be *wiſe as Serpents*, but withall, we ſhould be *innocent as Doves*. Though it be juſt with God that the deceiver ſhall be deceived, and ſome like it well, yet is it not juſt in thoſe that do it. They that *turn aſide to crooked wayes*, ſhall be led forth with the workers of iniquity, Pſal. 125. 5.

Plain dealing is a Jewel, yea though it be in ſin as this acute man tells us, in his *Tentat.* Part. 3. Its a dainty fine thing in our Confessions, Repentance, and in all wherein we act. He that uſeth it (what ever men ſay or think) ſhall neither live, nor dye a Beggar. Down-right honeſty is the beſt policy. It is delightful to God, Prov. 12. 22. and it will be a comfort to us, 2 Cor. 1. 12. *This is our rejoycing*, and we never eat our meat with more gladneſs, than when we do all with ſingleneſs of heart, Act. 2. 46.

Mr. Capel was a very uſeful man in his life. He was (with *Melancthon*) born for the common good, and lived for the publick benefit of the whole Country.

His Uſeful-  
neſs.

Whiſt he was at his Poſtoral charge, he gave himſelf fully, and wholly, to *Reading, to Exhortation, and Doctrines*; and his proſiting appeared unto all men: ſo that he was generally, and that juſtly, reputed a man approved of God, right-ly dividing the word of truth. It is well known what pains he took, and to how good purpoſe, during the whole time of his abode there, which was about one and twenty years. He preached conſtantly twice every Lords day; and beſides, preached a Lecture conſtantly every week, though he had but an infirm body, till by reaſon of ſickneſs he was taken off: And then beſides his Sabbath dayes work, he preached onely upon the Feſtival dayes. His lips were touched with a coal from the Altar. It may truly be ſaid of him, as it was of *Muſculus*, that his words pierced like a two-edged ſword. He could when he pleaſed be a *Boanerges*, a ſon of Thunder; But his bent was moſt to be a *Barnabas*, a ſon of Conſolation. He was a true *Evangelical* Preacher, and Comforted many a drooping heart by his labours in publick, and gave abundance of ſatisfaction in private to many troubled ſpirits that uſed to reſort to him out of all Countries, both far and near.

His fre-  
quent pre-  
aching.

He alſo ſhewed himſelf to be a Tree of Gods own planting, by bringing forth more fruit ſtill in his age. When the times were ſuch (ſome flying ſo extreamly high, the Ceremonies being preſſed with rigour, and grievous penalties inflicted) that he (being tender in matters of Conformity) muſt needs quit his Paſtoral charge, which was Novem. 27. 1634. He betook himſelf then to his little Cell (as *Samuel* did to his *Ramah*) that had never been looked upon if he had not come thither (no more than *Iſlebiun*, and *Bretta*, if not for *Luther* and *Melancthon*) and there he had more health and cheerefulneſs of ſpirit than formerly, which he improved well for the publick advantage: For,

He leaves  
the Mini-  
ſtry.

At Pitch-  
combe.

There he fell upon the Practice of *Phyſick*. He indeed had bent his ſtudies that way before hand (foreſeeing what would follow) yet would he do nothing in that kinde (it not being his Calling) ſo long as that great work of the Miniſtry lay upon him: But when he had quit the more ſpecial tye of the care of mens ſouls, he then took himſelf to be at more freedome, and having a Liſenſe ſent him by the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* to authorize him, he fell upon the cure of mens Bodies; and being of great ſufficiency, his fame was quickly ſpread abroad. He was looked upon as a very *Triſmegiſtus*, or a ſecond *Aſculapius*. He could do much at the diving into a diſeaſe, and in applying ſuch medicines as were proper and fit. Not like ſome that will be tampering with that Profeſſion, and give their *dotes* at adventure. He was quick, yet in caſes of difficulty and danger he would weigh things well. In deſperate diſeaſes he would ad-

He practi-  
ſeth Phy-  
ſick.

venture far, according to the Rules of Reason, what he gave should be safe. He mixed all with his own hands, he would stoop to the meanest, and serve all at an easie rate. His Receipts amounted not to the half, nay not to one quarter of a common *Apothecaries* Bill. He was blessed by God with great, and good success, and had resort, especially towards his latter end, out of his own, and other Countries, so that he had not leasure to sit at his own meals in quiet. Yea many times he was quite tired out, till God called him to rest.

His fruitful  
discourses.

His words were seasonable and savoury: His tongue was a *Tree of Life*: His lips fed many, Whosoever came near him, should have something dropping (if he did but heed it) that was worth carrying away with him. It is true, he would be pleasant, and jest more freely than many did, or could well like. (Some of his best friends wished that it had been otherwise) but there will be something of humane infirmity cleaving to us all in this world. Yet the times are to be considered, and the nature of a many with whom he had to deal, that could no more away with a down-right blow, than some can away with sound Doctrine. Yet there was never a prudent heart but it might have picked sweet out of that which some did most of all distaste. It is said, that *Erasmus* did more hurt to the *Pope* by his jesting, than *Luther* did by his Ruffling: So this man gave a deadlier blow to the iniquity of the times in his *jocular* way, than most others can do in their most serious undertakings; yet would he be as serious as any man living upon a just and fit occasion, and would be as tender to trouble the spirits of the meanest as heart could desire. *Urbanus Regius* having had one dayes discourse with *Luther*, said, That it was one of the sweetest dayes that ever he had in his life: Some can say as much of this rare man, when they had him (as all might have had him) in the right veyn.

An excel-  
lent Coun-  
sellor.

He was singular in that faithful advice and counsel which he used to give to all of all sorts upon every emergent occasion. It was said in old time, *They shall ask Counsel of Abel*, 2 Sam. 20. 18. and so they ended their matters. The common conflux of almost all in those parts, was still to his house. Oynment and perfume rejoyce the heart, Prov. 27. 9. so did the sweetness of this man by his hearty counsel. To some he was as another *Nestor*; others found him ever a most faithful *Achates*, and such made him (as *Tully* did his *Atticus*) their constant *Assylum*, and his dexterous counsel (like *Ariadnes* thred) led them out of many a perplexed *Labyrinth*. He was (as that famous *Auger* in *Homer*) one that could see things past, and present, and guess shrewdly also at those that were to come. *Old mens counsels* (they say) are young mens lances: Master *Calvins* were very profitable, so were Master *Capels*: Many a young beginner, and tired conflicter, did fetch all their best weapons out of this mans Armory.

He preach-  
ed freely.

He preached the Gospel freely for the most part of his last twenty years. *Freely he had received, and freely he would give*. Nor that he thought it unlawful for a Minister to take maintenance, or to take that maintenance, by Tithes, which hath been publickly set aside in this Land; for his Tithes he paid himself, and that freely and duly too (all the whole time of his preaching thus freely) and that to one who did not much in the work of the Ministry; and he did it upon this ground, because he knew it to be his due. I will not dispute this point at this time, with those that be hampered in their opinions, but heartily wish them, with all those that in these times are such enemies to Tithes, and are so extreemly defective in making Conscience to pay them, to consider what hath fallen from the Pens of holy men that have been far enough off from being this way interested. Master *Cartwright* saith plainly, that they that take away the Tithes of the Ministers, and turn them to their own use, would doubtless Crucifie *Christ* again if he were here upon earth, *Beza* speaks of some that leave *Christ*, as the Souldiers did which Crucified him, either stark naked, or but sordidly clad; and so to do (saith he) is not to love God, but the goods of God more than God. Doctor *John Reynolds* saith, Our Ancestors provided Houses, Glebe-lands, Tithes, and other profits for

Tithes affer-  
ed.



for the maintenance of Pastors; And a little after he saith, The Churches Goods allotted to the maintenance of Pastors and Teachers, are not profane, but sacred, and therefore the sin of them that purloyn them, is Sacrilege, not Theft, wherein God is spoiled, *Prov. 20. 25. It is a snare to devour that which is holy, and after the vows to enquire.* Ananias and Saphira were made a dreadful spectacle, for filching of a little of that that was set apart for God. The Eagle fired her whole Nest by one poor piece of flesh plucked from the Altar. The people of this Land are *curst with a Curse*, and they will not see the cause of it, viz. *Their Robbing of God*, *Mal. 3. 8, 9. in Tithes and Offerings.* When shall we prove God, and see if he will not pour us out a blessing, as he hath promised, *Mal. 3. 10.* It would be a great joy to some that will get nothing by it, to hear Gods Israel once again tuning it out before the Lord, as *Deut. 26. 13, 14. I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine house, I have not taken away ought thereof, for any unclean or common use, as Junius reads it.* For then they might say with heart and hope, *Lord look down from thy holy habitation, and bless thy people, and the Land that thou hast given us, as Deut. 26. 15.*

The practice of this judicious man will sway with some, who was such a burning & shining light, the more to be admired that it blazed so long, and so clearly too, without any of this sublunary Oil. His mind was so fully satisfied with his small gain in the practice of *Physick*, together with what he had of his own temporal estate, that he would accept of nothing for his preaching of any man living, though tendred, and never so much pressed upon him. He took not himself bound (as the case stood) to labour in the work of the Ministry, there being another *Incumbent* in that place. What he did was meerly in love to God and mens souls. Indeed he met with many diversions, as the tempests of the times: his own domestick troubles, age creeping on, store of sick and sad people, and recourse of all sorts, so that he had scarce an hour free for study; yet nothing would take him off from this employment, till God took him off from all his labours.

As he preached, so he lived down the iniquities of the times. He did not onely cry them down by his publick Ministry, but gave them a more deadly blow by his contrary walking. *Noah* condemned the world more by what he did, than by what he said, *Heb. 11. 7.* The way which Master Capel took, put some to a stand, caused others to relent, and repent, and encouraged others in the good and right way, whilst they had his pattern that could not be contradicted. Now that he is gone, such have a harder task; but God will carry on his own work.

He was eminent for Self-denial: Indeed Self-denial is in very mans mouth, but hardly to be found in any mans practise, *Self* hath ever been, is, and will be the great *Diana*, notwithstanding all mens fair pretences. We read of him that could give smooth and golden words, *Ruth. 4. 4, 6.* but when it came to the point, he would not mar his Inheritance. *Self* hath too great a stroke in the best of us all, both Preachers and Professors, both in Church and Common-wealth. It began to work betimes. *St. Paul* tells us in his dayes, that *all sought their own things*, *Phil. 2. 21.* and it is now grown to a greater head in our age, when we neither eat, nor drink, nor fast, nor pray, nor do any thing to speak of, but too too apparently wee seek our selves therein. How much then was this brave man to be admired, seeing all that knew him, can bear him witness, how far he excelled in this rare Grace: he could deny himself in his own understanding, and go after God in a way that he knew not, as *Abraham*, *Heb. 11. 8.* he could deny himself in his own will, when he that is, above would lead him in a way that he would not, as *Joh. 21. 18.* He could deny himself in his own affections also, when he came to be Crossed in what he could have most desired, ever ruling them by reason and Religion, as a wise man should do, subjecting himself to bear with quietness what could not be holp, without raising too much dust. It is strange to see how far he could deny himself in apparel, diet, attendance, and what not!

His holy life.

His Self-denial.

He

His contempt of the World.

He was very exemplary for his contempt of the world. He had gotten the start of most men in that particular. He used to be beating upon this point mainly, both in his publick preaching, and in his private conference, and shewed the reality of what he pressed when he came to act himself. Indeed he could not say as *Luther* did, that he never had been tempted unto Covetousness, but he kept himself from any noted taint in that kinde; nay from the least suspicion of that foul crime, with famous Doctor *Whitaker*. When he had things under his hand, he still charged his servants to do what few men practice, that they should never set up Corn, nor bring home Cattel, but take as the Market would afford. All that knew him knew that he was far enough from encreasing his estate by any indirect means; and never was there any man more willing to part with money upon a just and fit occasion. It is well known that he gave over a Living of good Value, one of the best in those parts above twenty years before his death, and betook himself to a poor little corner, from which he would never be withdrawn, no more than *Musculus* from his *Berne*. And even there he might have picked mens purses if he had been that way given: But many, and many a time he put back Money, and took but a small matter from those that were able, and would have been willing to have given him more; they sought to force him to take it, but he would utterly refuse it.

His Humility.

He was no less Exemplary for his great Humility. This was the Grace that graced all the good that was in him. He would be often speaking of what he had heard concerning Dr. *John Rainolds*, that he was as learned a man as any was in the world, as godly as learned, and as humble as godly. Master *Capel* loved, and revered this Doctor, and trod in his steps. He could speak with Tongues more than most men, yet would he never make use of them in the publick Congregation. He used to honour all men; to acknowledge the gifts, and parts of those that were far below him, and to rejoyce in them, as *Hooper* did in the blind Boy. He would not meddle in things that were too high for him, nor intrench upon that that was beyond his sphere. He would not stand in the place of great men. He could refuse honours, as *Musculus* did, and contented himself with plain, and mean things. Its observed by *Cajetan*, the Flower of the Cardinals, that he would never be in his silks and braveries, but kept his old fashions to his lives end. *Melancthon* would not disdain to do that, which his meanest servant would scarcely have put his hand to. So was it with Master *Capel*, and he would bear things that went awry without distempering himself about them. Moderation he pressed, and moderation he practised. *Staupicius* told *Luther* concerning his behaviour, that in the first three years, he did all things according to the utmost rigour, and that would not do: In the next three years he did all according to the Laws and Counsels of the Antients, and that would not hit: And in the last three years, he did all according to the will of God, and yet neither would that succeed; and then he was fain to be content with what he could have.

His Moderation.

His other Virtues.

Thus you have a taste, and but a little taste (in this that hath been said) of the precious Liquor that was powred into this earthen vessel. To which might be added the quickness of his apprehension, the strength of his Memory, his sense of the publick evils, his passing by of wrongs and offences; his special regard to such as loved their Wives and Ministers, and the like: But where should I make an end? These, and his other eminent Parts, Vertues, and Graces deserve to be laid in oyl-colours by the most skilfull Pencil.

His Patience.

Towards his latter end he met with some pinching griefs, which he did bear with invincible patience, and fortitude: He willingly submitted, because it was Gods will to have him so exercised. All of us must expect to drink of the self-same cup: our last dayes usually are our worst dayes, as *Mollerus* observes;



observes; *The clouds will then be returning after the rain.* We must be taught to know, and speak it out, that we are but *Pilgrims*: we must be more truly and thoroughly taken off from the world, more ripened, and mellowed, and seasoned for God, and be made more serious in all our undertakings. *Melancthon* used to say, *That if he had no cares, he should have no Prayers.* Our comfort is, our time is but short; The most and best of our treasure is gone before: Our hope is laid up in Heaven. Get we more communion with God, more faith, more patience, and let us put on the whole Armour of God, and then we shall be able to stand, and to withstand in the evil day, and in the end, shall be *more than Conquerours through him that hath loved us.*

This clear-sighted, and understanding man foresaw storms approaching, and rejoiced that he should be in his grave before they fell, whither also he came as a shock of Corn gathered into the Barn in due season. The *Sabbath* day was the last day of his life, the strict observation whereof he often pressed: He would say that we should go to sleep that night (as it were) with meat in our mouthes.

That *Sabbath* day being *September* the 21. 1656, he preached twice, taking his leave of the world by pressing faith in God. That evening he repeated both his Sermons in his Family, somewhat more largely than ordinary. He read his Chapter also, went to prayer, and so to bed, and dyed, immediately, by that the words were well out of his mouth, being threescore and ten years old. Who can desire to dye better than *Stephen* did, calling upon God: He would often say, *That if God saw it fit, one had better to dye of a quick, than of a lingering Death*: And God answered his desires.

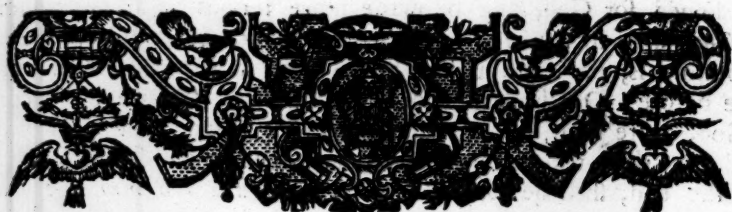
His Death.

#### His Works.

#### A Treatise of Temptations.

#### Capels Remains.

THE



The Life and Death of Doctor Robert Harris,  
who dyed Anno Christi 1658.

His Birth.



Robert Harris was born in a dark time, and place, at *Broad-Camden* in *Glocestershire* Anno Christi 1578. His Father had the repute of a very wise, and understanding man, and his Mother of a very devout, and charitable woman, under whose wings he spent his child-hood: But he acknowledged it as a matter of grief to him all his life, that he preferred his play before reading the Scriptures to his parents at their call. So soon as he was fit for it,

His Education.

he was set to a Free-School at *Chipping Camden*, where he met with a double discouragement; The first was from the often change of his School-masters by reason of the small salary that came to them: The second proceeded from the fierce and cruel carriage of others, which (as he used often to say) was the bane of many young Schollars; and though for his own part, he remembered not that he had smarted under a Rod in any School, yet the sight of the severity used to others, brought such a trembling and sadness upon his spirit, that he could not shake it off to his dying day.

His going to Oxford.

From thence he was removed to the School at *Worcester*, under the care of Master *Bright*, and on the *Sabbaths* he heard that Reverend and Learned Doctor *Robert Abbotts*; and being furnished with School-Learning, he went from thence to *Magdalen-Hall* in *Oxford*, being allyed to the Principle, Master *Lyster*.

There he shewed a more than ordinary desire of Learning, and having but little help either from the Principal, or his Tutor, he followed his private studies with the more earnestness, yet all this while he enquired little into the ways and truths of God.

A special Providence.

His Tutor not long after leaving the Hall, he earnestly solicited the Principal, that he might be committed to the care of one Master *Goffe*, of *Magdalen* Colledge, who was noted for a very good *Logician* and Disputant, but withall he was accounted a *Puritan*, which made the Principal (who was *Popishly* affected) to dissuade his choice; But he (not out of love to Religion, but Learning) persisted in his desires, and prevailed.

Master *Goffe* having thus received him into his charge, Required him, that with the rest of his fellow-Pupils, he should joyn in reading the Scriptures, Repetition of Sermons, and Prayer; which new course, he being unaccustomed to, was somewhat troubled at it, observing that none of the *Seniors* embraced that way, and yet it was such as he knew not how to contradict. This caused him oft to betake himself to his private Prayers, wherein he begged of God, either



either to discover to him the fallhood, if his Tutor had any design upon him to corrupt him, or if this course were pleasing to God, that then he would confirm him in it; and it pleased God after a while so to resolve him, that he bought a Bible, and with indefatigable pains he applied himself to the reading of that, and other good Authors in Divinity.

His Conversion.

Shortly after Master Goffe refuseth to continue his Tutor, onely agrees that they would conjoyn their studies together, Master Goffe reading *Philosophy* to Master Harris, and Master Harris reading *Greek* to him, and from *Greek* they proceeded to *Hebrew*, in which study some other of the Fellows, joyned with them, whereof one afterwards was president; and besides these studies, his Tutor and he agreed to read *Calvins Institutions* by turns, which course they continued as long as their other occasions, and exercises would permit.

Having for a while been Bachelor of Arts, he was willing to try his fitness for the Ministry, because otherwise his Father would have him to the study of the Law; and having prepared a Sermon, he proffered his pains at *Chipping Cambden*; But such was the wofull ignorance of those times, that in the greater Town he knew not where to procure a Bible to carry with him into the Pulpit, yet at last being directed to the Vicar there, he indeed had a Bible, but it could not be found, having not been seen of some moneths before; yet search being made, he was furnished with a Bible, and after Prayer made, he took for his Text those words, *Rom. 10. 1. Brethren, my hearts desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved*; And his Sermon was highly commended, and yet himself would say, that he was a loser by the bargain. 1. Because his heart swelled upon it. 2. Because his carnal Friends hereupon called on him to give over University studies, and to come amongst them, as having learning enough.

Woful ignorance.

His first Sermon.

His Father also (having many other children to provide for) was willing to ease his charge, and therefore applied himself to some persons of eminency both in Church and State, to get some preferment for him: But he, being willing to decline publick employment for the present, humbly intreated his Father, that what he would hereafter bestow upon him for a Patrimony, he would be pleased for the present to allow it him for his maintenance in *Oxford*, that he might perfect his studies there, which his Father at last condescending to, he returned with joy to *Oxford*. But behold Gods providence! He had not been long at *Oxford* before a fearful Plague brake out in that place, which so scattered the University that few were left remaining, in which case he was again put to his shifts; loath he was to return home, and whither else to betake himself he knew not; till at last, by a special Providence, he was invited to the house of one Master Doyly, five miles from *Oxford*, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family in that County, and a great Friend to the Gospel, whose wife also was eminent for knowledge, and piety, to them therefore Master Harris goes for the present.

His return to Oxford.

A special Providence.

Coming to Master Doylyes, he there met with one Master Prior, a prudent godly man, and of an excellent spirit, who being much weakned by two wracking diseases, of the Stone and Gout, and overburdened with preaching both on the *Sabbaths* and *Fasts*, enjoyned upon the occasion of the Plague, in meer pitty, Master Harris helpt him a turn or two, which he performed with so good approbation, that presently he was set upon, both by Master Doyly, Master Prior, and some others, that he could not withstand their importunity, but was necessitated to preach with them, at least during the continuance of those extraordinary *Fasts*. Master Harris pleaded that he was not an Ordained Minister, and therefore durst not meddle with any thing but preaching; neither with that, but till he could be Ordained. This they assented to, and during his abode amongst them, he met with ample requitals from the good Gentleman, and his Wife, and great encouragement from the people.

Ministers  
suspended.

About this time there was a fearful *Eclipse* upon the Church; many eminent Ministers were suspended both from their Office and Benefices, and amongst them, those three bright shining Stars, Master *Dod*, Master *Cleaver*, Master *Lancaster*. Upon this occasion Sir *Anthony Cope*, who had formerly placed, and now lost Master *Dod* at *Hanwell*, and Master *Cleaver* at *Drayton*, became a Suter to his brother *Doyly* (for so he was by marriage) for the enjoyment of Mr. *Harris*. Master *Doyly* entertained this unwelcome motion with great regret, as being wholly unwilling to part with one whom he so much prized, yet after a long debate, it was judged most beneficial for the publick, and therefore could not be resisted.

His remove  
to *Hanwell*.

Master *Harris* went to *Hanwell* with much grief and fear, where he found the temper of the Country to be this: Preach he might and welcome, but they would own no man for their Pastors but those who were ejected: At last it was concluded that Master *Harris* should preach to both Congregations whilst Authority would permit, and so long as there was any hope of Recovering their former Pastors, this gave some satisfaction, yet was it not sufficient, because Master *Harris* was not fully of their former Pastors minde.

Mr. *Whately*  
at *Banbury*.

Just at the same time it fell out that Master *Whately* came to *Banbury*, and met with no less a share in the peoples displeasure, who though they could not except against his Ministry (he being endowed with excellent parts) yet they quarrelled; because his judgement about Ceremonies was not the same with that of their former Teachers; and the truth is, they both had a sad time of it for a great while, notwithstanding all the prudence and moderation which Sir *Anthony Cope*, and Master *Dod* shewed to the quieting of them.

After a while, Archbishop *Bancroft* finding that the silenced Ministers would not yeeld, presented two Chaplains to *Hanwell* and *Drayton*, upon pretence of a lapse: But Sir *Anthony Cope*, sitting then in Parliament, took one or two of the House with him, and presented his two Clerks to the Archbishop, who after a long contest, was content to admit his presentation; But Sir *Anthony* having spoken in that Parliament against insufficient Ministers, not without reflexion upon the Archbishops, and Bishops, Archbishop *Bancroft* could not but resent this, and therefore referred his Clerks to be strictly examined by his ablest, Chaplain. The Chaplain, having as it seems, his lesson beforehand, brings in the Clerk designed for *Hanwell* (which Master *Harris* had declined) as altogether insufficient, though a grave and discreet Divine. Master *Harris* was returned, *mediocriter doctus*, moderately learned. The Archbishop being not satisfied with this last account, desires Bishop *Barlow*, who was present with him, to make some further proof of Master *Harris*, and the Bishop being an active and witty man, was glad of the opportunity, and deals with Master *Harris*, first in Divinity, but most in other Learning, and Greek, wherein the Bishops excellency lay; and both of them so long *Greeked* it, till they were both gravelled for want of words, whereupon they both laughed, and so gave over. The Bishop going into the Archbishop, in his report (as Master *Harris* expressed it) set him up as much too high, as the Chaplain had set his Fellow too low. The Archbishop hearing the Bishops testimony, was content to admit Master *Harris*, but upon condition that he might have *Hanwell*, which was easily assented to by Sir *Anthony*, having before designed it for him, and Master *Dod* also was present to testify his Concurrent desire; The only stick with Master *Harris* was, that he was fearful to succeed so famous a Divine; which answer was not pleasing to the Archbishop, though at present he courted Master *Dod*.

He is settled  
at *Hanwell*.

A new Pastor being thus placed at *Hanwell*, and withall, *Drayton* being furnished with a godly prudent man [Master *Scudder*] there were now three neighbours, who were linked together, not onely in judgement and affection, but also in affinity; for Master *Harris* married Master *Whately's* sister, and Master *Scudder* his wives sister, and these three for a while met weekly together,

His Marriage.



ther, and by turns translated and *Analysed* each his Chapter, till multitudes of publick employments caused them to desist.

Not long after, there befell Master *Harris* his wife, upon the birth of her first childe, a long and sore affliction, which was (as Master *Dod* told him) but to season, and fit him for his work; and Master *Harris* himself would oft say, that he had been quite spoyled, had he not thus been taken down; for young Ministers know not what ground they tread on, till God layes them flat.

His Affliction.

This, and some other clouds being blown over, the weather seemed now to clear up, and his people began to relish his Ministry, and much comfort he found in the neighbourhood of many godly Ministers; on one side, he had Master *Cleaver*, a very solid Text-man; on the other, Master *Lancaster*, a very humble, and self-denying man, who, though by birth he was a good Gentleman, and had sometime been Fellow in *Kings Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he had read sundry publick Lectures, and made many Speeches, and (as Doctor *Collins*, that Master of Language used to say) delivered himself in as pure *Latine* as ever *Tully* spake, having no other Notes to help him, but what he wrote upon his own nails; yet this good man, thus accomplished with all learning contented himself with a Living that was not worth 40. l. *per annum*, and in his Preaching made no Noise of any Learning at all. When I was young I knew this Master *Lancaster*, he was a very little man of stature, but eminent, as for other things, so especially for his living by Faith. His charge being great, and his means so small, his wife would many times come to him when she was to send her maid to *Banbury Market* to buy provision, and tell him that she had no money; his usual answer was, *Yet send your maid, and God will provide*; and though she had no money, yet she never returned empty, for one or other that knew her to be Master *Lancaster's* maid, either by the way, or in *Banbury Town* meeting her, would give her money, which still supplied their present wants.

Master Lancaster, a learned and humble man.

Life of Faith.

But above all his Neighbours, Master *Harris* still most respected Master *Dod*, and concerning him was fully of Master *Cartwright's* minde, that he was the fittest man in *England* for a Pastoral Office; he was able to speak to any mans Capacity; He was never out of the Pulpit, for all his discourses were Sermons, which he intermixed with such variety of delightfull expressions, and similitudes, as would take with any man. The truth is, he was a very eloquent man both in *English*, and *Latine*, and so facetious and pithy, that Master *Harris* used to say often, *That if all his Apothegmes were gathered together, they would exceed all that Plutarch had written in Greek, and others since his time, in Latine had published*. For some years Master *Harris* had the happiness to live with, and near this man of God, and that in such a conjunction as greater could not be.

Mr. Dod's Character.

During the time of their converse, they studied together, and daily read a Chapter in the *Original* together. And after Master *Dod* was restored to the liberty of his Ministry in another Diocess, he would not expound a Text; preach a Sermon, answer a case of Conscience (whereof many were dayly brought to him) without the Concurrence of Master *Harris* with him; so highly did that eminent Divine prize him, and would often blame him for his reservedness and unwillingness to put forth himself.

How Mr. Dod prized him.

Master *Dod* being (as was said before) removed into *Northamptonshire* to *Fausley*, God vvas pleased to supply his vvant by the resort of sundry young Students from *Oxford* to *Hanwell*, so that Master *Harris* his House vvas a little *Academy*; And amongst others, he took much comfort in Mr. *Pemble* (who would do nothing, especially in *Divinity*, without his advice) as also Master *Capel*, who oft resorted to him in his grievous conflicts and temptations for advice and succour, and also, in his well known *Treatise of Temptations*.

Ss 2 Whilst

His invita-  
tions to  
London.  
Speciall  
Provi-  
dences.

Whilst he was at *Hanwell* he had frequent calls to *London*, sometimes to *Pauls Cross*, sometimes to preach before *Parliaments*, and other sometimes at *Country-Feasts*, which occasioned many invitations to places there: But of all the Auditories, that of *Saviours* in *Southwark* was most grateful to him, and there he could have spent the remainder of his dayes if his Voyce would have reached so great an Assembly. From thence he was invited to some lesser Churches, but God had not yet finished his work by him at *Hanwell*, and therefore something or other still interposed. Probably he had closed with *Aldermanbury*, had not the then Bishop of *London* complemented him out of it, commending his *Conscio ad Clerum* at *Oxford*, and promising him better preferment than he thought he should merit. Some other offers were made to him, but still he met with some Cross Providence, which made him come to a resolution to end where he began.

His La-  
bours at  
*Hanwell*.

At *Hanwell* he went over many Scriptures, but his people found least good from that which cost him most pains, viz. his Sermons upon the *Colossians*, which Epistle he preached throughout. Indeed at that time he thought he could not speak too highly to a people who had been so taught, but upon further trial he found that he could not go too low, so that (as some of his hearers after told him) his pains upon that Epistle was wholly lost as to them. His Sermons upon *Historical* Scriptures, best pleased most of his auditors; But with himself, and the more spiritual sort, his labours upon the Book of the *Canticles* prevailed most, the Notes whereof he was often pressed to make publick, which he refused upon a double account. 1. Because a great part of them were lost, and dyed with Doctor *Preston*, to whom he had lent them, and whom he used to call, *A needles engrosser of other mens Notes*. 2. He less satisfied himself in his elder years, in divers passages of that Mysterious Book. Yet if the world were at leasure to hear old men speak, it might be very useful to Collect those dispersed Papers, and it is hoped that some of his near Relations (who best know his hand, and method in writing) may take some pains therein for the publick good.

His fre-  
quent prea-  
ching and  
succes.

At *Hanwell* Master *Harris* continued preaching for about forty years, a constant, painful, and faithfull Preacher, both upon the *Sabbaths*, and other occasions which fell out often; For when he came thither, he found that there had been an accustomed course of preaching upon such *Festival* dayes (then so called) which might not enterfere with the Lecture or Market at *Banbury*, which he also kept up, especially on *Easter*, and *Whislon* Mundayes, unto which, multitudes of Christians resorted far and near, as the *Doves* to the windows, yet without any superstition. And on the morrow, they were entertained with the like Feast at *Banbury* by Master *Wheatley*. O, what a Faire of souls was then held at *Hanwell* and *Banbury* by these two Brothers? How did Religion then flourish, and Professors thrive like the *Calves* in their stalls? The truth is, these Preachers carved out sound and wholesome food, and their hearers came with good stomachs, expecting what they found, viz. *Milk for Babes*, and *Strong meat for strong men*, and accordingly did grow thereby. In those dayes godly Preachers stuffed not their Sermons with airy notions, and curious speculations, but sought out profitable matter, which they delivered in *sound words*, and in a plain method of Doctrine, Reason, and Use, accommodating themselves to every mans Capacity, and God gave them a plentiful Harvest in that Country.

Great suc-  
cess.

Plain Prea-  
ching.

His Le-  
cture at  
*Stratford*  
upon *Avon*.

These his employments at home (together with his natural Bookishness) made him less forward to engage in Lectures abroad, onely he was one in a combination at *Dedington* in *Oxfordshire*; And for sometime he kept a Lecture alone at *Stratford upon Avon* in *Warwickshire* every other week, unto which there was a great resort both of the Chief Gentry, and choicest Preachers and Professors in those parts, and amongst them, that Noble and Learned Knight, Sir *Thomas Lucy* of *Charlcot* had alwayes a great respect for him.

About



About this time a great Living in the Country was offered him, about which he was very indifferent, and indeed, was but very indifferently dealt with in it, which occasioned him to say, *That he never bore any thing more impatiently than the abuse of Religion to base and private ends; and, that carnal Policy, would render Profession despicable at least, whilst some men took such a Liberty to themselves in equivocating and dawdling; and the reason of such mens success was, not because they had more Wit than others, but more boldness to say and do what others durst not.*

Disingenu-  
ity.

All this while he continued at *Hanwell* in much Prosperity, and the Neighbours thereabouts frequented his Sermons, amongst whom he received the greatest Seals of his Ministry: But though he found so much encouragement from abroad, yet we must not forget his people at home, who were so far brought into a conformity, that at sometimes there was not a Family in the Town where Gods Name was not in some measure called upon, nor a Person that refused to be prepared by him for the Lords Supper.

Religion  
flourisheth.

And as the Lord was thus pleased to bless, and succeed his Labours, so he caused him to thrive in his outward estate likewise, which himself could not but take notice of; For though his means was not great, and his Children many (for whose sakes he kept a Schoolmaster) and the resort of Friends to his House not small, both on *Sabbath* days, and *Lecture* days, yet was he in a thriving Condition; which occasioned him to say, *That there was a secret Blessing attending on housekeeping. For (said he) I am not able to give an account of my expences and of Gods supplies.*

Gods blessing  
upon  
his outward  
estate.

Note.

But now began those cloudy times, and his sadder days, when Troops and Armies Marched into those Quarters, about *Edg Hill*, where was fought a bloody Battel, *Octob. 23. 1642.* upon the Lords Day, in the Vale of the *Red Horse*, being distant about four miles from him; yet it pleased God so to order it (which he took for a great Mercy) that he heard not the least noise of it (the wind sitting contrary) till the publick work of the day was over; nor could he believe the Report of a Battel, till a Souldier besmired with Blood and Powder came to witness it. From this very time his Troubles encreased: Now was he threatned by this, then by the other Garrison; one while he was a *Roundhead*, and then a *Malignant*; frequently oppressed with Souldiers that were quartered upon him, yet still he kept his station, and some of his Guests would joyn with him in Family-Duties, which he intermitted not, when others would scoffe at them, because not mingled with *Book-Prayers*. Every *Sabbath* he held on the course of his Ministry, and most of those which quartered with him, being Commanders and Officers, they shewed themselves Civil to him, and his; onely at one time there was a company who were so outrageous in swearing and Blasphemy, that he could not forbear preaching upon that Text, *James 5. 12. Above all things, my Brethren; swear not, &c.* which so nettled some of them, that they damned themselves to Hell if they did not shoot him in case he preached again upon that Text, which they judged to be purposely chosen against them; The next *Sabbath* he proceeded purposely upon the same Text, wherein he backed what he had said before, and as he was preaching he saw a Souldier take his Carbine, and fumble about the Cock as if he was preparing to shoot; but Master Harris, apprehending that he did it onely to disturb him, went through his work, and heard no more news of his Souldier.

The Battel  
at Edgehill.

His Trou-  
bles.

His Cou-  
rage.

A speciall  
Providence.

Thus he continued his labours in those sad times, and though he was chosen a member of the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, yet because upon serious thoughts, he judged his prefence less needful there than in the Country, he continued his station there, till he saw his Tenements in the Neighbourhood fired, wood, and nurseries of wood destroyed, himself threatned, and at last enforced by a *Scottish* Commander, to shift for himself; yea some of his own

He is cho-  
sen one of  
the Assen-  
bly.

own Neighbours were now ready to betray him, whereupon he went to *London*, and by Gods good providence came thither in safety, though a sad man.

His remove  
to *London*.

A good Pro-  
vidence.

When he came to *London* he went to the *Assembly*, where he found much more undone than done: Indeed he met there with many excellent and learned men; but his thoughts were sollicitous for his people, his wife and children, whom he had left behinde: and indeed he found little rest in his spirit, till the same good hand of Providence had safely brought them unto him. Then went he with more comfort to the *Assembly*, where he did *Antiquum obtinere*, Hear all, and say little.

Upon his remove from his house, both his Books, and his Notes (some few only accepted which he had conveyed away beforehand) together with all his remaining goods, were seized upon, and his Living given to another; But that might soon have been supplied, many offers being made to him, from several places, and *Country-Committees*.

He is settled  
at *But-*  
*tolphs Bi-*  
*shopsgate*.

The first motion that he hearkened to was the *Temple*; But upon trial, he found that Church too large for his voyce, and thereupon refused; and at last he was sent to *Buttolphs Bishopsgate*, where, though the Congregation was too large for him, yet being necessitated to do something for the maintenance of his Family, he remained there, during his attendance upon the *Assembly*.

He is sent  
to *Oxford*.

After his continuance there for some time, himself with four more Divines were commanded down to *Oxford*, which was then under *suspension* by the Parliament; Which employment, he often professed, that he did earnestly decline, and that principally for two reasons;

He is cho-  
sen to *Peters-*  
*field*.

1. Because the Committee for *Hampshire*, had given him a free call to *Petersfield*, and thither he would willingly have gone.

2. Having long discontinued from the *University*, he looked upon himself as very unfit for such a service; but in conclusion he was plainly told, that such as would not be intreated, must be commanded, and so he was ordered to prepare for his journey. This much troubled him, and therefore he first goes to *Petersfield*, and acquaints them how the case stood with him; and because he could not come suddenly to them, he desires them, either to pitch upon some other Minister, or else, to take the care upon themselves, to provide supplies for both the Churches (for two they were) and to pay the Preachers out of the Revenues of the place. The people liked neither of the offers, yet were content to wait a while in hopes, that he might come to settle with them, requesting him in the mean while to provide them such supply as himself should approve of. This proved a troublesome work to him, though for a time he sent them help from *Oxford*, and thereabout; for preachers were now hard to be gotten, there being more want of Ministers, than of places; yet at last two were procured, the one of whom gave no good content. At last he was put upon it, either to relinquish *Oxon*, or *Petersfield*; The former he could not decline, and therefore he left the latter, though with great regret, because he could not seal up such respect, and thanks, as he conceived was due from him to that Country. Neither had he less trouble in providing for *Buttolphs Bishopsgate* (it being no easie matter to please Citizens) yet at the last they were supplied to their content.

He leaves  
*Petersfield*.

He is tradu-  
ced.

About this time many Libels were cast abroad in *Oxford* against other Preachers, and one amongst the rest reflected upon Master *Harris*, reckoning up his several Livings, and great Revenues, wherein they mentioned what was past; present, and to come, and happily if they had heard of the rest, which at several times were offered him, they would have put them also into that Catalogue: Master *Harris* being informed hereof, he wrote to some Friends (which Letters are already extant) wherein he vindicated himself in the main; yet withall he professed unto others, that it would, and should be to him mat-

ter



ter of humbling, and caution to him whilst he lived, that he had given the least advantage to such as sought it; for though he stood clear in his own and others consciences, who best knew him; that he was far from allowing non-residency, and plurality of Livings, yet to such as were ignorant of all Circumstances, there was some appearances of evil; which also he took the more to heart, because from that time forward he found the afflicting hand of God both upon him, and his.

His several afflictions.

The Preachers that were sent to Oxford found but ill entertainment; on the one hand they were aspersed, and libelled against by their own Mothers Sons; and on the other hand, they were challenged to a publick Disputation by one Master Erbery, a Sectary, and his associates. Master Harris was unwilling that his challenge should be entertained, having observed that disputes of that kinde, send away each party more strengthened in their opinions, than when they came thither; yet his Concurrence, at least so far with them, as to begin the work with prayer. This he condescended unto, and the Disputation proceeded; and the issue was, that all were Censured, some for speaking, others for their silence, in which latter rank he was willingly placed.

A Disputation at Oxford.

Not long after, came the Chancellor of Oxon [the Earle of Pembroke] to visit the University, who, according to the custome, bestowed Degrees upon some of the Schollars, and amongst others, Master Harris was admitted Doctor of Divinity, who yet, neither thought himself the better Schollar, nor the better Preacher for this new honour; and had it not been, that he was loath to sleight the favour from his Betters, he had refused it: having learned, *That an empty hand from a Prince, and a naked title from his Chancellor, must be counted an honour.*

He commenced Doctor.

Note.

At this time, many Headships of Colledges (before made void) were now to be supplied, and Doctor Harris professed, that seeing it was noised abroad, that these Reforming Preachers, came thither to play their own game, viz. to thrust out others, and to invest themselves with their places, he therefore resolved to keep to his old course; namely, to stand silent without opening his mouth for any Headship at all, and presently the best places were all disposed of; neither was any thing spoken of for Doctor Harris, till a Noble man, of the other University, made mention of him, as not fit to be forgotten; whereupon Trinity Colledge was assigned to him. This some of his Friends much wondered at, considering, that, though he was the meanest in his own eyes, yet was he the oldest man, and one that had suffered more by the times than any, if not than all the rest; yet he himself said little to it, onely he enquired who was the Head that was ejected, and what was the nature of the place: For he was unwilling to entertain the proffer, if the former Head could find favour to hold it, and thereupon he forbore as long as he could be permitted; and as for the place, the smalness of the Colledge, and the scituation of it, gave him great content, who desired no more than what would keep him from distractions in his studies; and the only thing that he stuck at was, because there was a Personage annexed to the Colledge.

He is made Head of Trinity Colledge.

But when he understood, that his distance from Oxford was not great, and the conditions easie, viz. That he was required to preach but eight Sermons per annum at it, he the more willingly inclined to it, though after acceptance, he could not satisfie himself under two Sermons a week; and so at last there he sate down, and took much content in the Fellows of that Colledge, betwixt whom, and him, there was ever a very fair Correspondence.

At the Parsonage, he found most of the people (though they had been long taught) very ignorant, and much addicted to their old Customs, and (which he looked upon as a sad prognostick to the place) no sooner did any where look Heaven-ward in any special manner, but the Lord presently took him.

him away, some few, and those very few excepted.

He refused  
New Col-  
ledge.

About this time a motion was made by the Committee at *Oxford* of removing him to *New Colledge*, which was now void; but as the motion began without him, so it was stifled by him, the rather, when he heard that some exception was taken above against him as being incapable of that place, because he was not a *Winchester* Schollar. The truth is (as he professed to some of his Friends) he rather desired a little, than a great Colledge, being one who was very much addicted to privacy, and his Book, which made him often say, *That if Trinity Colledge were a competency without the Parsonage, he would not leave it for any place, except it were an Hospital*: So much had he seen into the Vanity, and troublesomenesse of the world.

He is cho-  
sen to  
preach a  
Lecture in  
*Oxford*.

In his latter dayes, journies began to be tedious to him, which occasioned some well-affected Citizens in *Oxford* (who were moved thereunto by a Sermon which Doctor *Cheynell* preached unto them) to make some overtures to him of Reading a *Catechisme* Lecture, or of preaching upon the Principles of Religion (which liked him best) in one of their Churches; in consideration whereof, they would maintain him an assistant at his Parsonage. The motion was good, the exercise needful, the onely question was, how such a work would be accepted in such a place amongst the Wits, and Schollars of the University; yet because he had bemoaned himself to God in private, bewailing that his comfort was little in the place where he preached, and made it his humble sute that God would not lay him aside, but finde some employment for him, whilst he had ability to perform it: because (I say) he had prayed thus, and this motion presently ensued, he durst not reject it, but set upon the work, wherein the Lord assisted, giving him strength even beyond what could be expected from a man of his age, and caused his labours to find great acceptance with his Auditors; and thus he continued preaching once every *Sabbath* at his Parsonage, and once in the week this Lecture: besides which, he preached when his turn came in the University, and that both in *English*, and in *Latine* also. Yet we are not come to the end of his Labours; for having now freed himself from worldly Affairs, disposed of all his children, and having left himself nothing else to do, but to prepare himself, and his wife, for their graves, who had lived about fifty years together, it pleased God to exercise him in this strange manner.

His wives  
fore temp-  
tations.

His wife, who was born of Parents eminently pious, had been Religiously educated, and her self a constant worshipper of God all her time, who seldom rose from her prayers with dry eyes, was delivered up by God to *Satans* buffetings, and to such hellish temptations, and horrors of minde, as struck a grief and terrour unto all the Spectators, which occasioned him often to say, *That God made it appear to all Beholders, that the best man is no more than the Lord makes him hourly*. For as the receiving of Grace, so the keeping, using, the comfort and enjoyment of it, is all from him, which is not onely true in supernatural Graces, but in the gifts of Nature also; our wits, senses, phantasies, all are in Gods hand; nor are the wisest men any thing longer than he pleases to continue them so.

Note.  
Mercies  
mixed with  
Trials.

This good Woman was a sad instance of all this, whose temptations were so violent, so horrid, and withall so subtil, that they put the ablest, and most experienced men to their Wits end to answer them, and her poor self even beyond her self: Whilst she was in this perplexed Condition, sundry eminent Preachers and Professors visited her, and her Husband (who had been a happy Instrument of satisfying many others) could give her no satisfaction. One day as she was complaining that she could find no Comfort, O (saith he) *What an Idol do some make of Comfort, as if their Comfort were their Christ!*

In the midst of these Trials, he yet took notice of these Comforts and Mercies, That she was kept from Blaspheming the Highest (for so she



she filed God) and from hurting her self, and others. 2. That this affliction awaked him and his Children; For they esteemed her the most conscientious and innocent amongst them all. 3. It put him upon more Work than his Age could well bear, that so he might call out his thoughts upon business, and not eat up his own Heart with grief and care. And lastly, it wrought in him an holy despair of all Creature-Comforts; for now he could neither enjoy Child, nor Friend, nor Food, nor Sleep, having her continually before him in his Eye, Ear, and Heart, and all Friends fearing to come in sight, lest they should wound themselves, or trouble her; only continual Prayers were offered up for her upon all occasions, which gave hopes that the Lord might yet make her End comfortable, and Conquest glorious.

However (her Husband would often say) *That the difference was not great, whether Comfort came at Death, or an hour after, since Comfort would come assuredly.* But leaving her under a general expectation of a blessed Issue in the best time, we return once more to her Husband now ready to enter into his Haven of Rest.

After a long and laborious Life, which could not but be painful to him that underwent it, we come at length to his last, long, and painful sickness, which is the usual Harbinger of Death.

In the Summer he began to droop, and finding his decay, he sent for two Physicians [Dr. Bathurst, and Dr. Willis] who were well known to him and his, by former experiences, and eminently known in the University; to whom he professed, that he used means meerly in obedience to God, but for his own part he *could live and durst die.* His Physicians (as himself confessed) had proceeded so far as Art, and Learning could carry them, but herein they would lose of their worth, that they had to deal with complicated Diseases, which were seldom removed, but most of all with old Age, a disease which was never cured. His first encounter was with a vehement *Pleuritical* pain in his left side, which was attended with a Fever, as also with a great defluxion of Rheume, and oppression of his Lungs with Flegme, and when after divers weeks, all these his Assailants seemed well-nigh vanquished through the tender care of his skillful Physicians, yet then that Enemy which had so long lodged in his Bosome, brake forth into an *Empyema*, which he expectorated daily in so great a measure, for the space of two moneths or more, that hereby (together with some fits of his old diseases, the *Stone* and *Strangury*) he was not able to speak much to those that visited him.

His last  
Sickness.

His Diseases.

And herein indeed, it fell out according to what he had often foretold, in his best strength, *viz. That little was to be expected from him on his Death-bed*, which occasioned him to write (fearing that his Tongue might not then be able to utter it) his Advice and Council to his Family many Years before his Death. The truth is, he the rather forbore to speak, because he perceived that some had a design to make his speeches publick, which he was utterly averse to, neither would he consent that any thing of his Life or Death should be written: Nay, he could never be perswaded at any time to sit, that his Picture might be drawn; so desirous was he, that all of him might be buried with him. And albeit he spit up those Lungs which he had wasted in the Pulpit, yet could not that light of Grace be so smothered under a Bushel, but that oft-times, the Beams thereof would shine forth, and himself would breath forth himself in pithy Speeches and savoury Discourses.

His Humility.

In the beginning of his sickness, being desired to admit of Company, he answered, *I am alone in Company, its all due to me to be left alone, or to have Friends with me; my work is now to arm my self for Death which assaileth me, and I apply my self (as I am able) for that great encounter.* And

Te accordingly

His secret  
employ-  
ments.

How he  
spent his  
time.

His coun-  
sel to his  
friends.

Faiths ex-  
cellency.

His strict  
observation  
of the Sab-  
bath.

Self-deniall.

His divine  
speeches.

Note.

accordingly he spent his whole time in Meditation, Prayer, and reading the holy Scriptures, especially the Book of *Psalms*, the Prophecie of *Isaiah*, and St. *Johns* Gospel, taking exceeding delight in the 10, 14, 15, 16, and 17, Chapters of that Evangelist.

After which time his nights were long, and sleeps short; and when he could neither sleep nor sit up in his bed to read, his manner was to command others to read to him, and then himself would collect the most useful things that were contained in the Chapter, explaining such things as were difficult, and sweetly feeding upon the rest.

His constant practice was, to exhort such as either visited, or attended upon him, above all things to get Faith. *It is* (saith he) *your Victory, your Peace, your Life, your Crown, and your chief piece of spiritual Armour:—Howbeit, get on all the other pieces, and then go forth in the Lords might, Stand to the fight, and the issue shall be glorious; onely forget not to call in the help of your General: Do all from him, and under him.*

On the *Lords* dayes, he would not hinder any from the publick Ordinances, for any thing that was to be done about him, till Sermons were ended, and then he would say, *Come, what have you for me?* (meaning something of Repetition) unto which he would attend with such diligence, as that he would summe up the heads of every Sermon, and say, *O what excellent Truths are these! lay them up charily, you will have need of them.*

When Friends came to visit him, he used to say, *I cannot speak, but I can hear: And when he was asked where his comfort lay? His answer was, In Christ, and in the free Grace of God: One telling him, Sir, you may take much comfort in your labours, you have done much good, &c. His answer was, All is nothing without a Saviour; without him my best works would condemn me. Oh, I am ashamed of them, being mixed with so much sin! Oh, I am an unprofitable servant, I have not done any thing for God as I ought; loss of time sits heavy upon my spirit. Work, work apace; assure your selves, nothing will more trouble you when you come to dye, than that you have done no more for God who hath done so much for you.*

Sometimes he used thus to breath out himself, *I never in all my life saw the worth of a Christ, nor tasted the sweetness of Gods love in that measure as now I do. When he was asked what should be done for him? His answer was, Do not onely pray for me, but praise God, for his unspeakable mercy unto me, and in particular that he hath kept Satan from me in this my weakness. Oh how good is God, entertain good thoughts of him. How ever it be with us, we cannot think too well of him, or too bad of our selves.*

And this sense of Gods goodness was very deeply imprinted upon his heart to his very last; and therefore in all his Wills, this Legacy was alwayes renewed, *Item, I bequeath to all my children, and to their childrens children, to each of them a Bible, with this Inscription, None but Christ. Being upon a time visited by two Reverend Doctors, his choice Friends, who before they prayed with him, desired him to tell them what he chiefly requested: He answered, I praise God he supports me, and keeps off Satan; beg that I may hold out: I am now in a good way home, even quite spent: I am now at the shore, I leave you tossing on the Sea. Oh, it is a good time to dye in: Yet when his end approached nearer, being often asked how he did? He answered, In no great pain (I praise God) onely weary of my unuseful life. If God hath no more service for me to do here, I could be gladly in Heaven, where I shall serve him better, freed from sin and distractions. I pass from one death to another, yet I fear none; I praise God I can live, and I dare dye. If God hath more work for me to do here, I am willing to do it, though my infirm body be very weary.*

Desiring one to pray with him, and for him, that God would hasten the work, it was asked whether pain, &c. put him upon that desire? He answered No, but I now do no good, and I hinder others, which might be better employed,



played, if I were not: Why should any desire to live but to do God service? Now I cease from that, I do not live.

Note.

By this time the violence of his distempers disabled him, and the advice of his Physicians was, that he should forbear speech, yet he called upon those which attended him, to read some part of the Scriptures to him constantly; especially he put one of his Sons that was with him, to pray frequently, and whilst his life and speech lasted, he used to conclude all the Prayers with a loud, *Amen*.

The nearer he approached to his end, the more he slumbered. Once when he awoke, he found himself very ill; whereupon calling for his Son, he took him by the hand, and said, *Pray with me; It is the last time in likelihood that I shall ever joyn with you;* and complaining to him of his wearisomeness, his Son answered, *There remains a rest: To whom he replied, My Sabbath is not far off, and yours is at hand, ere that, I shall be rid of all my trouble, and you will be eased of some.*

At length his ruinous house (which onely in obedience to the will of God had held out beyond his own desires, and all mens expectations, from the height of Summer till the depth of Winter) comes to be dissolved. About Saturday in the Even, he began to set himself to dye, forbidding all cordials to be administred upon what extremity soever, and gave his dying blessing to his Son (who onely of all his children was present with him) and (upon his request) enjoined him to signifie, when he had opportunity, to that Country where he had lived longest, *that he lived and dyed in that Faith which he had preached and printed; the comfort whereof he now found.* Something else he began to speak, but his distempers interrupted his purpose, and from that time he never entertained any discourse with man, onely he commanded the eighth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans to be read to him. And herein God was exceeding good to him, in the return of those Petitions which had been put up for him that afternoon, by those two eminent Divines, and his dearest Brethren before mentioned: For whereas his great distempers gave occasion to fear his death would be exceeding painful, yet did it prove so easie, that his Son, and other attendants, could but guess at the particular time of his departure: His breathings were easie, and even, his eyes open, and full of water, till at the last (having lifted them up towards Heaven) they closed of themselves, and his soul, without the least motion of resistance of the Body, entred into everlasting rest, whilst those whom he left behind, were entring upon the day of their rest. For then began he a perpetual Sabbath in Heaven, when they began theirs on earth, betwixt twelve and one on Saturday night, December 11. Anno Christi, 1658.

His Prudence.

He dyed in a good old age, and full of dayes, having over-lived four-score years: His loss was much bewayled by the Colledge, by the City, and whole Univerfity of Oxford. He was (as all that knew him confessed) a man of admirable prudence, profound judgement, eminent gifts and graces, and furnished with all qualifications that might render him a compleat man; a wise Governour, a profitable Preacher, and a good Christian.

His Death.

First, look upon him as a Christian, for that was his, and is every mans greatest Ornament. He was a man that had much acquaintance with God, much communion with him in private meditation and prayer, accounting those his best dayes wherein he enjoyed most converse with him.

In the time of his sickness, one asking him how he did? *Oh* (saith he) *this hath been a sweet day, I have had sweet communion with God in Jesus Christ.* He was not like them who are all for promises and priviledges, though in the mean time they neglect duties: He made them his exercise, but not his Christ: He was much in those severer parts of Religion, as private Humiliation, Mortification, and Self-denial, whereby he gained the Conquest over himself. The truth is, he was (as far as is consistent with humane frailty) Master of his corruptions, passions, reason, appetite, language, and all. T t z The

His timely  
Conversion

The Lord was pleased to work upon him in the Primrose of his Life, though he certainly knew not, either the Preacher or Sermon whereby he was converted. His course was in the days of his strictest Examination, to set down in writing his Evidences for Heaven, sometimes in Propositions from Scripture; other sometimes in *Sylogismes*, and these he often Subscribed to, in a Book that he kept for that purpose. But these Evidences, were best read by others in the course of his Life, by his exact walking with God in Piety, Charity, Humility, Patience, and Dependence upon him. He was far unlike to those who sit in *Moses Chair*, and teach what themselves practise not. He had well digested that Fathers Precept to Preachers, *Either Preach not at all, or live as you Preach*. His Life was a Commentary upon his Doctrine, and his Practice, the Counterpane of his Sermons. What was said of that precious Bishop *Jewel*, was true of him, *That he adorned a heavenly Doctrine, with a heavenly Life*. In a word, he did *vertere verba in opera*, he lived Religion, whilst many only make it the Subject of their discourse. He was much more than he seemed to be, not loving to make a noise in the world, but accounting it better to do, than to speak.

Note.

His Charity.

In his Works of Charity to the Poor, he was no less discreet, than private. When he met with fit Objects, his Hands was more ready to give, than his Tongue to proclaim it. Indeed he was no Friend to Idle, Lazy, Canting Persons, who live on the sweat of other mens Brows. These he looked upon as the *Pests* of the Commonwealth, nor could he think it Charity to relieve such to the prejudice of the publick, and to their own destruction. But Gods Poor, and the *Hosbould of Faith* lay neer his Heart. Whosoever shall survey his large Bills of weekly, and quarterly allowances (besides considerable Sums given to the poor Ministers, and especially to their Widows and Orphans, who never knew whence it came) and shall add thereunto, his Legacies bequeathed in his *Will* to charitable Uses, cannot (whatever others thought of him) but judge, that his Charity exceeded the ordinary proportion of his Revenues. Naturally he was of a stout and masculine Temper, yet through Grace, he attained to a great measure of Humility: He was mean, and low, in his own Eyes, and had more undervaluing Thoughts of himself, than all the World besides had of him. He was very sensible of that Enemy, which he often complained of, *viz.* Discouragement, which he used to stile, *The child of Pride and Unbelief*. It must needs be acknowledged a great measure of Humility, that could keep a man lowly under such Abilities, Attainments, and such general Applauses as he met with in every place. His usual saying was, *That he valued no man for his Gifts, but for his Humility under them: Neither should he expect much from any man, were his Parts never so great, till he was broken with Afflictions and Temptations.*

His Humility.

His pithy  
Speeches.

It was his Observation, *That the humblest Preachers converted most Souls, not the choicest Schollars, whilst unbroken.* He would sometimes use this speech, which though a seeming Contradiction, yet hath it much Truth in it, *It is better to be an humble Devil, than a proud Angel.* He never affected popular Applause, variety of Pulpits, Printing, &c. as one conscious to himself of, I know not what unworthiness; neither ever came he thus abroad, but when by importunity he was haled to it.

His Temperance.

2. Consider him as a man in his Morals, whether in the Government of himself in particular, or of his Family, or his greater Trusts; and in all you shall find him like himself, excellent, and almost without a Parallel.

In regard of Himself, he was exactly Temperate, confining himself to Hours for Diet, Sleep, &c. He would often say, *That he would rather pour Liquor into his Boots, than into his Mouth between meals.* He was a strict obser-

ver



ver of those Laws of Sobriety, which St. Paul had pressed upon Ministers, and which himself in his *Drunkards Cup* had taught others. He used to eat seasonably and sparingly, which (without question) was one great means of preserving such vigorous Spirits to so great an Age: His only play-time was *Saturdays* in the afternoon; then he used to unbend, and disburden himself by some innocent Recreations, but only *ad Ruborem*. He was a man of an excellent Deportment, and sweet Behaviour, whereby he won much upon all with whom he Converſed. Grave he was without affectation, pleasant without levity: Indeed he never loved to hear himself Talk, and therefore by some was judged too reserved; but when he knew with whom he had to do, he was communicative enough. No man was more Candid, or fuller of Civility; none more open or free to entertain or return Discourses. He was very cautious before he struck a League of intimate friendship with any man; but when he had once chosen, he was Cordial, Firm, and Constant, his Head, Hand, Tongue, Pen, Feet, Purse, all, were now no longer his own but his Friends. It is said of the French, that *whatsoever cloaths they wear, whatsoever Garb they accost you in, becomes them so well, as if nothing else did*; and a great Crick in men as well as in Books, used to say of our Doctor, that *whatsoever he did or spake, became him*.

Mr. R. M.

It was a rare thing to see him angry. If at any time the folly of others had discomposed him, or their sin had provoked him, yet could he quickly command himself, and convert his passion into wholesome instruction.

His Patience.

Though himself had great parts, both natural, and acquired, yet would he never sleight or undervalue, much less contemn, or discourage any whom he judged to be right in the main. He was very sparing in his censures of others, gentle to all, and severe onely to himself.

Humility.

He had a special gift of forgetting injuries, but would offer none. His Memory was never more faithfull than in retaining Civilities received, to which he would industriously make what proportionable returns lay in his power. He much feared lest he should give any occasion of suspicion that he either forgot, or neglected any, because he could not readily recall mens names, which occasioned him to say, *That if he lived long he should forget his own name, with him in Valerius*.

At meals his manner was to be sociable, and facetious; yet still he took occasion to enquire of the publick, and how it fared with particular Towns and Families, whence he would alwayes extract something for matter of Prayer or Praise in his Thanksgiving after meat.

Prudence.

In his Family he had that qualification of a good Bishop mentioned by the Apostle, *That ruled well his own house*. He had an excellent method in the education of his Children, which was this:

Family Government.

In general, his care was to maintain his authority over them, yet even that authority was equally tempered with lenity and gravity. He loved them without fondness, and ruled them without rigour. In particular, so soon as they could use their Tongues, they were made acquainted with the Historical part of the Scriptures. As soon as they could use their legs, they were set to School, and when they could remember any thing of a Chapter read, or bring home any part of a Sermon, his care was to instruct them in the Fundamentals of Religion. Their childehood being past, he would call upon them for the practice of Religion, and was a diligent observer of their private performance of Religious exercises, wherein their Mother was no small help to him.

When they grew up to more maturity, he diligently observed their capacities, inclinations, but especially their constitutions, when he could guess at that sin which was like to prove their *destructum delictum*, their darling Corruption, he accordingly suited their Callings, so as that sin might be least nourished, and most beaten down. The Rule which he gave them, was this, *When you*

are

His Advice  
to his Chil-  
dren.

*are youths, chuse your Callings; when men, chuse your wives, only take me along with you: It may be, old men may see further than you.* Thus whilst he Condescended to them, and they submitted to him, both parties were gratified.

Though he had a numerous issue, yet (through Gods blessing upon his estate) he disposed of them to no mean imployments. Many he sent to the Universities; some to Merchandise, &c. To his Sons whom he bred in the University, his Rule was, *Study work, more than wages:* To those whom he bred in the City, he would say, *Do not waste a half-penny, and you will not want a penny.* And truly so well did they all improve, as his advice, so their own time and parts, that they became Masters of their particular Callings, which Ministred unto him no small comfort. He acknowledged it a great mercy to his dying day, that none of his children were blemished, either in their bodies, or in their reputations. He was one of them in whose children that *Popish* slander concerning the ungraciousness of the children of the married Clergy, received a real confutation.

Gods Blessing upon  
his Children.

Many of his Sons he buried in their prime, some at home, others in foreign parts, and some dyed shortly after himself, yet all of them gave comfortable hopes to conclude upon a rational charity (both by the pious Letters of those which dyed abroad, and from that particular account which they gave of themselves who dyed at home) that they all meet in Heaven; they which survive need not this attestation. Amongst the dead, there was Master *Thomas Harris* of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, who was eminently learned beyond his age, an Ornament to that Noble Foundation, whereof he was a member; once the joy of his friends, and still their sorrow; and probably this arrow from Gods hand struck deep in the Fathers heart to his dying day.

His Servants Gods  
Servants.

For his servants, there are some yet living that served him in his younger dayes, who still bless God that ever they came under his roof, where they received the beginnings of Grace, and such a measure of knowledge as kept them from warping in the late giddy times.

His good Govern-  
ment in the  
Colledge.

Whilst he remained with his antient Flock, his Constant manner was, to keep a Religious Fast before his administration of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. And after he came to his small Colledge, he so prudently managed all his affairs, that he was both feared, and loved. Indeed his Government there was such as caused a wonder: For whereas that Colledge before, was famous for factions; during his time, there was never any complaint made to any Visitors; and no marvel, for the Foundation there, honoured him as a Father, and he looked upon, and loved them as his Children, and accordingly he sealed up his love to them in his last *Will and Testament*.

He called Gifts, Bribery, and hated the very shadow of it. Examples are known in the Colledge of Gratuities, refused long after fair and free Elections.

His great Learning.

But look upon him as a Schollar, and there we have him in his proper Element. Though he left the University early, and preached constantly, yet being of a retired disposition, a constant student, and endowed with great parts, he became Master of all manner of Learning to qualifie a Divine. In the sacred Languages, especially in the *Hebrew*, he was very exact.

His *Conciones ad Clerum*, declare him to have been a pure and Polite *Latinist*: His first, which was preached and printed long since, hath undergone the test, and gained the approbation of all knowing men in that Language; the younger by full forty years, is of as good a Complexion, and of as Vigorous a Constitution as its elder Brother; and its hoped that in due time it may be made as publick.



What his abilities in Disputations were, hath upon several occasions been made to appear in that Colledge-Exercises in the Chappel, where oft-times in the unexpected absence of the Opponents, himself would *ex tempore* take up the Cudgels, and make good their ground. In which Exercises he approved himself a subtle, clear, and ready Disputant, without any grains of allowance either for his age or discontinuance. A good Disputant.

Indeed his chiefest Learning lay, where he made least shew of it in publick, *viz.* in *Chronology*, Church-History, Councils, Case-Divinity, and his insight into the Fathers. But his parts were best seen in the Pulpit. His gifts in Prayer were much more than ordinary, wherein his affections were warm, and fervent, his Petitions pithy and substantial, his Language pertinent, unaffected, and without *Tautologies*. Oh, how would he raise up a dull and sinking spirit! How would he warm a cold and frozen heart! How would he carry a man out of himself, and by degrees mount the soul heavenward. His fervent Prayers.

His Sermons in Print are well known to the world, and his Works praise him in the Gates. The particular excellencies of *Nozianzen*, *Basil*, *Chrysostome*, *Austin*, *Ambrose*, *Bernard*, seemed all to concenter in him. He taught *Rhetorick* to speak in our Mother-tongue, and (without falshood, or flattery) he may be stiled, *The English Orator*. His Doctrines carried light with them, and his Ules heat: His Reproofs were weighty, and his Exhortations powerful. But enough of this, lest we hear as he did who spake much in commendation of *Hercules*, *Quis unquam vituperavit?* who ever dispraised him? yea, what either Christian or Schollar, but approved, or commended him? If you would know the worth of his Sermons, read them (though read, they come short of what they were when preached) yea read them again, and again, endeavour to read them with the same spirit they were preached, and you cannot but acknowledge an excellency in them. An excellent Preacher.

Amongst other his excellencies in preaching, which were many, these were not the least, that he could so cook his meat that he could make it relish to every palate: He could dress a plain discourse, so as that all sorts should be delighted with it. He could preach with a learned plainness; and had learned to conceal his Art. He had clear Notions of high Mysteries, and proper language to make them stoop to the meanest capacity.

His way in contriving and penning his Sermons was this:

1. He so contrived the parts of his Text, and points of Doctrine, as might afford him most scope in his Application, wherein his, and indeed, a Sermons excellency doth consist; and therefore he used to say, *That in a Sermon, he contrived the Ules first*: He did often handle the same Texts, and the same Points, and yet still would pen new Applications, which might be most suitable to the quality and condition of the Auditory. His method in Preaching.

2. In penning, when he once began, he would never take Pen from paper, nor turn to any Book till he had written all. All his younger dayes, for about twenty years together, he wrought all, and could without much difficulty preach the same *verbatim*. He was wont to say, *That he had a fluid, and waterish Memory*. I can (said he) quickly remember any thing of my own, and as quickly forget it again. Yet questionless his Memory was vast and tenacious; for though sometimes he had but short Notes in his Bible, and that but seldome, yet did he never use them, except when he preached a *Clerus* of late years, in which he sometimes glanced upon his Papers. His custome was, presently after he had heard a Sermon, to write down the heads thereof, and he scarce either forgot, or misplaced any of them. Upon Fast-nights he would by the strength of his Memory repeat two, sometimes three Sermons that he had heard that day, in the same order as they were delivered. His strong Memory.

Speaking

Speaking with a Friend about Memories, he said, *That his Memory never failed him: For (said he) I durst never trust it.*

He used to say, that a Preacher had three Books to study, 1. The Bible. 2. Himself. 3. The People.

He looked much to the Ordinance, and Relation between Pastor, and People, and would say, *That preaching to them was but one part of the Pastors Duty. He was to live and dye in them, as well as for, and with them.*

What Sermons are best.

He complained much of some mens too large insisting upon the Doctrinal parts of their Point, whereby they left little or no room for Application; and found that few, either in the Cities or Universities, bended themselves to enlarge upon their Uses, which made their Sermons to differ little from Divinity Lectures; and though all Preachers could not enlarge themselves therein, yet he would often call upon them to accustom themselves to it, as being most profitable. He would relate a passage of Master Dods concerning Master Cartwright (who often in his dayes preached occasionally at Hanwell) *He thoughts (said Master Dod) when I heard the Doctrinal part of his Sermon, I was in heaven: but when he came to apply it, I sometimes thought that if I had been in his place, I could presently have applied his Point more closely.* Non omnia possumus omnes.

His advice to young Preachers.

Many young Preachers resorted to Doctor Harris for Counsell, both for direction in their private studies, and in their Sermons; and he used to perswade them, for many reasons, to pen largely, and to keep their Notes for all emergent occasions, often commending Master Dods words, who professed, *That he would rather preach an old Sermon ten times, than speak any thing new without preparation.* He would say, that he would have a Preacher to exceed himself upon just occasion, and not alwayes to keep the same pace, yet did not that alwayes hold in his own practice; for generally his hearers commended those Sermons most, which cost him least, and himself would say, *That he never came off with less comfort, and worse content to himself, than when he was in appearance best provided: and he gave this reason for it, Not because he had used such diligence in preparing (for that was his duty) but because he was then aptest to depend upon himself, and to neglect his dependance upon God.*

His advice about Books.

Many sought to him for advice in choosing Divinity Books, to whom he would open himself freely. Some he perswaded to read Ames his *Medulla*, Tileni *Syntagma*, Bucanus, and such like. To some others, he would commend Aquinas his *Summes* (which Doctor John Reynolds used to call *That absolute Body of Divinity*) Melchior Canus, and of late, Master Bowels his *Pastor Evangelicus*. But above all, he would call upon every one to read the Text in the Originals, and to Analyse Chapters. This he perswaded Master Femble to, and set him to practice it in the Book of the Preacher, or Ecclesiastes (which he accounted a very hard Book, till he met with that brief, but pithy Exposition, of that incomparable Divine, Dr. Edward Reynolds) & after that upon Zachary. When any consulted with him about Writers, he would ask what they aimed at in a Writer, for several men had their several excellencies. For acuteness he used to commend Master Baines, and his second, Doctor Ames, Master John Ball, Master Capel, &c. If they aimed at the spiritual part of Divinity, he would leave them to Doctor Sibbs: If the rational, to Doctor Preston: If the Historical, to Bishop Usher. For solid Preachers, he much prized Doctor Sandersons first Works (to his latter he was a meer stranger) Master Randal, Master Hildersam, Doctor Rainolds, &c. And for all the requisites for a Preacher, both for method, matter, Elocution, pronounciation, all, he would often say, that he seldom met with an abler man than his Brother Whately of Banbury.

His judgement of Master Calvin.

When his judgement was asked about Commentators, he used to answer, that he was now more of Doctor John Reynolds his minde than ever concerning Master Calvin; for upon experience (said he) I finde, that the most of the late Writers do but descant upon his plain Song; and the Jesuits are very Plagiaries; who first Rob him, and then rail upon him.

Next



Next to *Calvin* he used to commend sundry late Writers, as *Paynus*, *Rivet*, Master *Caywright* especially, together with some *Papish* Writers, as *Mal-donate* (whose wit, and learning he preferred before his spirit) before him, Learned *Masius*, modest *Ribera*, and (for ought he found by him) honest *Estius*. And being asked about the best Editions, his answer was, that what was said of *Homer*, was true of the Fathers, and the first *Papish* Writers, viz. That was ever the best which was least corrected. Of the Antient Fathers he would say, That unless it were for their Polemical and Historical parts, their Writings were more for Devotion and Affection, than for their judgement and understanding.

And of other Writers.

About modern Authors this was his opinion generally; That what *English* men did *ex professo* undertake, they did best perform it. No men excel them in expounding Scriptures, in answering *Papists*, *Arminians*, &c. None equal to them in the Pulpit, or in Practical, or Case-Divinity. And he held *Cambridge* very happy in her *Whitakers*, *Downams*, *Davnant*, *Perkins*, besides many others. And for *Oxford*, he would lay one *John Reynolds* (to pass in silence a younger *Reynolds*, and his son in Law, born a School-man) in the ballance with hundreds, as a man never sufficiently admired for his Humility, as well as for his Learning.

For the *Schoolmen* he liked many things in them, but not their awkward, and ignorant quoting of Scripture, nor their multiplying of useless questions, with needless obscurities.

For *Lutherans*, he commended divers of them for their learning and industry, but disliked their tartness.

For *Arminius* (though he were none of the best) yet he liked him better than his Disciples and Successors, who were more desperate and dangerous in the five controverted Points, than many of the *Papists*.

As for *Socinianism*, he accounted it to be but a kind of blancht *Mahometisme*. And this he observed in general, that those *Papists* who were most conversant in the Scriptures, come nearest to us; the like he said of the *Lutherans*, as *Chemnitius*, *Gerard*, *Hemingsius*, &c.

He was sparing to deliver his judgement about our condition at home, yet some things lay sadly upon his spirit; as,

His judgement of our times.

1. He complained that the power of Godliness, and exercise of Love, and Self-denial, were much abated in these latter dayes; and he much bewailed the vast difference, both in garb and practice, betwixt new and old Professors.

2. That the Indulgence that was shewed to tender Consciences, was much abused to prophaneſs, whilst men of no Conscience most pleaded that liberty of choosing their own Churches, and Teachers; and indeed, on the matter abandoned all.

3. That the liberty of Propheſying which some pretended to, was abused to meer licentiousness and confusion, whilst some would have none, and others all Prophets and Preachers.

4. That in the University few could be called constant Students, but the most made a short work of it, and posted into the pulpit before they understood their grounds, so that few were able to encounter our growing Errours.

5. That the Church-men were in their extreams, some pressing nothing but Law, others preaching nothing but the Gospel, and *Christ*.

6. He complained of the want of *Catechizing*, and instructing youth in the Principles, the want of which, he saw by experience was a great occasion of the peoples giddiness.

7. But most of all he bewailed the readiness of many to side, and make divisions. He loved not either to use, or to hear used, dividing names, and titles, upon which occasion he often related Master *Greenham* answer to the Lord Treasurer *Cecil*, who being asked on which side the blame lay in that

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great rent between the Bishops, and their *Antagonists*, answered, *That the fault was on both sides, and in neither side: For (said he) the godly wise on both side bear with each other, and center in the main; but then there be selfish, peevish spirits, on both sides some, and these be they that make the quarrel.*

This he applied to our times by reason of the distinction of *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*, saying, *Men of humble, and sincere hearts, though differing in opinion, can, and do walk together, pray together, and love one another; but men who wholly look at their own interests, blow the coals, and make a stir, as if the opinions were irreconcilable, and as every one was disaffected to Christs cause that goes not their pace and path.*

He professed freely, that for his own part he was not convinced of some things that were earnestly pressed about Church Government: He did not Conceive any one external form to be so Essential to a Church, but that it might still deserve that name, though under a *Presbyterian*, or *Independent*, or *Episcopal* form, so long as it was kept within the bounds of those general Rules laid down in the Scriptures. Its true, some of these had been abused to Tyranny, and the rest might in time be abused also; But the use and abuse of things are far different, and he would not commend either the one, or the other in their rigid exactions in some cases.

For *Presbytery*, though he thought that Bishop *Bilson* could never (with all his learning) disprove the being of *Lay-Elders* in the Apostles times, yet he thought withall, that it was not so easie a thing to prove the perpetuity of such an Ordinance to the worlds end, especially so cloathed and attended with all those perquisites which some heretofore called for. He thought that there was some reason in the distinction of *Jure Humano*, and *Juris Humani*, what ever his application was who first used it: But for the thing it self, sith it is not altogether disproved, but allowed, yea once commanded, and not since retracted (for ought he knew) he saw no reason why any man should, *co nomine*, be asperfed, because a *Presbyterian*, by any dissenting Brethren.

About In-  
dependency

For the other of *Independency*, he confessed that it was a Politick way, and free from much trouble, and opposition: For who shall oppose the Minister, when all are of his minde before they are admitted? yet could he never satisfie himself (though upon occasion he often desired it) in some particulars; As,

1. What warrant men have to take out of anothers Flock, his best Sheep, and to entertain them without his Consent, or Testimony. He asks, whether any man would willingly be so served? Whether this would not open a gap, that so soon as a Member is offended with his own Pastor (happily upon deserved reproof) presently to fly to another Congregation.

2. To leave the cullen sheep in a hard condition: For how shall they be looked upon? The answer must needs be, little better than Heathens: For the Minister may Preach to such, and what more may he do to these, when the chief are gone?

3. This way seemed to him, to be very destructive to that relation between Pastor and People.

4. He conceived, this way of gathering of Churches, into private places, and companies, to be prejudicial to the publick Worship of God: Experience declaring, that in many places of late, the publick Ordinances are grown into dis-use, preaching only excepted, which might be afforded to *Canibals* if they would hear.

5. Lastly, For Congregations, to consist of Members at such a distance, as that one should live in the *North*, and another in the *South*, &c. many miles asunder, whereby inspection cannot be performed on the Pastors part; and on the Peoples part, they can enjoy little Communion and Edification one from another, this (he used to say) that he did not understand, nor could he find any Precept for it in the Word, nor any President or Practice of it in Antiquity, if we speak



Speak of Churches constituted, and out of Persecution, Banishment, &c. These things he neither wrote, nor spake, but with much Fear, and Grief.

Amongst other things, he did very much bewail the great sleighting of solemn Ordination of Ministers, the Office being so Sacred, the work of the Ministry so important, and the Minister, of so publick Concernment. He wondred that when, as in all other Offices, there is such Solemnities at the Officers Instalments, that a Minister, and Ambassador of *Jesus Christ* should be silently admitted without Fasting, Prayer, and some publick Solemnity.

About Ordination of Ministers.

As to private passages, it were endless to Write all his Observations: only take these few.

He observed, that such as often changed their Principles, and Faith professed, usually fell from *Scepticism* to *Atheism*.

That so much Humility as any man had, so much Grace, and Worth he had, and no more.

His excellent Speeches.

That nothing was to be accounted good in, or to any man, but that which was his proper Fruit, and done by vertue of his Calling, from a Principle of God, and for God.

That the best man, hath no security from any one Sin, or Fall, or Temptation, any further, or longer, than he was held up by Gods Hand, and Christs Mediation.

That God doth oftentimes leave us to own Satans suggestions for our own, because we do not own God in his holy motions, and breathings.

That its just with God, to deny us the comfort of our Graces, when we deny him the Glory of them.

In himself he observed, that what he forgot in the Week, would unseasonably press in on the *Sabbath*; so that he could, if he durst, contrive more worldly business on the *Sabbath*, than he could dispatch all the Week.

That he found no greater enemy than discouragement, which he called, *The childe of pride and unbelief*.

He used to say, that some duties which were oft in mens mouths, he found very difficult to him: As

1. To deny himself in all his *Sells*, was a work to be learning whilst he lived.

2. To live only by Faith, and a bare Promise without a pawn, is a great Work.

3. To give all to free Grace, and to *Christ* alone, is a mighty Work.

4. To love where we meet with unlovingness, and contempt, is no easie matter.

5. To do ones proper Work without some present Pay, and Countenance from God and Man, is a hard Task.

6. That its far harder to adopt others Comforts, than their Sorrows, and to hold ones self Exalted in anothers exaltation.

7. That to die in cold Blood, and to be active in it, as an Act of Obedience, is the Work of a Christian.

In his sickness he would occasionally vent himself thus:

Its a hard thing to think ill of our selves, and well of God at the same time.

Its a hard thing for a Saint to forgive himself some Faults, when God hath forgiven them.

Its hard to think holy Thoughts long, and to confine them to anothers Prayers.

We know but little of *Christs* Love, till all be perfected, and spread before us in Heaven.

For his Children he referred them to an old Will, which he had made, *Anno Christi* 1636. when they were many, and small, which because it may be of use to many others, its here inserted.

*The Advice and Counsel of Dr. Harris to his Family, annexed to a Will made by him, Anno Christi 1636.*

*To my dear Wife and Children;*

My dear *Selfs*, I know not what leasure I shall have to speak unto you at my Death, and I am not, you know, very free in speech, especially in Sickness and Sadness, and therefore now I will speak my heart to you, and I would have you to hear me speaking whilst you live, in this my Writing which I divide amongst you all.

First for you, my dear Wife, you shall find the substance of that I would say to you, printed to your hand in the Book of *Martyrs*, Vol. 2. p. 1744. to Wit, in *John Careless* his Letter to his Wife; keep the Book, and often read the Letter; only one thing I add, if you marry again, remember your own observation, *viz.* That second Husbands are very Uxorious, second Wives very prevalent, and therefore take heed that you do no ill Office in estranging your Husband from his Natural Children or Kindred; you shall thereby draw upon him a great Sin and judgment, if you kill in him natural affections: I have said, and do with all the strength and power that is in me, thank you for your Faithfulness, and resign you to the Husband of Husbands, the Lord *Christ*.

Now my poor Children, let me pour out my Heart to you, and speak to your Souls first.

*For your Souls.*

Trifle not in the main Point; The Soul is Immortal, you have to deal with an infinite Majesty, you go upon Life and Death, therefore here be serious; do all to God in a serious manner. When you think of him, speak of him, pray to him, any way make your addresses to his great Majesty, be in good earnest, and *have God, and have all.*

1. More particularly, get your Pardon in *Christ*: It is not impossible to get it assured to you, if you will learn, 1. To deny your selves. 2. To live by Faith. 3. To understand the nature of the *New Covenant*. Settle your judgments in these Points, and the thing is Feasible.

2. Having gotten it, be still adding to your Evidences, and enjoy your present Assurance: Do all to God as to your Father.

Next to this, think how you and I shall endure the fight, the thought one of another at the last day, if you appear in the *Old Adam*; much less shall you stand before *Christ*, unless you shew the Image of *Christ* in you, and therefore never cease till you be made *New Creatures*, and study well what that is.

In the last place, strive for those Graces most, which concern your places and conditions, and make Head against those sins which most threaten you: As first, Hereditary Sins. I was naturally *Melancholy*, that is a humour that admits of any Temptation, and is capable of any Impression and Distemper: Shun as death this Humour, which will work you to all unthankfulness against God, unlovingness to Man, and unnaturalness to your selves. 2. Of your times, and habitations. 3. Of your tempers and age. 4. Of your Callings.

I have made my own Peace, my Sins shall not hurt you, if you make them not yours; you need not fear the success if you will oppose to sin; *Christ* is made *Sanctification* to you, he came to dissolve the works of *Satan*; he hath overcome for you, and hath made as many promises for your Sanctification, as your Justification: Gather those Promises as they be set down, especially



especially in the Covenant with an Oath, *Luke 1.* Press these to God, *2 Cor. 7. 1.*

In short, do not talk and make a noise to get a name of forward men, but do the thing; be constant in secret Duties, and a Religion in your Callings; For it is not a Name, or Notion: It is a frame of Nature, and habit of living by Divine Rule. What it is, you will then know, when you have it in Truth first, and in Power next, and not before. Only this for the present; It is that you must Live and Die by, that you must Rise and Reign by; therefore, my Children, I give you that Advice, which I gave your Brother, now with God; Be more than you seem: Do more than you talk of in point of Religion: Satisfie your own Consciences in what you do; all men you shall never satisfie; nay, some will not be satisfi'd, though they be convinced.

*For your Bodies.*

I was troubled with straightness of Breath and Breast, which was also Hereditary, and therefore you must fear it the more.

The Remedies are, 1. Disclaim Hereditary sins. 2. Keep Heads clean, Feet warm, and Hearts cheerful. 3. Be more frequent than I and your Brothers, in Exercise. 4. Shun late Drinking or Studying. 5. Use lighter Suppers.

*For your Callings.*

1. Choose well, 1. A profitable Calling for the Publick, 2. A full employment. 3. A Calling fit for your Parts and Means. It is better to be a Rich Cobler, than a Poor Merchant.

2. Use a Calling well. 1. Make it an help, not a snare to your Souls. 2. Be 1. Diligent. 2. Skilful. Any honest Calling will honour you; if thus you honour it; and therefore you may be hopeful, because my self (who had not your parts and helps) never found any thing too hard for me in my Calling, but discouragement, and unbelief.

*For your Company.*

Abandon all infectious, flattering, self-serving Companions; when once you have found them false, trust them no more. Sort with such as are able to do, or receive good. *Solomon* gives you the best Counsel for this in many places. Read the *Proverbs*, and remember him in this; 1. Forsake not an old Friend. 2. Be friendly, and faithful to your Friends. 3. Never trouble, or trust Friends unless there be a necessity. 4. and Lastly, be long in closing with Friends; and loath to lose them upon experience of them.

*For your Marriages.*

In Marriage you lay the Foundation of your present Woe, or Weal; therefore here be not rash, go not alone, yet remember *Paul*, *1 Cor. 7. 2.* First, study whether you have a calling to Marry yea or no, and advise well of that. If none, forbear; if so, advise with Friends, before your Affections be engaged. In your Choice, 1. Aim at Grace. 2. Good nature and Education; The best Woman is not ever the best Wife. 3. Good parts of Understanding, Huswifery, &c. As for Portion, be it more or less, be upon certainties, and trust not words; and for Parentage, let not the distance be too great, lest you despise, or be despised: However be sure that the person likes not your Fancy, but your judgment.

*For your Children.*

Make it your chiefest work to make them, 1. Godly. 2. Useful. Bestow most of their Portions in good Education; and if Grace make no difference, do you make none in your Affections, Countenances, Portions; Partiality this way, ends in nothing else but Envy, Strangeness, &c.

*For your Selves within your Selves.*

My desire hath been to carry an even hand over you all, and have laboured to reduce you, as near as I could (all circumstances considered) to an equality;

quality, and therefore my last request, and charge, is, that you will live together in an undivided bond of love; you are many of you, and if you joyn together as one man, you need not want any thing: what counsel, what comfort, what money, what friends may you not help your selves unto; if you will contribute your aides? Wherefore (my dear children) I pray, beseech, command, adjure you by all the Relations, and deareness that hath ever been betwixt us, that you know one another, Visite (as you may) each other, Comfort, Counsel, Relieve, succour, Help, Admonish one another. Whilst your Mother lives, meet there (if possible) yearly. When she is dead, pitch upon some other place; If it may be, your eldest Brothers house; or if you cannot meet, yet send to, and hear from one another yearly. And when you have neither Father, nor Mother, be so many Fathers and Mothers each to other: so you shall understand the blessing mentioned, *Psal. 133.*

*For your Estates.*

Be not troubled that you are below your kindred; get more Wisdome, Humility, Goodness, and you are above them; onely this do, 1. Study work more than wages. 2. Deal with your hearts to make them less: 3. Begin below. 4. Joyn together to help one another. 5. Rest upon the Promises, which are many, and precious this way. 6. Sow mercy. Take of your Mother (to this end)-- a piece: give that in works of mercy, and if all other means fail you, that shall maintain you; I know, I know I say, and I am Confident in it, that if ye will be humbled for my barrenness, and will trust God in his own way, he will make comfortable provision for you. Object no more, but trust him.

*For the Publick.*

Bless God that you are born *English* men, and bear your selves dutifully, and Conscionably towards Authority. See God in the Magistrate, and hold Order a precious thing: And for the Church, neither set her above her Husband *Christ*, nor below her Children; give her that honour, obedience, and respect that is her due; and if you will be my Children, and heirs of my comfort in my dying age, be neither Authors, nor Fautors of any, either faction, or novelty. Its true, this is not a rising way, but it is a free, fair, comfortable way for a man to follow his own Judgement, without warping to either hand. Perhaps you may hear variety of judgements touching my walk, when I sleep in silence; some taxing me for too much, some for too little Conformity; but be not ye troubled: I did what in my Circumstances seemed best to me, for the present; Howsoever the event hath not in some points answered expectation, yet I have learned to measure things by another rule than events, and satisfie my self in this, that I did all for the best, as I thought. Sure I am, my Saviour *Christ* is perfect, and never failed so much as in Circumstance. To him I commit your Souls, Bodies, Estates, Names, Lives, Deaths, All; and my self waiting when he shall *change my vile body, and make it glorious* like unto his own, *Amen. Even so come Lord Jesus, Amen.*

On

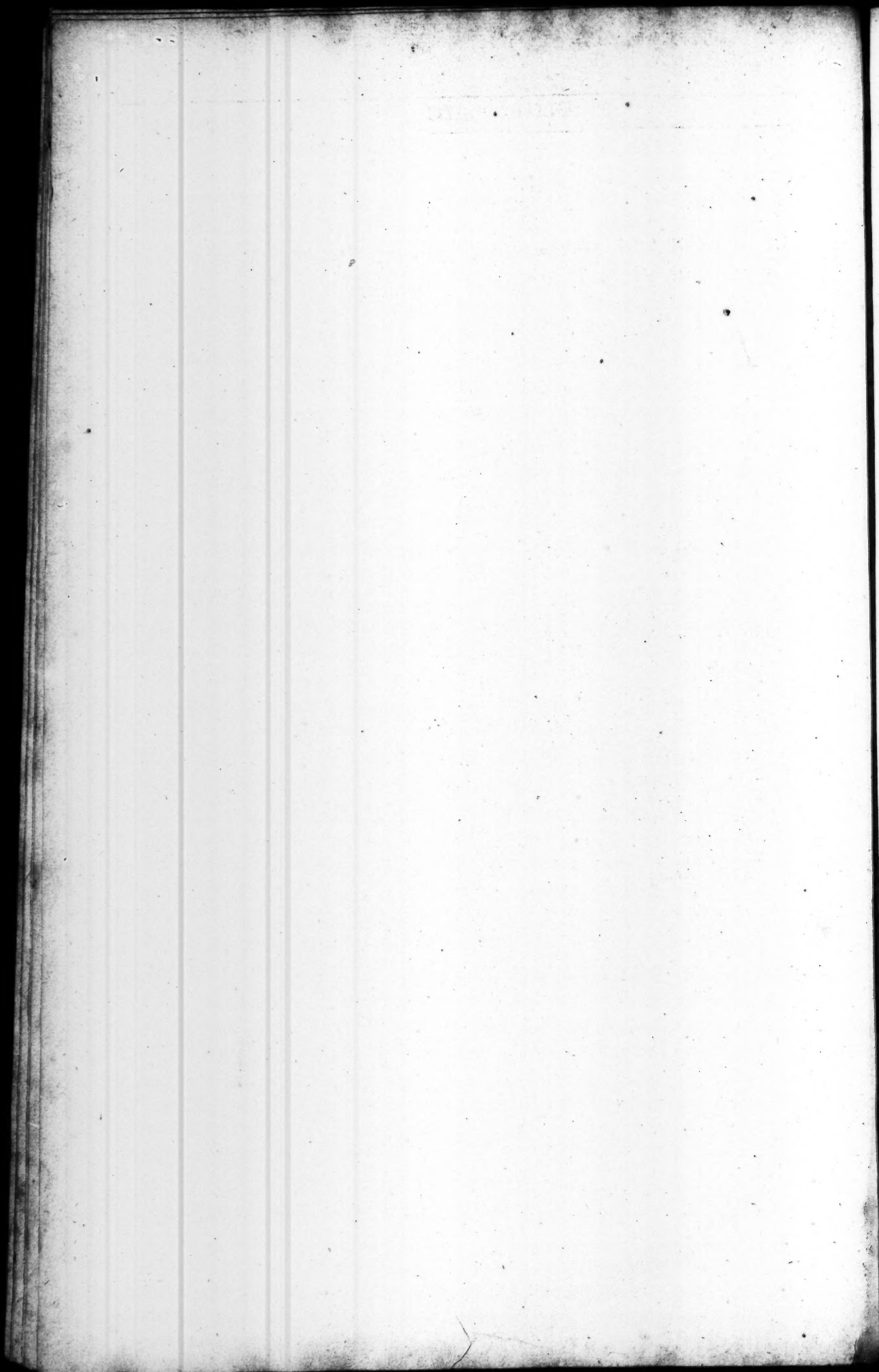




On the Memory of that Famous and Godly Minister,  
Dr. Robert Harris, my late Worthy Friend.

**A**S once Elias in John Baptist came  
Back to the Jews, in that Tryumphant flame  
Of Light and Zeal, wherein he did before  
Without Deaths help up into Glory soar;  
And by this Transmigration of his Grace,  
Prepared paths before his masters face:  
Even so in thee (blest Soul) did breath anew  
Great Chrysostom, yea great Apollos too;  
To thee those mighty Orators did give  
Their Tongues to speak, to thee their life to Live:  
Nay, thou thy self didst in thy self renew,  
Thy Fort's vigour in Fourscore; we knew  
When all thy strength decay'd, thy Gifts did thrive;  
The man is dead, the Preacher still alive;  
Alive in his own sermons, in our love,  
His Name alive below, his Soul above.  
And may the younger Prophets still inherit  
A double Portion of the Fathers Spirit;  
That by a sacred Metempsychosis,  
The gifts may now be theirs, which once were his;  
That every Sermon which we hear, may be  
(Rare Preacher) a true Portraiture of thee;  
Yea, may it of each following Age be true,  
The former are exceeded by the new;  
Visions of young surpass old Prophets dreams,  
The Fathers Light's out-shin'd by Childrens beams,  
That in their measures we may more, and more,  
Th' unmeasur'd fulness of our Lord adore.

E. REYNER.





THE  
Second Part:  
Containing the  
L I V E S  
O F  
Gustavus Ericson,  
KING of SWEDEN,  
Who was the First Reformer of  
RELIGION in that KINGDOM,  
AS ALSO  
Of Divers Christians, who were eminent for Prudence  
and Piety.

---

*We desire, that every one of you do shew the same Diligence, to  
the full assurance of hope unto the end.  
That ye be not slothful, but followers of them, who through Faith  
and Patience, inherit the Promises, Heb. 6. 11, 12.*

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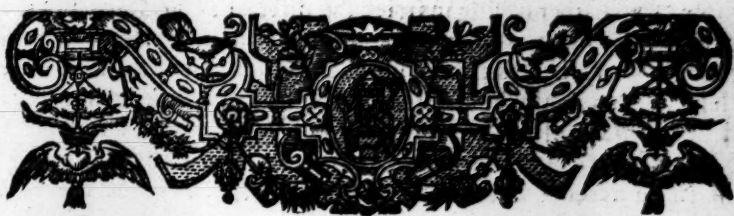
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The Life of *Gustavus Ericson*, King of Sweden,  
whod yed *Anno Christi* 1562.



IN the dayes of *Christian* the Second, King of *Denmark* (who also laid claim to the Crown of *Sweden*) after the decease of *Swanto*, the Lords of *Sweden* chose *Steno Stur* to be their Governor, against whom *Gustavus*, Archbishop of *Upsal* opposed himself, loving his place, more than his Country; and being Crossed in his Expectation, he promotes the interest of *Christian* of *Denmark*, who to set forward his claim to the Crown of *Sweden*, spent one year in the pursuit thereof by force of Arms, but effected little. Nor did the Archbishop of *Upsal* get ought in *Denmark*, who saw that he played his own game, nor could he escape the seizure of his Temporalities in *Sweden*, for his treachery against his native Country; whereupon, the year following, he obtained the Popes sentence of Excommunication against the Governour of *Sweden*, and all his partakers, for invading the Rights of his Church and Bishoprick; and hereupon the King of *Denmark* takes courage to invade *Sweden* once more with an Army under his General, who in a Battel overthrew the *Swedes*, and wounded *Steno* their Governour, who thereupon retired to *Stockholm* (the Regal City) and unto him repaired all such as intended to adventure their all, in the defence of their Country. The rest of the *Swedes* submitted to the *Danish* General, who encouraged thereby, marched to *Stockholm*; But meeting with many difficulties in his march; and when he came to the City, finding no hope to draw them to a Treaty, and his Army being now much wasted, he sent to *Denmark* for Recruits; And after a while the King in person comes to him, and so *Stockholme* is beleagured, which yet held out bravely, so that the *Danish* Army being wasted, and the remainder being wind-bound, and almost famished, a Treaty of peace is set on foot, and at last agreed unto by both parties. But the King intending nothing less than to stand to it, pretends that he could not come into *Stockholme* to finish the Treaty till pledges were first given for the safety of his person. This the *Swedes* assent to, and sent him pledges of the Sons of the Nobles, who were sent aboard his Ship; And the Kings minde, changing with the wind, away he sails with them into *Denmark*, and there committed them to safe custody: And, after four years, returns into *Sweden* with a great Army, and gives a second overthrow to the *Swedes* in the Field, wherein the Governour *Steno* was slain: then the King marching to *Stockholme*, finds the City standing upon its Guard, under the Government of *Christina*, the Wife of *Steno*; where for a while we shall leave him in a long, and tedious siege, whilst we give you some account of our *Gustavus*.

His Paren-  
ta<sub>g</sub>e.

His Educa-  
tion.

His impri-  
sonment.

His escape.

He comes  
to Lubeck.

He is re-  
manded by  
his Keeper.

Pleads for  
himself.

Defended  
by the Con-  
sul.

Protected  
by Lubeck.

Amongst the pledges carried away, and imprisoned as aforesaid, by the King of *Denmark*, was this *Gustavus*, the Son of *Ericus*, a Noble *Swedish* Lord now in *Stockholme* beleagured by the King. This *Gustavus* was of a Noble Family, whose Grandfather having married the sister of *Steno Stur*, the Governour, thereby he became incorporate into the ancient Stem of the Kings of *Sweden*; And in his younger years he was trained up in the Court, under his Uncle *Steno*, who was no less valiant in the Field, than wise for Government in peace. Under him did our *Gustavus* learn the principles of War, which afterwards he began to practice under *Suano*, the next Governour. For after the death of *Steno* the first, the difference between the *Danes* and *Swedes* about the Government grew so high, that they fought two Battels, in both which the *Swedes* were the Victors, *Gustavus* carrying the Royal Standard of *Sweden*, though at that time he was but eighteen years old; and being now about the age of twenty six, he was (as was said before) committed prisoner to the Castle of *Callo* in *Futland*, under the custody of Sir *Ericus Banner*, a Knight of *Denmark*, who kept him warily that he might suffer no wrong, except from the King himself. This imprisonment he had now endured for the space of four years with patience: But having daily intelligence brought him of the *Danes* cruelty to the *Swedes* his Countrymen, he concluded that his own condition was like to *Ulysses* in *Polyphemus* his Den, being reserved but as a chief dish for the Tyrants pallate, when all the rest were devoured.

Having therefore upon a day obtained liberty to ride on hunting, being eager in the chase (though he minded another game) he rode away, and having changed his apparel as well as his course, passing through many unknown wayes and dangers, after a chase of three hundred miles, he arrived at last at *Lubeck*, one of the *Hanse* Towns, and that held Correspondence with *Sweden* against the *Dane* upon the same quarrel of being oppressed by them.

No sooner was *Gustavus* arrived at *Lubeck*, but that his Keeper, Sir *Ericus Banner*, was comethither also in pursuit of him, who demanded of the Magistrates the delivery of his Prisoner. *Gustavus* pleaded for himself that he was no lawful Prisoner to the King of *Denmark*, but amongst others, was delivered by his Country as a pledge for the safety of the Kings person during the Treaty between the King, and his Countrymen, and that the King contrary to all right and faith, detaining him, and the other pledges, had carried them captive into *Denmark*; That now he was under the *Publick Faith* of the State of *Lubeck*, to whom he was fled for refuge against oppression, desiring to have the benefit of Law, and to have the matter tried; divers of the Senate of *Lubeck* were of opinion that *Gustavus* ought to be returned to the *Dane* as his prisoner, and that it concerned not them to be Judges of the lawfulness, or unlawfulness of his imprisonment: But the Consul over-ruled the matter, who affirmed, that though Originally they had not power to determine the point, yet *Gustavus* being before them *de facto* a Freeman, and as such, had put himself into the protection of the City of *Lubeck*, and had appealed to them for Justice, it becomes them therefore to do herein according to Law; And that by the Law of God, the Law Civil, and the Law of Nations, they ought to enquire into the true state of *Gustavus* his Captivity, and to determine the same upon grounds of Justice; otherwise they might make themselves parties to the King of *Denmarks* oppressions (if the case prove so) before they understand what they do. The Authority of the Consul, and the strength of his reasons prevailed so far with the rest of the Senate, that they passed this definitive sentence; That *Gustavus* shall be protected by the State of *Lubeck*, till the cause be tried.

This served *Gustavus* his turn for the present, but he knew not how short a time it would continue: He knew that interests of Nations are soon changed, especially of such petty States as *Lubeck* was: Besides, he had too much other work



work to do, to continue long in one place, and thereupon secretly, without giving notice to any, save to his good Friend the Consul, whose counsel he took along with him, he gat aboard a Merchants ship, and sailed into the Bay of *Clamar*, into which he entred secretly; and finding that they stood upon their Guard against the *Danes*, he discovered himself to the *Lady Magnus*, that held the Castle, acquainting her with the manner, both of his Captivity and escape; and taking advantage of the reports which then came of the sad examples of the *Danish* cruelty, and oppressions, he endeavoured to perswade, and encourage the Citizens to stand out in defence of the Liberties of themselves, their wives, and children, and not to trust to the fair words, and glozing promises of the *Danes*; but rather to endure a little hardship for a time, assuring them that the face of affairs would be shortly changed. The Citizens willingly hearkened to him, but some mercenary Souldiers, raising a Mutiny, had thought to have slain him: But the plot being discovered, the Mutiny was suppressed, and *Gustavus* advised for his safety to withdraw himself into his own Country, and there to obscure himself, till a more convenient time should enable him to carry on his design.

He knew this journey would be full of difficulty and danger; For his Way lay through *Smalland*, where the *Danish* Emissaries were very active to draw the *Swedes* to moderation, and to submit to the *Danish* yoke: yet through it he adventures, but with much grief of heart to see the Country people so miserably deluded; in so much that he could not forbear, but told them, That they should consider the cases of many of their Country-men, who had as fair promises from the *Danes*, yet met with nothing but miserable bondage. Adding, that there was much less danger in standing the push of the *Danish* Pike, than in committing themselves, and all that was dear unto them to so broken a Reed as their fair words, which had not only failed, but mortally wounded the Liberties of their Country-men, who had given credit to them.

Say what he could, divers *Swedes* of the better rank in those parts, being pre-engaged to the *Danes*, perswaded the people otherwise, saying, That the *Danes* aimed only at the suppressing of such of *Swedish* Nobility, as combined themselves against the Kings Government: But as for the people, the King was resolved to win them, and that they should never need to fear want, so long as Salt and Herrings lasted: But if they would not be prevailed with, they were all but dead men, except speedily they forsook their Country, and fled.

*Gustavus* finding the people hereby so affrighted, that they had rather be Slaves with quiet, than hazard themselves in War, he found it not convenient for him to stay any longer there, whereupon he secretly departed to *Terno*, amongst his own Tenants, and having there provided himself of necessaries, he went thence to *Resnass*, his Fathers house, where he Concealed himself for the most part of that Summer; yet at length he adventured to discover himself to one that had been a faithful Friend to him, and once was Archbishop of *Upsal*; but in those troublesome times had been laid aside, and now was retired to a Monastery at *Gripsholm*. This man being now grown old, was fearful, and willing to be quiet, though upon hard conditions; wherefore he dissuaded *Gustavus* from stirring, alleadging the great advantage that the King had, having an Army in the Field, and the Towns generally under his command, affirming that the King desired nothing more than to ingratiate himself with the people, for whose assurance he had granted Letters of Grace, and a general pardon, and therein particularly mentioning *Gustavus* himself; wherefore he advised him to give credit to the King, and to submit to his Government. And for my part (said the old man) I dare engage to procure from the King a special, full, and free pardon for you if you shall desire it. *Gustavus* heard him with silence, but liked not his undertaking; For (thought he) this old man may

hope

hope hereby to screw himself into the Kings Favour: Neither indeed did he like to adventure himself upon the Kings Promises, wherefore he resolved to Wave this old Mans Council, and to Retire himself back to *Rafsnäs*.

All this while the King continued in the siege of *Stockholme*, where we formerly left him, endeavouring, partly by force, partly by messages of Grace, to get possession of that City: For which end, he first confirmed the agreement which his General had made with the Lords in the Field, and then granted a General Pardon, and Act of Oblivion for whatsoever former Faults. Then sent his hearty Commendations, and fair Promises, to the People in the Country by the *Swedish* Lords that were of his Party, yet in many places it met with little or no respect at all. Nevertheless, in continuance of time, by the often droppings of his good Words, serious Promises, Protestations, Execrations, Letters-Patents, and Declarations under the Kings hand and Seal, an entrance is made into the Hearts of the men at *Stockholm*, the Gates at length are opened, and the King admitted entrance, and acknowledged by all, to be their lawful King, and then was Crowned, and solemn Feasts were held for all sorts of people, both *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Germans*.

The King  
admitted  
into *Stock-  
holme*.

Plots to de-  
stroy the  
*Swedish*  
Lords.

This was a fair morning, but who knows what a great-bellied day may bring forth? The King all this while was contriving the Ruine of the *Swedish* Nobility, and now he hath them in one place within the Walls, and a sufficient Guard upon them: But it must be done under the fairest pretence that may be, for the thing it self, was ugly and ill-favoured. Hence it was first resolved, that a Treason should be supposed to be plotted, by the *Swedes* to Massacre the *Danes*, and therefore the *Danes*, as in their own defence, should assassinate the *Swedes*; But this was thought dangerous, and might in the event turn to the Destruction of the *Danes* in so populous a City, and who knows what men in despair may do?

Then another way was propounded, *viz.* That the King must look upon the *Swedish* Lords as under the *Popes* Curse, and Sentence of Excommunication; and to draw forth the Kings justice with more colourable Zeal, the Archbishop of *Upsal*, who had procured that Sentence, must openly accuse the *Swedish* Lords as excommunicated Persons, for Treason against the King, Robbery of the Church, and as spoylers of the Dignity and Estate of the Archbishop, and therefore he must demand Judgment against them? And this was approved of.

And the better to draw these *Swedish* Lords together, a Feast is appointed the third day after the Coronation, at which also the *Germans* and *Danes* were present, and then before them all, the Archbishop of *Upsal* (though unwillingly when he saw what would be the event) steps forth before the King, and accuses the *Swedish* Lords of injury done by them to himself, both in Person and Estate, and demanded satisfaction for his Damages. The King, liked not this Charge as not being home enough, and therefore told him, that he forgot the *Popes* Sentence, the Crime of Treason, and his own place, who ought in Zeal to the Church, to have demanded punishment upon the Persons offending. After which, he commanded the Guards to seize upon the *Swedish* Lords, and (as some Writers say) shewed them so much mercy as to let them live till the next day; and in the interim, he set Guards upon all the Avenues to the City that none might be suffered to depart out of it. And the next day being *November 8. Anno Christi 1520.* not by legal Trial, but in a way of Butchery, he murdered near a hundred of the Nobles, and chief men of *Sweden*, and Citizens of *Stockholm*, and then letting loose the Souldiers upon the City and Country, all sorts of persons, Ecclesiastical, Civil, Great, Mean, Men, and Women, and Children suffered all manner of Violences and Deaths that Cruelty could devise; their

The *Swedish*  
Lords sur-  
prised.

And Mur-  
dered.

Rage



Rage extending, not onely to the living, but to the dead, towards whom they used all the opprobrious indignities that could be, the lively Character whereof may be described better by some Dane that saw it, or some that were interested in the *Scicilian Vespers*, or the *Parisian Nuptials*, or *Irish Massacre*, than by my pen.

Danish  
Cruelty.

After these horrid Murders and outrages, Covetousness began to ascend the Stage, the King seizing upon all the estates, both of the dead and living; and to make all sure, the Liberties of *Sweden* being thus brought into the state of a dead man, they thought to bury them also so as they might never rise again: To which end, they set Guards in all places, published Edicts, and did not onely deprive the *Swedes* of their Armour, but of their Arms and Legs also, saying in scorn, *That a Swede could plow his ground well enough with one arm, and a wooden Leg.*

Covetous-  
ness.

But the last, and worst of evils, was abominable Hypocrisie. For this Christian Kings conscience (forsooth) is pretended for what he did: He was touched with much compassion, and would not have done it, but that his conscience tyed him thereto in zeal to the Church, and obedience to the Popes sentence of Excommunication; and thus *Religion is made the Patron of all these Villanies*. Yet all this quieted not the Kings conscience, but he hastes out of *Sweden*, possibly fearing lest the ground should open her mouth, and swallow him up; or lest the fame of his cruelty should arrive before him in *Denmark*, and make that Nation abhor, and vomit him out.

Hypocrisie.

But behold how Vengeance follows him! Now is he gone home, King of the three Kingdomes of the *Baltick Sea*; and to secure *Sweden*, he had left Guards in every place: But cruelty never conquered mens spirits; *A Tyrant may be feared of all, but is hated of all, and his own Conscience so pursues him, that he can be quiet nowhere.* And so it fell out with this King; for within three years he lost all his three Kingdomes without adventuring one drop of Blood, or striking one blow for them. The manner shall be after glanced upon; but my present work is to shew how *Sweden*, now under water, comes to lift up its head again.

This sad news at *Stockholme* coming to the ears of *Gustavus* now at *Rasness*, and in particular, the murder of his own Father *Ericus* amongst the rest of the Nobles, he was not at all discouraged; but rather provoked with a desire of revenge, and to rescue his Country from such Barbarous Tyranny; yet what with grief and detestation of such execrable cruelty, and doubt, that many would be affrighted thereby from appearing in their Countries cause, his spirit was much troubled, and rendred less able at the present to determine upon the manner of his proceeding; and therefore in all haste away he goes to the Mountain-people with this news; But they, scarce civilized, are little sensible of their Countries cause, *Gustavus* therefore makes no stay there, but away he goes to a Castle in those parts commanded by one *Aaron Peter*, a Noble man, whom once he knew to be well affected to the Liberties of his Country; and to him he discovered himself what he was, and what were his intentions, desiring his counsel; But he found the man, and others in those parts so amazed at the news of *Stockholme*, as that they forgot both themselves and the publick, and were rather willing to Couch under any burden, than to make opposition against it; yea so fearful they were of being suspected by the Danes, that they rather desired to be esteemed wholly at their service, and especially *Aaron Peter*, who (though he pretended pity and compassion to *Gustavus* in this condition) and promised not onely security to his person, if he would abide with him; but his best assistance in compassing the ends proponed by him; yet having drawn from him the utmost of his Resolutions, after a few dayes, wherein he carryed himself fairly to avoid suspicion, he gets himself abroad, and away he went to the *Danish* Lieutenant *Bruno*, and discovers to him the Treachery whole matter, as well concerning *Gustavus* his intentions, as what counsel himself

What *Gustavus* then  
did.

Treachery.

A special  
providence

himself had given him. But *Aaron* forgot one point of policy, which was, to let none know his intentions but his own heart; for he told his wife, whither, and what he went about; who being more true to her Country, and regardful of the Laws of common honesty and Hospitality, than her Lord was, when he was gone, told *Gustavus*, whither her Lord was gone, and to what purpose, and therefore advised him forthwith to shift for himself, furnishing him with her own horse to go to *Sueriso*, to one that had been *Gustavus* his Colleague in the University. The day following came *Bruno* the Dane, with twenty Souldiers to apprehend *Gustavus* at *Aaron Peters* house; But his Lady told him that *Gustavus* was secretly departed the day before; and so the prey being lost, *Bruno* returns without sport. Thus God made a woman a great instrument in saving *Sweden* from miserable ruine.

He goes to  
the *Dall-*  
*carls*.

*Gustavus* being come to *Sueriso* found kind entertainment; but consideration being had to the restless pursuit of the *Danes*, it was thought convenient that he should not stay long there (for now the enemy hunted upon hot scent) and therefore he departed privately beyond the *Dallcarls* unto *Retwick*. These *Dallcarls* are a people of *Sweden* strong and hardly, men of resolution, and being inured to work hard in the Mines, were fit for action; whence (as some Writers note) they have their name of *Dallcarls* or *Carles*, or Robustious men of the *Dales*, having by reason of their priviledges this advantage, that they are numerous and rich. To these *Gustavus* applies himself, and relates to them the particulars of the Massacre at *Stockholme*, whereby the *Swedes* had lost much of their best Blood; He told them also, what further danger the Nation was in, which he in good language set forth to the life (for he could no less skillfully manage his Tongue than his Arms) The *Dallcarls* pitying the estate of their Country, and having respect to themselves, and their Friends, they told *Gustavus*, that they would adventure all that was dear to them to be revenged on the *Danes*, and to vindicate their Nation from bondage; onely they desired him, that he would engage their Brethren of the Eastern *Dales* with them. This *Gustavus* willingly undertook, and forthwith departed to *Mora*, the chief City of those *Dales*, whither coming about the latter end of *December*, the next day he obtained Audience of them, and told them.

His speech  
to them.

"That he should not need to make any preface to gain their attention, being persuaded that the matter of his discourse would ease him that trouble; He therefore prayed them to take into their consideration the perplexed condition of the *Swedish* Nation in those later years, that through their own distractions, and civil, or rather uncivil discontents, they had betrayed the Liberties of *Sweden* into the hands of strangers, who instead of seeking the publick weal, had wrought altogether for the advancement of their own interest, the people of *Sweden* being in the meantime glutted with misery, and drunk with tears, having themselves, their wives, children, and estates, prostituted to Murthers, Torments, Rapine, and all manner of contempt. I appeal (saith he) to the old men, they know it, they cannot forget it, and the young men may know it, if they will ask their Elders. And shall there never be an end of these miseries? Are the *Swedes* become a people alwayes to be trampled upon, devoured, and made food for forreigners? Call (I pray you) to minde the Government of that Tyrant, *Ericus* of *Pomerland*, his Cruelties, Oppressions, and Extortions; and remember, that you, that you I say, of the *Dales*, rose unanimously in defence of your Country against him, and therein hazarded all that was dear to you, even to your lives, and thereby compelled him with shame to return to his own Country. And now look about you and consider, Are you in any better condition under the enraged *Danes*: a people that bear an immortal hatred to our Nation, and are themselves hatefull to all Nations, but themselves: Can you expect better dealing now from them, than you



"you have found hitherto, after an Hundred years experience? Hear the cries of  
 "the Survivers at *Stockholme*, the fatherless and widows, the dying groans of  
 "so many brave men of this Nation, under the cruel torments, and unsatiabable  
 "Butcheries; The Abhorred Massacre of all sorts, degrees, and sexes, and  
 "ages, contrary to all Faith, Promises, Oaths, Execrations and Engagements  
 "under hand and seal. It may be they will now promise you Peace, Justice,  
 "and what not? Did they not give all these assurances to our dead Friends  
 "at *Stockholme*? and yet they brake all bonds and engagements, and will  
 "you believe their words? No, no, the *Danes* are still the same men, or  
 "rather inhumane Monsters that ever they were; their hatred is now broken  
 "forth into a flame, which will never be quenched, so long as the riches, or  
 "any Blood of the *Swedish* Nobility lasteth, nor will ever cease till it hath  
 "run over all the Country. Do you not every day hear the sad news of  
 "this approaching evil? Is it not almost come to your own doors? and will  
 "you sit still till it hath seized on your neck? Is it not much better  
 "(if we must dye) to dye like Souldiers, than like Slaves? Are the *Danes*  
 "more than men, and we less than women? I am here present this day:  
 "Command my estate, person, and life, and I will adventure all in this ser-  
 "vice, if you will joyn with me in any way, though I should serve but as a  
 "private Souldier. For I had rather dye a free Nobleman of *Sweden*, in the  
 "defence of my Country, than live to see it under perpetual Vassal-  
 "lage.

The *Morvants* being much affected with this speech, professed their readi-  
 ness to appear in the defence of their dear Friends and Country-men, in  
 whose liberties and lives their own were wrapped up. Yet they prayed him,  
 for the present, to retire himself to some place of privacy for his own safety,  
 till their neighbours of the *Western Dales* might be in a fit posture to joyn  
 with them, assuring him that in the *Interim* they would not slack their prepara-  
 tions.

*Gustavus* took this answer courteously, and away he flies to the *Western*  
*Dallcarles* bordering upon the Mountains, to gain them into a posture; and  
 there also meeting with fresh news of the Bloody cruelty of the *Danes*, he  
 goes once more amongst the Mountains, where having to deal with sharp  
 weather, rough and unknown wayes, more trodden by wilde Beasts than men;  
 yet indignation against the enemies, and zeal for his Country, adde new  
 courage, and Resolution against all difficulties, and dangers, and at last he  
 makes trial of the peoples minde again: But they, scarcely, sensible of any  
 thing but what was under grounds, and knowing no happiness above mining,  
 nor any misery worse than it, turned a deaf ear to all that he spake, till at  
 length *Gustavus* came to the house of *Laurence Olai*, an active, and brave  
 Knight in those parts, who had sometime served *Steno Stur*, the Governour,  
 with much valour and faithfulness. He, joyning with *Gustavus*, told the  
 Mountainers that *Gustavus* had given them true intelligence Concerning the  
*Swedish* miseries under the *Danish* cruelties at *Stockholme*, and other places:  
 Further adding, that he had received late information, that the *Danish* King  
 intended a Royal progress through all *Sweden*, to receive homage of the people,  
 and had by Proclamation enjoyned Gibbers to be erected in all places, and  
 that Letters were coming down into the Country to provide quarter for  
 the *Danish* Souldiers that were to be as a guard to the King in his Pro-  
 gress.

This news wrought effectually upon them, and as they were considering  
 what to do, Messengers came from the Country of the *Dallcarles* round a-  
 bout to seek after *Gustavus*; But he was gon further out of Reach, to *Lima*.  
 Hereupon the Mountainers resolve to joyn with those of the *Dales* to request  
*Gustavus* his speedy return, whom they would make their Captain, and ac-  
 cordingly he came back with the Messengers, where he found the people as-  
 sembled;

Their an-  
 swer.

He meets  
 with new  
 difficulties.

Sir *Laurence*  
*Olai* assists  
 him.

He Arms. fembled, who received him with loud Acclamations of Joy, and made him Governour and Captain of the *Dalcarles*, swearing Fealty, and Obedience to him, assigning him a Life-guard of choice young men for his honour and safety.

Thus one great Work is over. *Gustavus* had all this while to do with a people whose Principles were fixed in their Manufactures; and though they had many Eyes, and could discern things nigh at hand well enough, yet could they not discern the times, nor from thence make conclusions what they ought to do. For God never made all men for all things. Miners are no good States-men, nor States-men good Miners, and therefore its the less marvel that *Gustavus* spent an whole year in this painful Pilgrimage, with continual Labour and Danger, and all to make this People sensible of their Condition, and willing to defend their Liberties before it was too late; and yet could he prevail nothing, till the *Danish* Feast at *Stockholme* (not above two moneth past) roused them out of their Security. But now *Gustavus* was in a Posture for the Field, as a Captain for the Liberties of *Sweden*, against a known Enemy, or Tyrant rather, who thought that he had settled his Government in *Sweden*, both by Law and Arms.

Gods providence to the Swedes. Nor indeed can this Work be looked upon but as a special Work of Divine Omnipotency, in compassion to an oppressed, and undone people, that so strong a Principle of Magnanimity, Zeal, and Constancy, should lead one man thus in this Service through all opposition and danger; But these are but small things in comparison of what remained, and was further done by him.

He raiseth an Army. *Gustavus* being thus engaged, proceeds to gather his Army, and to him *Laurentius Olai* joyns, together with the Friends and Servants of those Noble Men who were Murthered at *Stockholm*, and others disinterested, who were in danger of the *Danish* interdict, and with these he begins first to march on *Candlemas* day, *Anno Christi* 1520. leading his men to the Copper Mountains, where he surprised the Governour and other Officers belonging to the Mines, seizing upon all the *Danish* Goods, the Kings Revenue, and the Tents, and so returned into the Valley.

Seizeth on the Kings Treasure.

He divides his Army.

By this means, he gained in some measure, a stock for the encouragement of his Souldiers, whereby his Army encreased daily, and he facing about, went to the other Mountains, where, by general Consent, he was made their Lord and Governour: After which, He divided his Army into two Parts, leaving one in the Mountains under the Command of *Peter Sueno*, a famous Captain, to whom many of the Inhabitants joyned themselves, and these he kept as a reserve, to assist him as occasion required.

With the other part of his Army, he marched into the Country of *Helsing*, which on one side bordered upon the Sea, having the Valley of the *Dalcarles* on the other; and this he did, as well to gain a passage by Sea, if occasion should require, as to secure his Army the more by such good Neighborhood: But whilst he thus advanced into *Helsing*, Letters were sent unto the Mountainers from the Archbishop of *Upsal*, the old Enemy of the *Swedish* Liberties, signed by himself, his Father *Ericus Trolli*, and *Benet Canutus*, who stiled themselves the Council of the Kingdome of *Sweden*. The purport whereof was, to beseech them to be mindful of their Duty to their Sovereign the King, and of the Peace of the Kingdome of *Sweden*, with large Promises of the Kings Grace and Favour to them, and of a safe Conduet to *Gustavus*, if he would lay down Armes; adding that by so doing, Differences might be composed for their great Advantage: But all the entertainment these Letters met with, was, Indignation, and Scorn.

He advanceth into *Helsing*.

The *Helsingers* gave *Gustavus* no harsh Entertainment, yet was his Presence not very acceptable, they besought him that they might be spared from



from present Engagement in Arms, their Country being exhausted and much impoverished by the late Troubles: *Gustavus* hereby found that their Temper was not for his turn; He must have men of Resolution, and therefore he accepted of their submissive Answer, and leaving them to second Thoughts, he Marched thence into *Gestrick*, where the people readily submitted to him, and so he returned to the Dales again, having by this March encreased his Army to the Number of five thousand good old Soldiers, who having formerly hidden themselves in several Places, now repaired to him.

From  
thence in-  
to *Gestrick*.

The Archbishop of *Upsal*, finding what little Respect his Letters had with the Mountainers, he resolved to do that by force, which his fair Language could not effect, and therefore he sent *Henry de Milen*, with a commanded Party of Souldiers into the Dales, to reduce them betimes, and to crush the Bird in the Egge.

*Gustavus* being informed of his coming, advanceth to meet him, *de Milen* hearing this, retires from him, professing to the Archbishop, that *Gustavus* was not to be dealt with by Parties: But the truth is, a Spirit of trepidation had possessed the *Danes*, or else being in the Field, as they were, they would never have suffered an Enemy thus to gather under their Noses, nor have dallied thus with *Gustavus* by Parties, when they had a just Army in readiness.

The *Danes*  
are infatua-  
ted.

*Gustavus* was otherwise minded, he had begun, and now there was no re-treating; He will now let all men know, that he was so far from fearing the *Danes*, that he undertakes a long March to find them out, and fight them within their Walls; and accordingly he advanceth to *Westerass*, a City having a Castle, and being Rich by a continual Market of Copper and Iron, brought daily from the Mountains thither, and therefore, there the *Danes* had placed a Garrison.

He marches  
to *Westerass*

*Gustavus* by this March also, had much encreased his Army, by the confluence of the Country to him, whereupon; he divided his Army into three Battels; the Van was commanded by *Laurentius Olai*, the middle by *Laurentius Ericus*, whom he commanded to march through the Valley of *Balingass*, and to encamp near to St. *Olais* Chappel, but not to attempt any thing without further order.

The Enemy not minding to stay their leisure, and observing the manner of *Laurentius* his approach, gave him a full Charge, especially with their Horse, which was so bravely entertained by *Laurentius*, that the *Danes* gave ground, and at last both Horse and Foot were driven to a disorderly Retreat, whom *Laurentius* pursued. *Gustavus* hearing hereof, and fearing lest his mens forwardness might carry them beyond their post, he hastened into the Van, though with some danger to his Person, and with the loss of some that were nigh to him; and when he came, he found *Laurentius* engaged even unto the streets of the City, in pursuit of the flying Enemy, so that it was dangerous to bring them to a stand, whereupon he gave them their Liberty, and with them he follows the Enemy through the streets. But the *Danes*, when they came into the Market place, Rallied themselves, and made a stand behind their Ordnance, which were ready Planted to give the *Swedes* a Salutation upon their first approach: But *Laurentius Ericus* with the middle Battel, found out a nearer way, and was already gotten into the City, and now charged the *Danes* in their Rear, making them quit their place, and their Ordnance, and thereby saved much Blood which might have been shed of the *Swedish* side. The Souldiers in the Castle seeing their Friends thus beaten, shot fiery Bullets, whereby the City was fired in sundry places; but the *Swedish* Souldiers quenched the Fire, and saved the City. The *Danes* in the City being fled to their intrenchments, defended themselves till they had strengthened the Gar-

The *Danes*  
are beaten.

*Westerass*  
taken.

rison in the Castle, and then by the help of their Boats, gat them to *Stockholme*.

This Victory, as it discouraged the Enemy, so it much encouraged many secret Friends, to their Country to forsake the *Danes*, and to take part with *Gustavus*, amongst whom was *Arvidus*, a *West Goth*, whom *Gustavus* knew so well, that he presently sent him with part of the Army to besiege the Castle of *Steckburrow*, and to watch the motion of the people in those parts. Other Castles also were besieged; But *Laurentius Ericus* was sent with his Brigade to *Upsal*, and *Laurentius Olai*, with the Country people, that now flocked to him from all parts, was appointed to second him. As they marched thitherward they intercepted the Scouts of the Governour of *Upsal*; and the next day Letters were sent from the Governour, and Magistrates of *Upsal*, to the *Swedish* Commander in chief, to desire liberty according to their wonted manner every year upon *St. Ericus* day, to hold their Procession with the shrine of *St. Ericus*, to the Church of old *Upsal*, being half a mile without their City; to which, answer was returned, That it belonged to the *Swedes*, not to the *Danes* to hold that solemnity. The Governour though he missed the Procession, yet would not lose his Feast; He therefore would let the *Swedes* know, that he could keep his Feast though the *Swedish* Army waited upon his Trenches; and accordingly held his Feast in the Archbishops Garden. But the next morning before break of the day, the *Swedish* Army came to the walls, seized upon the Guards, and entered the City, whilst the *Danes* half asleep, and as yet scarce sober, being surprized with a *Pannick* fear, fled out of the City, firing of it as they went: But the *Swedes* appointing a party to quench the fire, pursued the *Danes* till they had passed the River, in which passage the Governour was shot with an arrow, whereof he died at *Stockholm*.

*Upsal* taken

About eight dayes after, comes *Gustavus* from *Westerass* to *Upsal*, and calling the Canons of the Colledge together, he asked them whether, they were *Swedes* or *Danes*, charges them with the Blood, spoyl, and misery of *Sweden*, affirming that they, and their Archbishop had nourished all the Rebellions in *Sweden* against their lawful Governours, that they were betrayers of their Countries Liberties into the hands of Forreigners, that ere long they must be responsible for those actions, and in the mean time he required Fealty from them, and security, that in their stations they would maintain the peace and liberty of the Country. They humbly answer by Petition, desiring that he would consider their Engagement to their Arch-Bishop, now at *Stockholm*, and that they might have leave to send to him, to see if they could prevail to take him along with them in this engagement, promising to write to him to invite, and perswade him hereunto. This *Gustavus* was content to grant, and wrote himself by the same messenger: But what other message the Canons sent privately, the event renders somewhat doubtful. For the Letters were received with contempt, and the messenger detained, the Archbishop saying, that he would carry an answer in his own person, and accordingly, he caused a Body of Horse and Foot immediately to be drawn forth, with which he marched with that speed and secrecie, that they were within two miles of *Upsal*, before *Gustavus* heard any thing of their coming.

*Gustavus* now too late, began to consider his own weakness, his Army being divided in so many severall imployments, and the enemies (if he was not misinformed) exceeding him in strength: whereupon he debated with himself what were fittest for him to do; the City was unassured to him, if not assured against him: If he retreat, it would be construed for a flight: If he stay, he must put all to the hazard: He considered also, that though he might suffer in his Honour by a Retreat, yet that might be repaired again, but if he lost his men, that loss would be irreparable, both as for his own honour, the liberty of *Sweden*, and the safety of his Party.

Hereupon



Hereupon he speedily withdrew out of the City into a Wood not far off: and the Archbishop without opposition entering the City, is soon informed thereof, and as eagerly pursues him to the Wood, where the Swedes had made a stand, and gave not ground for all that the Danes could do against them.

*Gustavus  
quits Upsal.*

As *Gustavus* was bestirring himself from place to place, his Horse fell into a Quagmire, where, being espied by the Danes, he was knock't from his Horse, and had been at their mercy; but that a party of about twenty of the Swedish Horse came seasonably to his rescue, and horsed him again; after which, returning to charge the enemy afresh, they retired, but yet in good order, which *Gustavus* observing, he was willing to make a golden Bridge for a flying enemy, and so let them go quietly to *Upsal*.

*His danger  
& delivery.*

*Gustavus* had now leisure to consider what to do: and found by experience a double Error in his proceedings: First, that he had divided his Army into so many Parts, that none of them, was of it-self sufficient to oppose the Enemy, in case they should gather to an Head: The other, that in his March (contrary to *Casars* Rule) he had not reduced the Enemies Castles, but left them, as Birds of Prey, to fall upon any of his Parties, when they should be weak. He considered also, that if now he should leave the Wood, he was environed with those Castles, and had the Enemies Army entire, and near him. What shall he now do? Men bring themselves into Straits, and Plunges, but God brings them out. *Gustavus* had a party now besieging the Castle of *Westerass*, who hearing of the fight between the Archbishop and *Gustavus*, Rose, and hasted to him. *Gustavus* being thus recruited, turns to the left hand, leaving *Upsal* on the right, and so bended his March towards *Stockholm*, supposing that they might meet with the Archbishop, before he could recover *Stockholm*, and herein his expectation was not frustrated: For if *Gustavus* committed two Errours, the Archbishop fell into one which was worse than both of them, and that was, that being returned to *Upsal*, he considered not that he had left *Gustavus* in a Posture of Defence, who also might possibly recruit his Army, and so meet with him in his return to *Stockholm* if he made not the better hast; and so indeed it fell out, *Gustavus* met him, fought him, and after an hours dispute, *Gustavus* his Arguments were of that force, that the Archbishop hardly escaped into *Stockholm* with the tenth part of his Army.

*Gods pro-  
vidence.*

*The Danes  
again are  
beaten.*

*Gustavus* follows him, and entrenches his Army near to the City, but considering that the City was full of Danes, and that most of the Swedes, after the late Massacre, had forsaken their Houses, and that it was like to hold out long, he was casting with himself how to encrease his Army, but he was soon eased of that Care: For the *Helsingers*, that hitherto had concealed themselves, now come unanimously, and offer their service to him, and the like did many old Souldiers of *Germany*, insomuch, as he was not able to provide quarter for them and his own men.

*His Army  
much en-  
creased.*

But what doth the King of *Denmark* all this while? Is not he ready by this to march with a compleat Army, to save a Kingdome that is ready to be lost? No doubt but he had a good minde to it; but his condition was such, that he durst not stir from home. For as he went out, of *Sweden* without one *God-speed*, so he came into *Denmark* without one *Welcome-home*. He was so dyed in Blood that all were afraid of him: His Victory was abominated, his person odious, and his Government grown intolerable; wherefore, finding that he could raise no Army at home, and that if he should go out of *Denmark* he might lose all there, and get nothing but blows abroad; he commands his Governour in the Isle of *Gotland* to relieve the Danes in *Sweden* as occasion should require; in pursuance whereof, he repairs thither, and after one repulse suffered, he relieved the Castle of *Stechburg*, besieged by *Arvidus*, and then

*The King of  
Denmark  
hated at  
home.*

changing

A Conventi-  
on of the E-  
states in  
Sweden.

changing the Garrison, he committed the keeping of it to one *Bernard de Milen*.

*Gustavus* Considering that the siege of that place would prove dangerous to *Arvidus*, if the Country, and neighbourhood were not assured to him; he sent to the Bishop of *Hincopen*, and having prevailed with him, by his advice, he summoned a meeting of all the States of *East and West Gothland, Smaland, Vermeland*, and of the *Dales*; and when they were assembled, he prayed them to take into consideration the condition of their Country: that the misery thereof was occasioned onely through their divisions and variety of interests; and the Government having been of late in the hands of Forreigners, the Publick weal hath thereby been much endamaged. He said, he should not need to enlarge upon the particular burdens which they felt and groaned under. The great business which he desires them to take into consideration, was, to advise, and conclude upon the means of redress: As for himself he would deliver his opinion freely and cleerly, *viz.* That no means on earth could cure these evils, but a speedy and effectual unanimity, and joynt endeavour to restore the old principles of Government, by one supreme Governour, and a free Parliament of the States, as formerly had been used: But if they had any further advice therein, he earnestly desired to be informed by them, assuring them that whatsoever they should judge meet to be done in order to a settlement, he would endeavour the accomplishment of the same, though to the sacrificing of his life, and all that was dear to him.

They prof-  
fer the  
Kingdome.

Which he  
refuseth.

This Speech being ended, there was a joynt acclamation, and assurance given, that they all fully, and freely assented to his opinion, and were ready to assist him therein to the utmost, withall, giving him great thanks for his undertaking their rescue out of the Tyrants hands, earnestly requesting him to proceed till he had perfected the same, whereunto they would constantly contribute their prayers to God for his gracious assistance, and for the protection of his person; and for his further assurance, they do not only acknowledge, and promise submission to him as their lawful Governour; but they pray that it may not seem grievous to him to take upon him the place, and title of their lawful Lord and King.

To this *Gustavus* answered, That he took up Arms against the common enemy of his Country, not aiming at Rule, but at the peoples liberty from the iron yoke of the *Danish* Tyranny, under which, themselves, their wives and children, lay bound day and night; That he called not himself to the work, but onely offered his assistance therein; That he was invited to command by the *Transilvanian Swedes* of the *Dales*; That his detestation of that abhorred Butchery at *Stockholme* (wherein, not onely many Personages fit to do their Country service, but many of his own Blood lost their lives and estates) did enrage his spirit to it; so that he thought nothing dangerous for him to adventure, so that he might take vengeance for it, which made him yeeld to the invitation of the men of the *Dales*: and if you also (said he) will joyn your aid in this work, and can confide in my command, I will not refuse to be your Captain and Governour untill the enemy be fully vanquished, and our Country cleared from them. But as touching the making of a King, you may take that into consideration when the War shall be fully finished; For then, whomsoever the States of *Sweden* shall Elect to be King or Governour, theirs will I be to serve in any condition.

This Speech was received with joyful Acclamations, and an unanimous vote, that *Gustavus* should be accepted for their Lord and Governour; and accordingly, all that were present sware Fealty to him, and faithful obedience next under God.

This was a little Parliament of part of the Nation, and chiefly intended to assure those places where the War was, and to unite them in a more vigorous prosecution thereof; and the success was answerable: For hereupon many Towns



Towns and Castles of *West-Gothland*, and *Smalland*, readily surrendered, and submitted to *Gustavus*, whose Deputies being sent to the Council, and convinced in their judgements of the justness of the cause, the people had obliged themselves to stand to what their Deputies should conclude. Hereupon *Gustavus* finding less need of employing so many Souldiers in these neighbouring parts, he sends a party into *Finland*, to which many of the people joyned: Amongst whom was one *Grabb*, a valiant man, and skilful Sea-Captain, who having armed a few ships, with them assaulted such places upon the Coast as held for the *Dane*, sometimes in one part, sometimes in another; surprizing Towns, slaying many, doing all by night, and before the next morning, he was gone, no body knew whither, nor which way. This caused the Enemies to divide their Forces, to guard so many places at once; and in the mean time the *Swedes* sat down before *Abbo*, though they were there hard matched, and sometimes over-matched by the *Danes*; for as yet that part of the Country had not felt the *Danish* cruelty, though if they had prospered, they should not long have escaped the same.

Many joyned with him.

*Abbo* besieged.

The Castle of *Steckburg*, after above half an years siege, was taken by *Arvidus*, the Governour whereof being committed to Prison, after he had lain there two moneths, he submitted to *Gustavus*, and sware Fealty to him. The Governour of the Isle of *Gothland* being ignorant of these passages, came with a Fleet, well provided to relieve the Castle; but when he came to the Promontory, he was suddenly assailed by the *Swedish* ships which lay behinde the same, and after the loss of six hundred of his men, he was glad to betake him to his wings. Shortly after, *Arvidus* was sent with part of his Army to block up *Calmar*, the rest being sent to the Camp before *Stockholme*; For the *Danish* Admiral, after the late defeat, having repaired his losses with a new supply of men and ships, came to the relief of them in *Stockholme*, and the *Danes* being strengthened by this recruit, sallied out of the City, and beat up one of the *Swedish* Quarters; so that for a moneths space, the City remained disingaged.

*Stockburg* surrendered.

*Stockholme*, relieved by the *Danes*.

*Gustavus* now finding by experience that *Stockholme* was a morsel too big for him to swallow, without further strength, he bent his principal industry for the recovery of other places Garrisoned by the *Danes*, and amongst other places the City of *Nicopen* was at length yeilded up to him by the Governour; *Henry Canzow*, with whom Letters were found from the *Danish* Tyrant, which required him to put to death all the *Swedes* that came into his power, especially those of the Nobility: But as he had too much humanity in him to execute so bloody a Decree, so he liked it not in others, and therefore he told *Gustavus*, that Letters of the same purport were sent to other places, and he believed they would be put in execution, which fell out accordingly in *Finland*; for the Governour of *Abbo*, being blocked up (though not formally besieged) by the *Swedes*, caused divers of the chief men of *Finland* to be assassinated: But *Ericus Flemming* being forewarned of the danger, and now in the Governours hand, offered his service, with so many *Swedes* as adhered to the *Danes*, to adventure their lives the night following to beat the *Swedes* before the City out of their quarters, which being liked by the Governour, he assigned him such men as he desired, who accordingly entered the *Swedish* quarters, but liked their entertainment so well, that they returned no more into *Abbo*: And thus he escaped that danger which many others shortly after smarted under.

*Nicopen* yeilded to the *Swedes*.

*Gustavus* having gained *Nicopen*, the Castles of *Tineslor*, and *Westersast*, presently after were delivered up to him; the latter having endured a siege of nine moneths: But finding all his labour before *Stockholme* lost, unless he could encrease his strength at Sea, he sent to *Lubeck* for men of War, and Ammunition, who readily assented, being oppressed by the *Danes* in their Trade. Nine ships were sent to *Gustavus* within a few moneths with Ammunition, and Souldiers, who had a great mind

*Lubeck* *Tineslor* and *Westersast* surrendered.

to

The *Lubeckers* assist him.

to see *Gustavus* before they would engage, but being satisfied when they had seen him, They all swear to be faithful to him; part of these *Gustavus* sent to the Siege of *Calmar*, the other part he carried along with him to the Siege of *Stockholm* (as it was the Policy of War amongst the *Romans* to divide their Auxiliaries) and then he sent the Country-men to their several Habitations. Within a few weeks after, eight more Ships of War Arrived from *Lubeck* at *Stockholm*, and being thus more secured at Sea, *Gustavus* re-inforced the Siege in a more regular way than formerly.

The *Danes* beaten at Sea.

The *Swedes* before *Abbo*, finding the work too hard for them, withdrew their Forces, and the Governour being now at Liberty, by order from the *Danish* Admiral, prepared a Ship of War, with Ammunition, and Souldiers, for the relief of *Stockholm*, which early in a Morning coming to the Foreland, sent out a Skiffe for discovery, which was intercepted by *Ericus Flemming*, now Admiral of the *Swedes*, who clearing the men out of the Skiffe, and manning it with *Swedes* in the same Fashion, he sent it back, into which, when the Governor of *Abbo* was entred to enquire after News, they presently apprehended him, and carried him away, and being hardly chafed by the *Danish* Ships, they suddenly fell amongst the *Swedes*, and being charged by them, some were taken, and others escaped. But the Governour of *Abbo* being brought to *Gustavus*, he presently hanged him on a Tree, for his cruel *Assassinating* the Nobility of *Finland*.

*Stockholm* straitly besieged.

Within a few Weeks after, the *Danish* Admiral came with five Ships for the Relief of *Stockholm*, but being within View, and not liking the Coast, he returned without doing any thing; and *Gustavus* now finding the Sea safely Guarded, he prosecuted his Siege more vigorously, making his approaches to the very Subburbs, and by Bridges closing his Quarters. Hereupon the City began to be in distress, and many escaping out, submitted to *Gustavus*: Amongst these, a Spy is sent out, who under colour of submission, was to make discovery, and as occasion served, either to return into the City, or to haste into *Denmark* to acquaint the King with the state of their affairs. This Spy was discovered, and being searched, Letters were found sown up in his cloaths, whereupon he was convicted, and executed: And this being known in the City, and judged to be by intelligence from some within, all the *Swedes* were ordered to depart, but such as would take up Arms for the *Danes*. On the other side, *Gustavus* having intelligence of preparations, intended for the Relief of the *Danes* in *Sweden*, he sent a Party into *Norway* to begin a War there, who meeting with little Opposition, soon made themselves Masters of the Province of *Wicken*, the Castle of *Carlsburg*, the *Danes* being in no Posture to Oppose them, as the Case stood.

He begins a War in *Norway*.

The King of *Denmark* flies into *Germany*.

For *Christian* the second, then King of *Denmark*, by reason of his injustice and oppressions of his own people, whilst he invaded the lives, liberties, and estates of all sorts, and for his execrable murders, and perfidiousness in *Sweden*; his contumelious outrages towards strangers, and his uncivil behaviour towards his own Queen who was sister to the Emp. *Charles* the fifth, having hereby provoked all men against him, but more especially the Duke of *Holst*, he proclaimed War against the King; and the Nobility of *Denmark*, perceiving that they were distrusted by their King, who relying upon strangers, intended to bring them into Government in *Denmark*, and so to rule his Kingdome by force and rigour, they joyned with the Duke, and invited him into *Farland*, where all joyned with him. And *Christian*, now too late, though too soon to him, concluding that the Duke would be made King, leaves his Throne and Country, providing for his safety elsewhere; and shipping himself, his Queen, Children, and all the Treasure he could scrape together, he sailed into *Germany*; first going to the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, and then to the

Electors



Elector of *Saxony*: and after some time he found means to raise to an Army for the recovery of his Kingdome, but not keeping touch with his Soldiers, he lost his Army and Kingdome a second time; whereupon despairing of good success, he fled into *Flanders*, where he lost his Queen, the greatest comfort he had left him in the World; not only in regard of her Relation to the Emperour, but in regard of her excellent Vertues, whereby she was so much beloved of the *Danes*, that they offered to submit to her as to their lawful Queen, if she would stay in *Denmark*; but she, like her self, chose to live in exile with her Husband, rather than to reign without him.

Then into  
*Flanders*.

A good  
Wife.

The *Danes* in *Sweden* understood these things, and those of them that were besieged in the Castle of *Calmar*, were ordered to hold out as long as they could, and then to fire the City, and ship themselves for the Isle of *Gothland*; But the Citizens being informed hereof, in the night time opened their Gates and let in the *Swedes*, who soon made themselves Masters of the Castle, and after that, of the Isle of *Oland*, whereof when tidings came to *Stockholm*, they proffered to surrender, but upon such Conditions as *Gustavus* would not accept of.

*Calmar* sur-  
rendered.

Now did the *Swedish* affairs seem to promise a Calm night at hand; whereupon *Gustavus* thought it convenient to endeavour a settled Form of Government, for which end he summoned a general meeting of all the States at *Stregness*; who being assembled, he told them, that now things were in a hopeful way of Peace; that it was necessary for the publick Peace, and Justice of the Nation, that the ancient Form of Government should be revived: That for the present they see the Nation without a supreme Magistrate, and without a Senate: That the former hath Murthered the latter, and the people ejected the former: That he hoped in a short time to render an Account of the Nation reunited, and in a peaceable condition, which is the end of War; But some person must be elected to govern them when in a peaceable Condition, and a Senate must be constituted according to the ancient Custome of *Sweden*, who may elect the supreme Governour: That they, the States of *Sweden*, are the only first movers in this work, and have power to constitute this Senate anew; and therefore he prays them to proceed according to their Discretions for the settlement of the Government, and such instruments, as are necessary, and conducing thereto.

A Parlia-  
ment called.

An excel-  
lent Speech

The States seeing their way clear before them, without further demur, proceed to the Election of a Senate, consisting of some of those of the former Senate who had escaped the Enemies Fury, and continued faithful: to whom they added others of the Great Men: and having constituted them, they granted to them the same Power and Privileges which the ancient Senate had; and in particular, to elect one such person as they should think meet to be their lawful King or Governour.

A Senate  
established.

The Senate being thus chosen, and impowered; they unanimously Elect *Gustavus* for their King; and send a Message thereof to him, humbly requesting that he will not refuse to take the Kingdome upon him; and to perfect the work of restoring Liberty to the Nation, and vindicating the same from all Tyranny.

They choose  
*Gustavus*  
King.

*Gustavus* having heard this Message, answered, That the Burthen of Governing a Kingdome was too heavy for his Shoulders. That it was one thing to govern in War, wherein he was Trained; and another thing to be a King, wherein he was not skilled. That he was well wearied already with the Dangers, Cares, and Labours of the War; and now having brought the Nation into a Posture of subsistence in Peace, he hath his ends; and therefore desires them to rest contented therewith, and that they would make Choice of some other Person of the Nobility of *Sweden* to be their King, assuring them that himself would gladly serve under him whom they should choose; and so thanking them for their good Opinion of him, he dismissed the Messengers.

Which he  
refuses.

They press  
him again.

The States, and Senate having heard this answer, where no wise satisfied with it, and therefore renew their Requests (the Popes Legate also joyning with them) and tells *Gustavus* plainly, that they will not receive any Negative, nor can he evade the Election if he regard the Senate, or convention of States, or the peoples good.

He submits.

His Piety.

Sabbath.

*Gustavus* hereupon is at length overswayed, and yet abhorring all unworthy self-ends, he professed his acceptance, only upon the same Grounds which moved them to Elect him: and that withall, he was convinced that the Work was of that Nature, that he was unable to go through with it, and therefore, he would rest upon the Lord of *Sabbath* for his assistance and protection, and next under him, upon the Lords of *Sweden*, whose Wisdom, Care, and Industry he much Prized; especially desiring the earnest, and dayly prayers of all the People, upon which account only he would submit to their desires. And so, according to the ancient Custome, by mutual Obligations of Oaths, *Gustavus* is solemnly declared and Proclaimed King of *Sweden*: yet refused he to be Crowned till five years after.

The *Lubeckers* requi-  
ted.

The Articles  
of Agree-  
ment.

The first thing that was done after this Election was, the requital of the *Lubeckers*, for adventuring their Men, Ships and Estates, with the *Swedes* against the *Danes*; in recompence whereof, the *Swedes* granted, That they would never make Peace with the *Danes*; without the consent of the *Lubeckers*. That upon the surrender of *Stockholm*, such Wares, Goods, and Debts therein, as the *Lubeckers*, and *Dantzicars* should own upon Oath, should be secured, and returned to them. That the *Lubeckers* shall be paid for their service. That the Sea should be free for them, and that they shall have a free Trade in *Sweden*. That they only of all foreign Nations shall have a free Trade in the Ports of *Stockholm*, *Calmer*, *Sarcopen*, and *Abbo*. That the King shall do them Right. That he shall never let Prizes upon any of their Marchandise, nor compel them to sell, or leave their Goods against their Wills. That their Goods and Estates Wracked, shall be Restored to the Owners, without loss. That their Goods sold in *Sweden* by their Mariners, or Servants without Order, shall be restored to their Owners, and the Offenders punished. That the King of *Sweden* shall not harbour any of the Enemies of *Lubeck*. That if any difference shall arise between the *Swedes*, and *Lubeckers*, the same shall be ordered by four Lords of *Sweden* sent to *Lubeck*, and so many Citizens of *Lubeck* joyning with them. These were confirmed under the Hands, and Seals of the King, and Lords of *Sweden*, and Commissioners of *Lubeck*. This was more than a recompence to the City of *Lubeck*, had they been as careful to keep touch with the *Swedes* as the *Swedes* were with them.

*Stockholme*  
surrendered.

Shortly after *Stockholm* was surrendered to the King, who entred the same in the month of *June*, after well nigh three years siege, wherein the *Danes* had time enough to have relieved it, if they had been convinced of any Right that they had to the Kingdome of *Sweden*. Upon his entry, he was Proclaimed King of *Sweden* and *Gothland*, with great applause and joy of all sorts. Hereupon, divers Towns and Castles were surrendered to him; and in the Rear, the Dukedome of *Bleking*, and the Town and Castle of *Elisburg*, the only commodious Port that the *Swedes* have into the Western Sea. But still the Dukedome of *Finland*, and the adjacent Countries were out of the Kings Possession; and therefore beginning now to study good Husbandry for those People whom he must own, he dismissed his Forreign Forces, and the residue of his Army he sent into *Finland*, under the Command of *Ivar*, and *Bricus Fleming*, who within the space of one year, reduced all that Country into Obedience, and the Northern People submitted upon the Credit of their Neighbours, so that the whole Kingdome was now United under the Kings Command, and he had nothing to do but to study

*Finland*  
reduced.



dy Peace and Justice. And accordingly he first made Peace with the *Muscovite*, having none other Enemy whom he need to fear, nor indeed any that bordered upon him, but the *Muscovite* on the East, and the *Danes* on the West; and as for the *Danes*, their Condition was this:

Peace be-  
ing made  
with the  
*Muscovite*.  
The Duke  
of Holst  
chosen King  
of Denmark.

King *Christian* being fled, *Frederick*, Duke of *Holst*, being sent for, came into *Denmark*, and by the Nobility, was elected and crowned King, some years before *Gustavus* was Crowned in *Sweden*, though *Gustavus* was in Arms divers years before him. Both these coming to the Throne upon the same title of the peoples liberty; and knowing how necessary peace with one another would be, a mutual Treaty is propounded by the King of *Denmark*, and in order thereto, the King of *Sweden* propounded an interview, wherein he stood not upon punctilio's, but proffered to come to the King of *Denmark* in some convenient place upon security of a safe conduct, which the King of *Denmark* granted as soon as it was demanded. The place of meeting was *Ancona*, in the confines of *Scania*, where, in the presence of the Lords of both Nations, an interview is had; and after mutual salutations and complements, the King of *Denmark* spake of the miseries, and calamities that had befallen both the Nations for divers years last past, declaring their present dangers also by reason of the continual contrivances of *Christian* their late King, which (saith he) will be much heightened if our discords should continue: For my own part therefore I am for peace with *Sweden* upon just and honourable terms. *Gustavus* answered, that he held peace between the Nations, convenient and commendable, and was willing to hearken thereto upon equal conditions.

The two  
new Kings  
meet.

The King of *Denmark* began with proposing the continuance of the union of the three Northern Kingdoms according to the Articles of *Calmar*, which (saith he) were confirmed by the Oaths of the Deputies of all the three Nations; yet he desired not the change of the present Government of *Sweden*, but onely that *Gustavus* should acknowledge him Superior. *Gustavus* secretly disliking this proposal, answered modestly, that for his part he was unwillingly drawn to accept of the *Swedish* Crown. That he could wish that both Nations could flourish under one Head. But (saith he) the agreement of *Calmar* is dissolved by the misgovernment of the late King; and if the *Danes* could not all this while gain their expectations by force of Arms, much less can they think it rational, for the *Swedes* to yeeld up by Treaty the Liberties of their Country, which are dearer to them than their lives; as the late Wars have demonstrated. Neither can himself who is sworn to maintain the Liberties of his Country, allow of such terms, much less advise his people to consent thereto. Yet (saith he) for my own part, though I will not be a subject, yet I desire to be a friend, true, and faithful to the King of *Denmark*, and am ready to gratifie him in all things agreeable to equity.

The King  
of Denmark  
speech.

The King  
of Sweden  
answer

The King of *Denmark* perceiving hereby the unreasonableness of his former demands, tells the King of *Sweden* in plain terms, that himself was desirous of a firm peace, and league with him, if *Sweden* would be content with its antient limits, and would yeeld up what in these late Wars they had gained from *Denmark*, especially the Dukedome of *Bleking*.

The King of *Sweden* answered, that himself valued the peace of both Nations beyond that petty Duchy, and therefore he would consult with his Lords about it, and accordingly it was assented to.

But the proposal about the Isle of *Gotland*, proved more difficult: It was in the possession of the *Danes*, but claimed as belonging to the Crown of *Sweden*, yet at last they agreed to lay that debate aside till a more convenient time: and thus peace was concluded between these two Kings, as well for the *Hans*-*Towns*, as for themselves, against *Christian* the deposed King; and all the *Swedish* Captives in *Denmark* were set at liberty, and such of the *Swedes* as formerly had any particular interest in *Denmark*, were restored to their right.

Peace con-  
cluded.

About this time a spiritual disease was newly breeding in Germany, which Gospel-light soon grew to be almost Epidemical in those Eastern parts. Gospel-light was newly sprung out of Popish darkness, discovering the very Bowels of the Romish Religion, to be a meer garbage of pride and covetousness: To prevent which, the Devil raiseth up another light, or a thing as like to light as himself is, when he is transformed into an Angel of light. He found the people as desirous to gain their Civil as their Religious Liberties. This he colourably helps on by a company of Professors, pretending to a more pure light, and perfect way of holiness by a second Baptism, suggesting that men of light must walk according to their light, and that they were bound by no other Law, and so needed, neither Magistracy, nor Ministry: Nay, those Ordinances favour of Antichristian Tyranny. Hereupon they rose, and ran up and down Germany, and like the waves of the Sea, swallow up, and bear down all before them, till dashing on a Rock, they break themselves in pieces.

Two of them come into Sweden, and cause much trouble.

But before this storm, two drops fall upon Sweden by the coming over of two men with the Holland Merchants, during the interview of these two Kings. These were Melchior Rinus, and Knipper Dolling, who arriving at Stockholme, instill new principles into the people; whence followed, that entering the Churches, down go Images, and Organs, and all such things as they will call monuments of Idolatry. They made also publick invectives against publick Worship and the Clergy, as Antichristian, suggesting that it were better to have none at all.

Gustavus banisheth them.

Gustavus the King returning to Stockholme finds much need of his presence, and understanding of the tumultuous Reformation, and the sad principles taken up, he commits the two Evangelists to prison, and afterwards banished them; But their poison was not so easily cured.

Their infection spreadeth.

The news of this Reformation at Stockholme, spreads far and wide over the Kingdome, and liberty was so welcome to all, being newly crept from under a Tyranny, that even good Government is brought into question; and the King saw no way to pacifie the storm, but by casting overboard to the people somewhat to keep the Whale from overturning the Ship: and finding that he must adventure a breach with the Pope, who had lately sent a special Legate, the Cardinal de Potentia, with Authority to enquire of the Bloody Massacre made by Christian at Stockholme, thereby to vindicate himself of so horrible a crime, and that the Legate upon examination had judicially pronounced sentence, that nothing was done therein by Christian but what was just and right; He therefore told the people that he would visit all the Churches in his own person, and make a reformation by the advice of learned men; and accordingly the King in person visited all the Churches throughout the Nation, and informed himself of the state of them; But coming to Upsal, he was opposed by the Archbishop, and Canons; whereupon a Disputation was appointed, wherein the King himself would be President: After which he summoned all the States of Sweden to meet, to whom he related what he found in his Visitation, requesting their help in directing some moderation in the work of Reformation, in Doctrine, and the worship of God, and in calming the violence of the Catholick Clergy, which were such desperate enemies to it; as also in regulating their abuse of the Church-maintenance, which they spent in pride and luxury, which ought to be employed for the saving of peoples Souls.

The Pope justifies the massacre at Stockholme.

The King visits the Kingdome.

A Convention of the Estates.

Their answer was, that if the matter be made to appear upon enquiry, they were of opinion, that the Temporalities belonging to the Clergy, may, and ought to be seized, and the Church-maintenance also secured, for the right ends and uses to which they were appointed.

The Ecclesiasticks declaim against this, affirming, that the Churches privileges and revenues were granted and confirmed to the Church by Kings and Emperours;



Emperours; and therefore ought not to be invaded under pain of damnation. To this it was replied, that the true Elders were worthy of double honour, both of reverence and maintenance; But such as are slow bellies, neither serving God nor man, ought not to have the Churches maintenance; and that if some Kings, against all equity, permitted the same, other succeeding Kings may, and ought to reform it; That there is not one Sentence in all the Scriptures that Warranteth such Power in Church-men, or that countenanceth such manner of living, especially in an unlawful way of opposing the Civil Magistrate; as hath been used in Sweden for these last two Hundred years. In conclusion, the States determined, that the Churches Revenues are in the power of the King, according to the condition of times, to encrease, maintain, or to diminish, as may best conduce to the safety of true Religion in Doctrine, and to the establishment of the pure worship of God, and holiness of life.

Hence followed a storm of Imputations, and Execrations; Forreign Nations are made to believe that the King is an Atheist, and that the common people in Sweden obey a Devil in the shape of a man; But the King sleighted these Scare-crows, as all Princes that fix their counsels upon good foundations, ought to do; yet the common People in Sweden were enraged hereby, and amongst these the Dalcarles; They who were the first in vindicating the peoples liberties, are now the first that appear to keep themselves and the people in bondage; But they knew not who to pitch upon for their Leader; yet at length one was discovered, called Nicholas Stur, reputed the son of Steno Stur late Governour of Sweden, and he ascends the Stage in West Gothland to act for the old Church Government; The people also allured by his great name, joyned with him, and so the War is now become *Bellum Episcopale*, the Bishops War.

The King hears, and sees all, yet the hatred and practices of these men move him not: He shewed magnanimity in the Field, but never more than in this case. He is but newly a King, and contrary to all principles of policy, he is presently put upon an hard task, even to change Ecclesiastical Government, and their formerly received Religion, wherein he was to sail against wind and tyde; and therefore though he was very courageous, yet this daring adventure must rather be attributed to his Faith, than to his Valour; and he met with success accordingly; For the Dalcarles, not finding that bravery of spirit in their new Captain, as might become a son of that famous Steno, began to suspect that they might be in danger of a cheat, and therefore they secretly sent to the Widow of Steno Stur to enquire the truth: She tells the Messengers plainly, that they were deceived; For that her son Nicholas was long since dead. This message caused the Dalcarles presently to withdraw their assistance, fearing that the cause of Religion will not bear them out, unless patronized by one of the Royal Blood of Sweden. The Dalcarles now gone, the spirit presently disappears, and is no where to be found, till he makes another apparition at Rosstock, where at the request of the King of Sweden, he was put to death; As also some others of his party in Sweden were served in the like manner, and so the storm blew away.

Yet the common people are still like a Sea; A Famine comes upon the Land, and the Church-men tell the people, that this is the fruit of their Innovations in matters of Religion; whereupon they are again angry, and refuse to pay the Kings Tribute; The King tells them that few of them understood Gods word, and that fewer of them could make a right judgement of his Works; That their stop of his Tributes should not stop his course; He soon gathers an Army, and marches to Westerafs, and from thence gives notice of his coming to them of the Dale, requiring them to meet him at Ternd, ready either to fight for their cause, or to beg pardon for their crime.

They leave the Church-revenues to the disposall of the King.

Popish lies, and slanders.

The Dalcarles rebell

Religion reformed.

And are quieted.

His Majesty King to come to the State, Traitors executed.

A Famine causeth new fits.

The Nobles oppose the Kings will.

The

Which  
are soon  
quieted.

The *Dalcarles* like neither if they could help it, Feign they would hold their old way of Religion, yet choose rather to submit, and to hazard their opinions, rather than their lives; and the issue was, some of them were corporally punished, others reprov'd, and sent home, giving security for their good behaviour; And in the like manner, others in other places were so served; onely the Archbishop of *Upsal*, being one of the *Popes* sons, was admitted as a male-content to banish himself from his native Country.

Convention  
of Estates  
called.

The Kings  
Speech to  
them.

The King being returned to *Westerafs*, considered with himself the danger of the Kingdom by reason of the bad lives of the Clergy, and their neglect of the peoples souls, and their restless endeavour to bring his Government into dislike with the people, and his person into contempt, by imputations of *Herefie* and *Blasphemy*, to which some stop must be put speedily, or all would come to confusion: Hereupon he called a *Convention* of all the *States* of *Sweden*, to whom he propounded to take into consideration the State of the Nation, saying, that they all knew that he neither sought, nor willingly undertook the Government of the same; That they all promised to assist him therein, without whose help it was impossible for him to Govern; That he now, contrary to his expectation, found the people much dissatisfied through the instigation of the Clergy, whose Lordship, and Power amongst them, you all (saith he) know to be such, as that now it is put into the ballance with the Kings; And their luxury, pride, and idleness all the world knows to be such, as is inconsistent with the duty of their places, the good of the people, and righteous Government; That their Castles and temporal Revenues are exempted from the service and safeguard of the Kingdom, to maintain Dissentions, Mutenies, and Rebellions; That for his part, he must rather cease to be a King, than to see all things in confusion under his Government: And therefore *I require* (saith he) *some order to be taken by the Convention of the States for regulating hereof, or else I am resolved to lay down my Government, and leave it to them that can manage it to better purpose; And hereof I desire a speedy and positive answer from you the Bishops, and other States of this Kingdom.*

The Bi-  
shops re-  
fuse to sub-  
mit.

But the Bishops ears were deaf to these things: their Authority, and Revenues were dearer to them, than to part with them for words. They thought they had the King at an advantage, which they purposed to make use of: and the major part of the other States, overswayed by the Bishops, did not so readily, and resolutely appear for the King, as they ought to have done, fearing the *Popes* Thunderbolt more than the Kings displeasure.

He resigns  
his King-  
dome to  
the States.

Note.

The King being offended hereat, said, He would never adventure one drop of *Swedish* Blood more, to maintain his Government by a Civil Warre, wherein the conquered must be miserable, and the Conqueror unjust, and wherein Friends must destroy one another: and forthwith coming into the *Convention* of *States*, he resigned up his Kingdom, and Government, asking nothing but a recompence for his service, and that they would take his Inheritance at a moderate valew, and so he departed into the Castle. This may seem a strange example. *Ottavius* only debated with the Senate about laying down his Government, but did it not: *Gustavus* did it, and debated it not. *They that make Government their work, will be glad of rest: but they that make it their sport, the people will sooner be weary of them, than they of it.* It seems, *Gustavus* missed of those encouragements which were promised from the *Convention* of *States* when he undertook the Government; and for him to continue therein without them, in order to maintain the peoples liberty, was vain: And therefore if he herein followed the examples of some of his Ancestors, he may the rather be excused, though hereby the Kingdom was left in a confused condition.

The Nobles  
oppose the  
Bishops.

The next day the States met again, and in cold Blood, and upon second thoughts told the Bishops, that the Kingdom must not be ruined to satisfy their lusts, and that if they would not be equal judges between themselves and



and the people, others must: yet (said they) you shall be once more heard what you can say for your selves: And hereupon, a Conference was appointed, wherein Doctor *Olans* appeared for the King, and Doctor *Gallen* for the Bishops; and the point about Ecclesiastical power was largely debated, which Conference the longer it lasted, the more it touched the quick, so that many of the Hearers saw cause to alter their opinions about *Preslacy*, inso-much, as upon the third day, the Voters for the people urged the Bishops positively to submit to the King: But if they meant otherwise to expose the Nation to extremity, and mischief should come thereby, they vowed to be revenged upon the Authours thereof; and to this, the greater part of the Nobles agreed. At length the plurality of Votes prevailed, and a message was sent into the Castle to *Gustavus* by a person of quality, to beseech him to return into the Convention of States, but prevailed not, and a second message prevailed as little, till a third message, presented by persons of near Relation to him, prevailed to bring him to the Convention, where he was received by all the States with the greatest observancy that could be, all making it their humble request, that he would not reject the Government in such a juncture of affairs; withall, promising their utmost and faithful assistance. The King considering with himself, that though it was an ill condition with him to be alwayes labouring, and yet never to do the work; yet it was much worse to grow weary before he had attained to the shore, for that was the next door to drowning; whereupon, he took up a resolution to neglect mens Opinions and Censures, and to see to what issue he could bring the Counsels of the Conventions of Estates.

At last it was concluded that the Bishops should render up their Castles and Temporalities to the Kings disposal, and submit to live upon such Pensions as should be allowed them by the States, saving evermore the titles, interests and right of the Nobility, and others, to any part of the said Temporalities, which by the distemper of the times, had been encroached upon: But the execution hereof proved more difficult; many being unwilling to disrobe themselves before they went to Bed.

Such as were worst affected were soonest at the issue, as desperate persons, through conscience of their guilt, conclude that no mercy is to be had, and therefore they had as good pass the Pikes at first as at last. Only the Bishop of *Hincopen* was loth to part with his Castle of *Monkbed*, about which he held some debate, but in conclusion, was ordered to deliver possession at a day prefixed, and in the mean time to put in security for the performance thereof, and not to disturb the publick peace. The King would not discharge his Army till all was done, and at the time appointed he marched with it to the Castle of *Monkbed*, where he was sumptuously feasted by the Bishop, who gave so great content to the King, that he discharged the Bishops Sureties, and at his request, allowed him to visit the Churches of *Gothland*, where, having gotten much Treasure, without taking leave of the King, he took shipping, and sailed to *Dantzick*, where, after some years, he dyed. And thus *Sweden* gave a leading example to the Eastern Nations, of regulating, and restoring the Church-revenues to the right ends, for which they were intended.

*Gustavus* having now reigned five years since his first election, and having thus far prevailed to pare the nails, and clip the wings of the Lordly Clergy, he thought that now he might hearken to the advice of his States, and give them satisfaction by being Crowned, and thereupon he appointed a day to solemnize his Coronation at *Upsal*, which accordingly was performed, after he had served at the helm of Government seven years.

*Gustavus* his spirit, which was alwayes daring, grew yet more brave: His aims are yet higher, viz. at a reformation in Doctrine, Worship, and holyness of life; For which end he first placed in all the Cathedrals, men eminent

They request to re-assume the Government

The Temporalities of the Bishops given to the King

The Bishop of Hincopen flies.

The Clergies pride abated.

*Gustavus* is Crowned.

Reformation carried on.

for

The Kings  
Piety.

Satan ra-  
ges.

So do the  
Bishops.

And others  
that affect-  
ed Popery.

The Kings  
Courage.

The Muti-  
neers disa-  
gree.

Some flye.

Others put  
themselves  
upon Trial.

Are cast,  
and Con-  
demned.

The Kings  
Prudence.

for Learning, Holiness, and Eloquence, to preach the Word of God, en-joyning the Bishops out of the Church-Revenues, to provide them such Pen-sions as might encourage them in the Work. The King also kept set-times every week to hear them, in his own Person, before he sent them forth; and this he did, as well to satisfie his own Conscience, as to encourage others to attend upon publick Ordinances. But now comes the Trial, the States had agreed, and the Prelates had in shew submitted as to their Tem-poralities; but when the Reformation in Doctrine, Worship, and Conversa-tion was promoted, the Devil Roars, and will not so easily be cast out of the whole Nation of Sweden. The Minister that was sent to Preach at *Scaren*, was so entertained by the Bishop and his party, that he was forced to fly to *Upland* to save his Life; and the Rector of the Colledge under-taking to Expound St. *Matthews* Gospel, was in danger of being stoned by the Schollars, who were encouraged thereto by the Lords, and great men that joyned with the Bishop, in this undertaking. Some also, both of the great men, and Commons of *West-Gothland* hearing hereof, bestirred themselves, not for the Bishops sake (say they) but because our Religion is invaded by this new *Germaine* Doctrine of *Luther*; and upon this account they sent Letters to *Smalland* to stir them up to take Arms, who were easily perswaded there-to, and seized upon such as would not joyn with them; and amongst others, upon the Countess of *Hoy*, the Kings own Sister. They wrote also to those in the *Dales*, and other neighbouring Provinces, to send their Deputies to a meeting appointed by them at *Larva*: *So uncertain is the love of the people.* Thus the Scene of War is changed, and though *Tyranny* was in the Van, and *Prelacy* in the main Battel, yet *Popery* brought up the Rear; and all tended to bring the Nation into its old condition, rather than to suffer such a Change. *So unsensible are men of their present happiness.*

This storm the King might rationally foresee, by what he found in the case of *Prelacy*; yet his Courage leads him on even to Astonishment, ha-ving nothing to back him but a good Cause and a good Conscience; and tru-ly, though Politicians might condemn him, yet the Issue justified him. For the inhabitants of *West-Gothland*, considering that the generality of the People, had sworn Allegiance to the King, thereupon demurred upon the bu-siness; As also the Kings Merits, their enjoyments of their Laws and Liberties; and that, as to the point, of *Heresie* objected against the King, they were no competent Judges; and that, considering the Kings Piety, they had no cause to believe it, but rather to judge it a Scandal raised by his Enemies. Hereupon the Confederate-Lords grew into Differences a-mongst themselves, and the Bishop, and one other of them fled into *Den-mark*, whither the Kings Letters pursued them, alledging that it was con-trary to their Agreement, that either King should harbour the others Ene-mies, so that they were feign to fly from thence into *Mecklemburgh*; and the other Lords (forgetting what they had done) stood upon their justifi-cation, alledging that they were forced to it by the Heads that were ab-sent in Forrein parts; and that they never promoted, or encouraged the Rebellion either by Advice, Letters or Instructions, and therefore would stand to their Trial at Law.

The King and his Council wondered at their Confidence, advising them rather to stand to the Kings Mercy, and to crave his Pardon: But they refused any Mercy but what the Law would allow. At last the King pro-duced their own Letters, wherein they had written to the Provinces to take Arms, and so being self-condemned, two of them suffered Death; one was Ransomed, and the rest begging Pardon, were received to Mercy: Which excellent temperature in the execution of Justice, commended, and confir-med the King in his new-begun Kingdome, making the People both to fear, and love him. And thus was this stir (for War I cannot call it) about Po-

piss



*piſh Religion* quieted, not with the Kings Sweat and Labour, but by God alone, whoſe Cauſe it was.

The King taking into his Conſideration, that the King of Denmark's carriage in this matter, ſuited not with the former Agreement made betwixt them, and being unwilling that the ſame ſhould be invalidated in the leaſt point (*wiſe men who will preſerve Friendſhip, muſt ſtop the Breach whilſt it is ſmall*) he prevailed for an other interview, that they might underſtand each others mind more fully, and hereby the former agreement was explained, enlarged, and confirmed, and ſo parting in Love, they returned with joy.

Another interview of the two Kings.

The Kings marriage.

His Piety.

He prefers godly Biſhops.

Reformation carried on.

The Bible tranſlated.

The King of Sweden after ſo many Storms, now hoped for Peace, and a ſettled Government, and having been three years a Crowned King, he purpoſed to build up his Family by Marriage, which he Solemnized with the Lady *Katherine*, Daughter to the Duke of *Saxony*, at *Stockholm*, and now he muſt abide the Iſſues, and Events of the Affaires of the Kingdome, to be theirs, for better and worſe; and what he was formerly bound to do, meerly for the Nations ſake, he muſt now do for the ſake of his own Family and Relations. And thus having laid the Foundation of his own Houſe, he proceeds to the further building up of the Houſe of God; For though he had before ſeized upon the Temporalties of the Prelates, yet their places, ſo far as they concerned Church-Government, he took not away, nor that maintenance which was appointed for the Miniſtry. The States alſo ſettled Penſions upon ſuch as ſhould be Overſeers, or Biſhops, to have care of the Churches; and to theſe places (as was ſaid before) the King had ſent choiſe men for Gravity, Learning, and Holineſs of Life, and now he advanced two Brethren, Dr. *Laurentius* and Dr. *Olaus*, the one to be Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, the other to be Biſhop of *Stockholm*, through whoſe care and induſtry, together with other reformed Biſhops, the Reformation of Religion much prospered in the Kingdome during their Lives, which was for the ſpace of about thirty years; and through their ſtudy and diligence, it was principally, that the Bible was Tranſlated into the *Swediſh* Language; and being Printed, was diſperſed into every Town through the Nation.

King Chriſtian invades Norway.

Policy.

But the time of the Kings Reſt was not yet come: A ſtrange Apparition proceeds from the *Belgick* ſhore unto the Coaſt of *Norway*, *Chriſtian* the deposed King of *Denmark*, now long ſince reputed, as buried in *Brabant*, had at laſt by the help of the Emperour, and ſome adventurers in *Holland* and the adjacent Countries, who hoped for large Privileges in *Denmark* or *Norway* (if they could be regained to the King) gathered Souldiers and Ammunition, and with twenty five Ships ſailed from *Enchuſen* to the Coaſt of *Norway*; But by the way having loſt ten of them, they arrived only with the reſt, and before they were aware they were imprifoned by the Ice, all that Winter. Yet was *Chriſtian* at liberty all that while to work his deſigns upon that Country of *Norway*, the *Danes* being at that ſeaſon wholly diſabled to oppoſe him.

As many therefore of the great men of *Norway* as pleaſed, had free correſpondence with *Chriſtian*: Only the Governour of *Agger-houſe* Caſtle dealt ſubtilly with him, reſuſing to ſurrender it to *Chriſtian*, but upon ſuch terms as might ſtand with his honour. For (ſaith he) though I acknowledge *Chriſtian* to be King of theſe three Northern Kingdoms; yet for the honour of my Family, I deſire leave to write to *Frederick*, the now King of *Denmark*, for preſent relief (which in common reaſon he cannot ſend during Winter) otherwiſe I will tell him that I muſt ſurrender the Caſtle to King *Chriſtian*; and by this means your Maſeſty will be no loſer, and my honour ſhall be ſaved. *Chriſtian* was contented herewith, and the Governour diſpatched his meſſenger into *Denmark*, and notwithstanding the Froſt, he had ſuch ſupply ſent him as enabled him to ſtand upon his own defence. Upon this *Chriſtian* prepared for

A a a

a ſiege,

Some  
Swedes re-  
volt to him.

Others  
were more  
Wife.

King Chri-  
stians foolish  
credulity.

He is made  
a prisoner.

Note.

The King of  
Sweden  
meets with  
new trou-  
bles.

a siege, during the Continuance whereof, as the besieged were relieved by the *Danes*, so were the besiegers not onely by the *Normans*, but by many Runnegadoes out of *Sweden*: such was their old love to *Christian*, and their hatred to *Gustavus*; and these flocking to *Christian* from all parts, soliciting the *Dallcarles* (who were now disobliged from their King) to revolt with them to their former King, who (as they said) was through afflictions become quite another man, changed into a meek and compassionate nature, and a gracious deportment, and would doubtless imbrace them readily, and give them all the assurance they could desire.

They told them also that Foreign Princes would assist him, for that they liked not such presidents of Subjects deposing their King. And above all, they might hereby assure themselves that they should be received into the bosome of the Church, and into the favour of the *Pope*. These, and such like motives were suggested to the *Dallcarles*: But old Birds would not be caught with chaffe; few of them gave any credit to these things, and many derided them, knowing that nature is no changeling, except it be overpowered by supernatural principles: That the manner of *Christians* coming, shewed little signs of repentance for any other thing, than for that he had parted with the Crown upon such easie terms: That the differences between *Gustavus* their King, and them, were but lately begun, and might easily be composed; But those between *Christian* and them, were beyond a cure. The revolted *Swedes* seeing this, soon disappear, and the Winter being now almost ended, and *Christian* finding his party discouraged, and the stream still, after six years, so strong against him, and being grown weary of living upon the *German* courtesie, he chose rather to cast himself upon a Treaty with his Uncle the King of *Denmark*, than to return into *Brabant*: and having conditions proffered him by the *Danish* Admiral of safe conduct, whilst he treated with his Uncle, and in case of non-agreement, that he should have liberty to go whither he would, he sails with the Admiral into *Denmark*, never so much as enquiring whether the Admiral had power to grant such conditions or not.

Coming into *Denmark*, before he was aware, he was made a Prisoner, gaining onely this advantage, that now he was maintained honourably upon the publick charge of the Kingdome; as one that formerly had been their King, whereas if he had been elsewhere, he must have lived upon the curtesie of such as would have pitied him; and yet this is observable, that the *Danish* Admiral had no thanks for this service, and many thought, that it would have been better for *Denmark*, if the Prisoner had been in a Foreign Country: For though it be true, that deposing of Kings by their subjects is sadly resented by other Princes, yet it is only whilst the sore is green, and the flesh tender, which may occasion some anger from abroad for the present; But if upon some trial, they get nothing, Foreign Princes so love their own interest, and peaceable Government, that by continuance, the wound breeds stupefaction, and they will engage no more.

Now as touching *Sweden*, who was not a little concerned in this business of *Norway*, its worthy our observation, how the breach between the King and the *Dallcarles* was first made; For though the occasion was small, yet the mischief might have been exceeding great. The matter was briefly thus:

The Kings debts to the *Lubeckers* for their service in the time of his War, were not yet fully satisfied, and now payment was required with some eagerness, but how they should be paid, and how the money levied, admitted great matter of debate; some were for a Tax, that was thought would go hardly down with the people, who were so exhausted by Ten years Wars. Others were of Opinion that the profit of the Mines might be assigned to the *Lubeckers* for certain years, but then they knew not how the Govern-

ment



ment should be maintained without them? At last a project was propounded to give the King the Biggest Bell save one out of every Steeple within his Dominions, which (as was alledged) would do the work, and no particular man should have any loss, nor the publick be prejudiced. But this was a great mistake as things then stood: For the Merchants had engrossed much Copper, and if this proceeded, they were undone, they could get no Market. It was said, this was no good reason, being of too private a nature, to be ballanced with the publick good.

Then the quarrel was about the condition of these Bells: It was said, they were Anointed, and Consecrated to an holy Use, and ought not to be employed for prophane Uses; But this also was judged invalid, the Opinion being grounded upon superstitious Principles: But be it granted, that the Anointing, and Consecrating them was superstitious, yet if any property be at all in such devoted things, that property remaineth till it be legally destroyed; and untill then, the seizing of such things, and converting them to other uses, will in the vulgar Opinion fall under the notion of *Sacrilege*, which hath been always abominable even amongst the *Heathen*, though it were done in the *Wilde Wars*: Or, if it comes not under that notion, then it must be in the nature of a gift to the people of the Parish, either for their pleasure, or for the more convenient assembling them to publick duties; in both which Cases the unlawful seizing upon them is looked upon as a common plunder, and invasion of the goods of the whole body of the people at once, which is a sad presage, that no mans particular estate is his own any longer under such a Government. And it seems the people of *Sweden* had such an apprehension of this president; for after it was resolved upon, and began to be put in execution, an insurrection was made, and the people stood up in defence of their Bells, so that some could not be removed, others that were taken down, and carrying away, were pursued and rescued, and the Officers that were employed, were well beaten for their pains.

Tumults about Bells.

This being reported to the King, he called a *Convention* of the *States*, which would have been more seasonable before the business of the Bells had made such a jangling. This *Convention* of *States* met at *Upsal*: But the *Dallcarles*, who were most eager for their Bells, summon another *Convention* of the people at *Arbogg*, so that here was one Parliament against another. *The people* (saith the *Historian*) are commonly of that temper, that they will either serve humbly, or govern proudly. True liberty (which is the golden mean) they neither know how to want, nor how to use, especially such as the *Swedes* now were, trained up in *Warre*; who therefore chose rather to lose their Peace than their Bells.

A Convention of the States.

But the Parliament at *Arbogg* thrives not: few hearkened to their summons: yet did they set a good face upon the matter, and sending Messengers to the King, they protest their fidelity, yet desired his answer to two requests: One, that the King would not send more forces into the Country of the *Dallcarles* than they should deem Convenient for them to quarter: The other, not to set any Governour over them, but such an one as was of their own Country, and neighbourhood. The Kings spirit was too great to like of conditions from his Subjects; yet his wisdom prevailed; to take into consideration the condition of his affairs. He considered that *Christian* was now in *Norway*: That Winter was newly begun: That the *Norwegians* were inclined to assist *Christian*: And that if the *Dallcarles* should be further provoked; the issue might be doubtful. He therefore dissembled his Displeasure, and sent them a Governour according to their desire: But at the end of three years, he raised an Army, and seized upon the chief Authors of this Rebellion, and put them to Death: And further, to bring down the Pride of the *Dallcarles*, he seized upon their Liberties, and so levelled them with the rest of the People.

Subjects treat with their King.

The Kings policy.

He punishes the Rebels.

The King of  
Denmark  
dies.

An Interreg-  
num there.

Reformati-  
on of Reli-  
gion in Lu-  
beck.

Woolweaver  
a turbulent  
person.

The Danes  
refuse to  
joyn with  
Woolweaver.

So doth Gu-  
stavus.

Woolweavers  
pride.

The King  
and Wool-  
weaver fall  
out.

The Earl of  
Hoyes trea-  
chery.

This was the first malignant design against the Government of *Gustavus*, in favour of the Cause of the deposed King, which, like a *Granado* firing in the Air, spent it self before it fell: But it proved not the last. For, soon after the King of Denmark died, leaving *Christian* a Prisoner to the Lords of Denmark, who differing in their Opinions as to the Election of a King, spent two years in an *Interregnum*: during which time, some sought to promote the Son of the Deceased King, which was but a Child, and therefore more capable of Counsel, and herein the Bishops joyned. Others Acted for the Duke of *Holfst*: and some were for restoring *Christian*, then a prisoner, to the Crown again. This was one summons to the King of Sweden to look about him, and kept him off from punishing the *Dallcarles* for the matter about the Bells. But there was another thing that was no less dangerous, though the effect was not like to be so sudden, and that was this:

About this time there was a change of Government in *Lubeck*, from the the *Papish* to the *Lutheran* way, which although in it self it suited well enough with the King of Sweden's mind, yet in such alterations there is commonly one man more active than the rest; who in such alterations of Religion becomes an instrument of altering the Government. And such an one the *Lubeckers* had fitted for the purpose: His name was *Woolweaver*, a man whose education was answerable to his name: Him they made Consul of the City, and he being gotten up, was blown higher by affecting popularity, and undertaking to be a Protector to the poor, who were now much encreased in the City, the principal cause whereof, he alledged to be the King of Sweden's abridging them in their priviledges, contrary to his agreement made with them, when they assisted him in his Wars, as also that he had countenanced trade from, and with the *Hollanders*, and other Nations; for a remedy, whereof *Woolweaver* counselled them to endeavour to draw the *Danes* to joyn with the *Lubeckers* against all trading with Sweden from without the *Baltick* Sea.

But the *Danes* told them that they thought it not meet to conclude in things of that nature till they were better settled in their Government, and were agreed about the party that should be their King: And finding it more necessary to keep good Correspondence with Sweden (because of the endeavours of a party amongst themselves to advance *Christian* to the Throne again) they acquainted the King of Sweden with the designs of the *Lubeckers*. *Woolweaver* stormed at this, and without blushing, faces about, and propounds to the King of Sweden to joyn with him against the *Hollanders*: But *Gustavus* his counsel was rather to manage well the matter concerning Denmark, than to enter into new Engagements. For (saith he) the Danish affairs are as a Sea of many currents, wherein if you steer not an even course, and keep not constant watch, you may be in danger of Shipwrack; and therefore as embarked in one, and the same Ship with Denmark, let us bend our whole counsel in the speedy settlement of the Government thereof, so as may best conduce to the concurrent interest of both Nations.

*Woolweaver* finding himself thus disappointed in both these places, grew angry, and like one lifted up from below, lifted up his thoughts higher than his wits served him, and in his career Vaunteth, that as he had advanced *Gustavus* to the Throne, so he would pull him down again, and thereupon entertained Correspondency with the *Runnegadoes* of Sweden: which *Gustavus* being quickly sensible of, he seized upon the persons, goods, and priviledges of the *Lubeckers* in Sweden. The *Lubeckers* also dealt in the like manner with the Swedes in *Lubeck*.

*Woolweaver* in the mean time aiming at no less than the Crown of Sweden, held private intelligence in Sweden, and stirred them up to civil broils that might busie the King at home; and first, he prevailed with the Earle of *Hoy*, who



who had married the Kings sister, and being a person of great interest, he prevailed with the people, especially with those of *Smalland*, to disaffect them towards the King, which done, the Earl withdraws himself, his wife, and children to *Lubeck*, under pretence for his health sake, but being there arrived, he was made Commander in chief of all the disaffected Swedes who repaired unto him. *Its the usual fate of great men seldome to be contented with their present state; they think that either their own merits are not rewarded enough, or their inferiours too much, and so through discontent, striving to be higher, they fall lower.*

Pride goes  
before a fall

The Earl of *Hoy* thought it not enough to be the Kings Brother by marriage, and Lord Lieutenant under *Gustavus* in *Sweden*, but he must become General of a party of Discontents under *Woolweaver* against his King, his Brother, his Kindred, and Country, and what he gained thereby, will afterwards appear.

In the meantime many retire to him out of *Sweden*, principally by reason of the disturbances in *Smalland*, which himself had kindled before his departure thence, and which afterwards were fomented by a company of lawless persons who had combined themselves against the Kings Justices there, and carried themselves with so high an hand, that it came to Blood, even to the slaughter of the Kings Lieutenant in that Country; and when the King had suppressed them by force of Arms, yet they maintained a kinde of theevish War till they could retire themselves to the Earl of *Hoy*, whose party being thus increased, waited all advantages, which occasioned the King of *Sweden* to stand rather upon his watch, than upon his defence; for they did him no harm, God having provided other means to clip their wings without the labour of the King of *Sweden*.

For *Woolweaver*, according to his design, being strengthened by these aides, soon employed it about his principal work, which was to settle his Neighbours, the *Danes*, in a fitting posture for his purpose. For the present condition of *Denmark* was this: The Nobles were divided (as was said before) about the election of a King, divers were for *Fohn*, the son of the former King, though a childe, and that principally upon the account of Religion, which his Father had changed into the *Lutheran* way, and they hoped the Sonne would the rather uphold it. This the Bishops smelt out, and sought the advancement of the *Papish* Religion, and therefore would have the Government managed by Administratorship, and in their own names they published *Injunctions*, wherein they required all the *Lutheran* Preachers to depart out of the Country by a day prefixed. This being like to fall heavy upon the Cities of *Hafnia*, and *Malmogia*, who yet were loath to make a breach, they prevailed to have the Government by Administratorship advanced, and with all invited *Christian* Duke of *Holst* to be Administrator for *Fohn*, the former Kings son, but he disclaimed it. Then they had recourse to, and prevailed with the Duke of *Aldenburg* (who professed the Doctrine of *Luther*) to accept thereof, who thereupon came to *Hafnia* with a party; and when he was there, perceiving many Whisperings about the Restoring of their desposed King, the Duke, to gain the greater party, declared his willingness for the resettlement of him, whereby he won much upon the common people. For *Christian* Drove on the same Trade in *Denmark* as he had formerly done in *Sweden*, flattering the people into a party against the Lords, which (as an Historian saith) is the ready way to Tyranny. *Woolweaver*, though he was more passionate, than wife, takes this opportunity, and sides with the Duke of *Aldenburg*, and prevails with him to engage against the Duke of *Holst*, who had divers of the Lords of *Denmark* that joyned with him to make him King; but in this the Duke of *Aldenburgs* expectation was frustrated; For he lost the day, and was beaten out of the Field by the Duke of *Holst*.

Divisions in  
Denmark

And

Gustavus  
joyn with  
the Lords of  
Denmark.

The Duke  
of Alden-  
burgh bea-  
ten.

Woolweavers  
treachery a-  
gainst Gu-  
stavus.

Suanto's fi-  
delity.

Aldenburg  
beaten.

And now was the Duke of *Holst* brought upon the stage to Act his part for the Crown of *Denmark*, thereby to procure his own rest and safety; and observing that the King of *Sweden* was left out of the Play, he invites him to bear a part in the Game for *Woolweavers* sake. The King of *Sweden* well knowing his own interest, made little difficulty of the matter; and though *Woolweaver* endeavoured to stop that muse by a fair Message, yet the King would not so be perswaded, but told the Messengers of their Masters entertainment of the *Swedish Runnegadoes*, and so dismissed them; and being informed that the people in *Denmark* sided with the Duke of *Aldenburg*, for their deposed King, he thought it not fit to dally any longer, but forthwith falls with an Army into the *Danish* Territories, and possessed himself of divers places for the use of the Duke of *Holst*. The *Danish* Lords also seeing which way the current ran; and themselves deserted by the people, joyned with the Duke of *Holst*, and engaged him for the Crown in good earnest.

In the mean time the Duke of *Aldenburg*, seeing what interest he had with the common people, thought all safe, and therefore took his ease, and enjoyed his pleasure. But the Duke of *Holst*, did not so; he sent the *Danish* Lords into *Fusland* with an Army, who soon settled that Country, and from thence marched into *Fionia*, where, in one Battel, all the Duke of *Aldenburgs* hopes were dashed, and the Earl of *Hoy* was sacrificed to the King of *Swedens* pleasure; the Archbishop of *Upsal* also, and diver others disaffected *Swedes* were slain in the Battel.

The news hereof coming to *Lubeck*, made *Woolweaver* once more tack about, and hearing that *Suanto*, the son of *Steno Stur*, sometimes Governour of *Sweden*, was in the Duke of *Saxonies* Court, he suborned a messenger to him as from his Mother, to meet her at *Malla*, where (it was said) she waited with Convenience for him: Hereupon he repaired to *Malla*, where instead of meeting with his Mother, he was met with by a Troop of Horse from *Lubeck*, who offered him in the name of the City, great honours if he will be advised by them; and so by surprisal, they conveyed him to *Lubeck*, where he was saluted by *Woolweaver* the Consul, with great expressions of joy, who minded him of the unsettled state of the *Northern* Kingdomes, and of the private disaffection of the *Swedes* to their King. Adding, that now there was a fair opportunity offered to him to recover the Government of *Sweden*, which place was so famously managed by his Ancestors. That *Lubeck* had an Army in readiness, wanting onely his consent to be their Leader. That it was expected that he should now shew himself worthy of such Progenitors: But *Suanto* had sworn Allegiance to *Gustavus*, and meant to observe it, and therefore refused the proffers, and demanded liberty to depart, or else that *Woolweaver* would shew cause why he was detained Prisoner. *Woolweaver* seeing no good was to be done, told him that he was no prisoner, and that it was free for him to go when, and whither he pleased, only earnestly desiring that where ever he went, he would retain a favourable opinion of the City.

The King of *Sweden* being informed of these passages, was thereby sharpened in the pursuit of the Duke of *Holsts* interest upon the main land of *Schoonen*, and in a short time brought all the Country to submit to him, onely the City of *Malmogia*, and some other neighbouring Castles held out for the Duke of *Aldenburg*, from whom they expected relief; and accordingly the Duke, with the Duke of *Oldenburg*, and the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, joyning all their strength together, resolve to adventure all upon the issue of one Battel with the King of *Sweden*, wherein their Army was utterly and irrecoverably overthrown; so that within a few dayes, all the Country was wholly for the Duke of *Holst*, which but a week before was quite of another temper.



*Haffnia* had now been besieged above half a year by the Duke of *Holf*, which City was only left as the gleanings of the War, and wherein the last strength of the Dukes of *Aldenburg*, *Oldenburg*, *Mecklenburg*, and of the City of *Lubeck* was now contracted. All this while *Christian* the deposed King had time enough to try the Courtesy of the House of *Burgundy*; but none of that house would sit in his behalf, and which was more unhappy for the besieged, the affairs of *Lubeck* were faced about to the Rear. For the *Hanf-Towns* in their general meeting, perceiving that the affairs of *Lubeck* had for these five years last past been wholly swayed by *Woolweaver*: under a pretence of Religion, and that the City by that means was brought into such difficulties that they knew not how to come off, either with credit or safety; they thereupon concluded (according to the Counsel sent by the Emperor to the City) that the former Government should be restored at *Lubeck*, not at all meddling with the matter of Religion; and because they would save the Credit of *Woolweaver*, they commended him to the Government of *Bergeridoffe*. *Woolweaver* was not therewith contented, and therefore at his departure out of the City, Vowed Revenge; and the Senate at *Lubeck*, being now changed, Considering the Restless Spirit of *Woolweaver*, were as little satisfied as he, and therefore sent Messengers after him, who finding him upon his journey, in the Territories of a Prince, who owed him no good will, they procured him to be imprisoned, and afterwards Charging him with Treason against the State of *Lubeck*, he was put to death, and quartered. And now *Lubeck* was settled upon its old basis, and flourished again, leaving this Lesson to such as would be States-men, That *Miscarriages in Government, are not reformed by altering, but by establishing the Government.*

*Woolweaver* is hanged, and quartered.

*Haffnia* now after a years siege, being tired out with the miseries of War, was surrendered upon terms, not altogether so honourable for the Duke of *Holf*, as might have been expected: Whereupon the King of *Sweden* told the Duke, that being privy to his one Engagement in the Dukes behalf, he little expected that such an agreement should ever have been made by the Duke without his knowledge, and in one thing, not without his consent. For (said he) *Why should I be excluded out of this agreement, and you thereby, to engage your self not to aid me in case I should not agree with the Lubeckers upon just terms.* The Duke pleaded, that he was necessitated to it, to gain the present surrender of the City; as also, that the importunity of the Lords, and his Neighbour-Princes drew him thereto: Nevertheless he assured the King, that if he would send Ambassadors, he should find that he should not receive any damage thereby. And accordingly the King did send Ambassadors; but the *Lubeckers* could never prevail to have a settlement of their privileges in *Sweden* as they desired: so that in conclusion, there was only a bare truce concluded betwixt them, and the King of *Sweden*, for five years.

*Haffnia* surrendered.

The King makes a truce with *Lubeck*.

Thus are the three Northern Kingdoms brought once more into a settlement, and turbulent *Lubeck* was calmed, and the Captive King in a manner twice Captivated; and now if not quite hopeless, yet less hopeful than ever formerly. *England* indeed was allied, and had done what it thought meet, and possibly more than was meet. For Ambassadors were sent from hence to draw the Lords to a Treaty; But they liked not to adventure their necks upon purposes and promises. The Emperor did less, either judging *Christians* person despicable, by reason of his unworthy carriage to his Queen, and Lords; or the Lords were more wise and wary than to adventure upon a second trial of their late Kings courtesy, unless they were compelled thereto by force: To do which, the Emperor had neither time, nor money to spare, though the Opportunity lay as fair, to do his Brother a good turn as he could desire, if he had intended it. And Lastly, though the common people did what they could, yet they effected nothing, *its many times seen, that Providence doth advance some particular persons of the meanest rank, to be instrumental*

Note

strumental in the Publick Government, but never puts the Government into the power of such, which would be the speedy way to confusion, as appeared in those very times by the Earthquakes in Government, raised by the Anabaptists in Germany, wherein though the issue was abortive, yet it came to that growth as made the greater Powers to tremble.

The King of  
Swedens  
Prudence.

And now the time of *Swedens* rest was come, where both King and people might have leisure to enjoy their several lots. The King had hitherto acted the Souldiers part very well, and now he must try his skill in a peaceable Government, wherein I shall onely set down the brief Contents of many Laws, and Acts of State, which shew rather the disposition of the Government, than the several actions thereof.

Prudence.

The King now at leisure, taking into Consideration that the Fewel which maintained the Civil War was now spent, and that the people who had been trained up to the toyl of War, were fitter for labour than leisure; and considering also that a time must come when a Common wealth, reduced by War, must be governed and maintained by peace; He now applied himself to acquaint his people with matters of profit, drawing them to Mining, Husbandry, Fishing, and Merchandize; all which were much advanced by the Kings own ingenuous Contrivances; and by encouraging the laborious, banishing idleness, punishing Vagabonds, and wanderers, he found a way to make the Sea to serve the Land, the Land to serve Men, Men to serve the Nation, the Nation to observe their King, and both Nation and King to serve God; and thereby he laid a far better building of *Sweden* than *Augustus* did of *Rome* of whom it was said, *That he found it of earth, and left it of stone.*

The Crown  
of *Sweden* is  
made suc-  
cessive, and  
why.

The people likewise soon found the sweetness of this Government, and were not far behind in requital of the Kings favour to them. They had now lived twenty years under his Government, and in a good measure found the benefit of peace, though bought with their Sweat and Blood in a long War; But how sad would it be, if the last breath of the King should put an end to their happiness? The Council therefore at their meeting, taking this into consideration, that the Government of *Sweden* by Election was alwayes uncertain, seldom effected without deceit, and discord, and oft-times at the price of the peoples Blood; that it is of short continuance, depending upon the life of one man, and prejudicial to the publick good. For that in such cases, Kings will deplume their subjects to feather their own nests, to keep their young ones warm, when themselves are gone; and that it were far better for the people to be sucked by one Leech, which in time might be satisfied, than by the change of many, who will but increase the pain, and suck without satiety. That the advancement of one Family to the Throne would be a Cure to all this, and a preparative to a winning aspect from it upon the people, and of a due respect from them to it, and so of a kind of Conjugal affection between both, against the Marriage day. That it is a means to suppress the turbulent aims of ambitious men, who croud into the Throne, though of all others they be most unworthy: Besides, that it secureth the present Government in the peaceable possession of him that enjoys it. And that upon these, and such like grounds, *Augustus*, and other *Roman* Emperours, who wanting issue, used in their life-times to adopt, and declare their successors in the Government, and trained them up for that service; nor did they find it dangerous either for themselves, or their successors so to do: That the people at the siege of *Stockholme* offered to settle the Government upon the King, and his children, when at that time he neither had any, nor was married: But now that he is married, and have Children, and hath given such large experience of his love, industry, and faithfulness in adventuring all that he had, even to his own life, to vindicate the honour of his Country: What acknowledgement can be sufficient for so great a merit, less than the settlement of the Crown of *Sweden* upon him, and his posterity for ever?

This



This was the result of their debates, and thus it was resolved unanimously at the Council held at *Orebro*, that it should be propounded by them to the *Convention of States* that it might be confirmed for future ages. All which by an Instrument under their hands they professed to be done by them freely, and of their own accord without any constraint. Indeed the Kings Enemies Scoffed hereat, as if he had suffered a Crown to be forced upon his Family against his will. Others pretended Religion against it, as if God liked not that men should contrive perpetuities; which is true, yet doth he like that men should be provident in establishing Justice, Truth, and Peace in a Nation; For which end himself did settle the Crown upon the Family of *David*, and hath blessed the same Rule in the Government of most Kingdomes with prosperous success, though not alwayes precisely fixing upon the same person that men design thereto.

But whatsoever was said, its clear, that the Kings desire was not very eager upon it, for that he summoned not a *Convention of States* of four years after; And then at *Westerafs* the point was debated anew, the result whereof was this Act; That after the death of *Gustavus Ericson*, his Son shall succeed in the Government, and his eldest Son, and the Heirs male of his Body; and for want of such, his second Brother, and his Heirs male of his Body; and for want of such, *John*, the second Son of *Gustavus*, and his Heirs male of his Body shall succeed, and so the rest of the Sons of *Gustavus*, and their Heirs male of their Bodies: And in case of want of Heirs males of the Sons of *Gustavus*, the eldest of the Blood, and Family of *Gustavus* shall succeed, and his issue male; And for want of such, then shall such person succeed as the Council of the Kingdom of *Sweden* shall elect, provided he be no Forreigner, and that he shall provide Portions for the issue female of *Gustavus*. The Council of *States* did herein as wise men, that steer their course by Rule, and yet still leave to God his supream controle, who also in this case over-ruled their rule as to the succession of the posterity in *Ericus* his line, which was afterwards laid aside by the people (*Ericus* being found false to the Principles of Government established by his Father, and the *Convention of States*) and yet God owned *Gustavus* his Family so far as to build him a sure house (who had built Gods house) by raising from thence many brave men both for War and Peace, and made it the brightest Constellation of all the Northern Hemisphere, to have an influence, not onely within the Kingdom of *Sweden*, but into the general affairs of *Europe*.

The Crown is entailed upon *Gustavus* his Family.

Note.

Gods Blessing upon his Family.

But as *Gustavus* his House grows in their hopes, so *Christian*, the deposed King loseth in his. The Emperour being intent upon his Wars with *France*, found it necessary to quiet his affairs in *Germany*; and therefore amongst other things at the *Convention at Spire*, the difference between him and *Christian* the third, King of *Denmark*, came under debate, and was settled; And *Christian* the second, the Emperours Brother-in-Law, was after fourteen years of imprisonment, left still to be a Prisoner, who seeing himself now quite neglected by his chief Friends, bethought himself how he might make his Captivity (seeing it must be his condition) as easie as he could; And for that end he actually surrendered all his right, and the right of all his posterity in the Crown of *Denmark*, and the Dukedomes of *Holst*, and *Stewick*, in as ample manner as could be devised, and thereby indeed he obtained, though not a release from, yet more liberty in his prison.

*Christian* resigns his Crown.

The Title of *Sweden* was not at all mentioned, neither did the *Svedes* require any resignation, nor would acknowledge any Title. Yet the Emperour was willing enough to countenance any quarrel that was picked against the King of *Sweden*, as appeared in the business of the Elector *Palatine*, and the Duke of *Lorain* touching their Nieces Dowry (which, as they pretended, the Kingdom of *Sweden* ought to take care of) but the matter went no further than words. The claim was published in Print, and so was the

King of *Swedens* answer alio, who denied the matter of fact, and alledged that if any thing had been formerly due, it was made null by that inhumane Tyranny, whereby *Christian* forfeited all his rights in *Sweden*, for himself and posterity: declaring also that now the publick Revenues of the Crown of *Sweden*, were otherwise settled, and could not be altered.

*Gustavus*  
his Posterity.

A while after, the King of *Swedens* second wife dyed, leaving three sons, and four daughters. Her Eldest Son [*John*] was afterwards King of *Sweden*, when his eldest brother *Ericus* was deposed by the people for his misgovernment. Her second Son [*Magnus*] was Duke of *East-Gothland*. Her third Son [*Charles*] was Duke of *Sudermania*, who afterwards was King upon the deposing of his Nephew *Sigismund*, first King of *Poland*, and after Crowned also King of *Sweden*, but after a while was ejected by the People, because he would not maintain the Liberties of *Sweden*, but sought to advance the *Polish* interest. After the Death of this *Charles*, his Son *Gustavus Adolphus* succeeded in the Kingdome (whose Life I have also written) and after him, his Daughter *Christina*, who resigning the Government, *Charles Gustavus*, Son of *Katherine*, daughter to *Charles*, and half sister to *Gustavus Adolphus*, married to one of the house of *Casimire*, succeeded, who lately dying, left an Infant in the Throne, since when, *Christina* would willingly have reassumed the Government, but was rejected by the States, the rather because she was turned *Papist*, who reserve the Kingdome for the Son of *Charles*. A brave posterity doubtless; Yet the King, though now stricken in years, could not live unmarried, but took a third Wife, *Katherine*, Daughter to *Gustavus*, Governour of *West-Gothland*.

*Gustavus*  
grows famous.

The Wisdome, Courage, and prosperous success of *Gustavus*, being now Famous amongst other Nations, occasioned sundry applications to be made to him for assistance; but he was ever wary of moving out of his own sphere.

Note.

*Its an excellent point of skill in a Commander to know when his strength hath attained its just bounds of Conquest, and there, stopping his desires of gaining more, to fix upon the good Government of what he hath already gotten.* It was one of the last counsels given by *Augustus* to *Tyberius*, that he should not endeavour to enlarge the bounds of the Empire, lest he should meet with more difficulty in keeping, and less in losing what was gained. For the larger the borders are, the more opportunity is given for invasion from abroad, and for rebellion at home. The wisdome, and moderation therefore of *Gustavus* is to be commended; For though he wanted not men of War, nor hope of success in further undertakings, yet having adventured for the delivery of his Country from Tyranny, and accomplished it, he desired no further happiness upon earth, than to maintain what he had gotten; yet was he once over-reached by the *Livonians*, who proffered to commit themselves to his protection, which he refused; yet when they were much endangered by the *Muscovites*, he sent aid unto them, who engaging too far, and the *Livonians* hanging behinde, the whole burden was left upon the *Swedes*, who finding the *Muscovite* too heavy for them, and the *Livonians* heartless, or faithless, withdrew their assistance betimes, and made their own peace.

Policy of  
Princes.

*Its a usual policy amongst Princes to be slow in advancing their eldest Sons (who are to succeed them) into places of Government, and not without cause; For in such cases, especially in times, and places of darkness, their designed successors, if well gifted by nature, or education, may prove Heads of Parties, and Factions, and thereby put the present Governours to much trouble, the one being looked upon as the rising, the other but as the setting sun.* Yet it seems more prejudicial to the people to have a raw and unexperienced Governour set over them, who knows not how to govern himself. And therefore if *Ericus* had been more exprienced in Government,  
he



he might have proved, either more advised by the over-ruling direction of his Father, or else he would have discovered himself so far, as that he would never have been trusted, and so many troubles might have been prevented, which ensued afterwards.

But it is vain to call back things which are already past, the time draws on a pace which must determine the work of this great King: He had now governed the Kingdome of Sweden long, and had seen many changes in other Nations as well as his own, and yet must out-live one more in Denmark before he leaves the world. For about this time died Christian the third, King of Denmark, by whose decease the Kingdome was put to the hazard of an other Election, which concerned Sweden not a little; For Christian, the captive King was yet alive, and had another fair opportunity to try the curtesie of the Lords of Denmark: But they being unanimous for the choice of Frederick, the Son of the Duke of Holst, him they Crowned, and Christian was still set aside. Unhappy man, that having lived a prisoner seven and twenty years in his own Nation, could not in all that time, by his carriage gain a better Opinion amongst the Nobility of Denmark, but that still he remained under the note of an impenitent, and obstinate Tyrant.

The King of Denmark dies.

Another chosen.

Note.

It is the Opinion of Wise Men, that the breach between a King, and his People is like the Divorce between a Man, and his Wife, never to be made up again; And yet the difficulty lyes not in any determinate judgement, or Rule upon the Case, as that of Divorce doth (and therefore comes not within the compass of impossibility) but in the distemper of the parties, by ambition on the one side, and jealousy on the other, both hard to be cured: yet the first, leading the way to the second, if that be first allayed, the second may be cured. And this Christian might have observed in the example of Carolus Canutus, his corival in the Swedish Throne, who having been Crowned King, and fought successfully against the Danes and Norwegians, ruled somewhat too imperiously, for which he was ejected out of his Throne, and yet afterwards, being re-admitted, he ruled in that manner, that he dyed satisfied with Honour, and the love of his People. But Christian was of another temper, he would fain come again into the Government, but not under restraint, nor with submission, nor by leave, nor with the love of his Nation; But still depending upon a forreign interest, and the power of the Emperour, he was looked upon as an enemy, and his return, as that of the unclean spirit, that would render the latter condition of the Nation sevenfold worse than the former. For he that is a King indeed, though wrongfully rejected, will still bear the minde of a King to desire the Peoples good, and will endeavour to deserve their love: But he that depends upon the forreign interest of such as are professed enemies to a peoples Religion and Liberties, disowneth interest in his people, and therefore cannot rationally expect any re-acceptance (if that Nations Religion be right) either by the leave of God, or liking of the people.

Note.

Now whether Christian took conceit at this Election; seeing no hope of ever gaining a better condition than for the present he was in, Writers mention not; But he dyed presently after, even within one moneth of the death of Christian the third, and in the Seventy eight year of his age. And Gustavus outlived him, and all these changes well-nigh two years, seeing his people in a settled condition for Justice, Religion and Peace amongst themselves, and with all their Neighbours, thriving in Trade, industrious in Husbandry: Skillfull in improving the benefit of their Mines: Potent both at Sea and Land: And himself blessed with repute, and Honour, both from his own people, and strangers: Successfull in all his affairs; and leaving a numerous posterity behind him. And having lived seventy years, and thereof reigned thirty eight years, he gave in charge to his children to endeavour the peace, and to maintain the liberties of their Country; But especially to preserve

Christian the Tyrant dies.

the purity of Religion without the mixture of humane inventions; and to live as brethren in unity among themselves. All which also he left as a memorial, sealed up in his last *Will*, and so he resigned up his spirit to God *Anno Christi 1562*.

*Gustavus*  
dieth.

His Cha-  
racter.

So lived *Gustavus*, or *Augustus*, for the name is the same, which perhaps, minding him of imitation, made him exceed his pattern. His aims out-reached the *Roman Empire*, and were higher than the world: His difficulties and dangers greater: His enemies more desperate by conjuncture of the Devils: His labour and industry not unlike: His success beyond all, even to wonderment. If he came short of *Augustus* in his time of Government (wherein the difference was not much) yet he exceeded him in the manner: It being with such an excellent temper of *Monarchy* with *Popularity*: He preserved the peoples liberty with the honour of a King, and common security without Pride of Tyranny. The people living as well under the King without servitude, as in a popular estate without sedition, and yet he tempered all, with just liberty of conscience, and the true worship and service of God, which he owned as the chief *Diamond* in his Crown, and conveyed all to his successors by a better, and more enduring settlement than *Augustus* did, or could attain unto: His worst enemies never publicly taxed him with any crime but covetousness: And *Thuanus* (a Writer of credit in those times) gives no countenance thereto: Nor did the Patrimony left by him to his children, hold forth any such thing; and therefore if any such thing were, it was for the service of the state of *Sweden*, wherein, if he spared not others, its confessed by all, that he spared not his own estate. His infirmities were common to other men, and must be acknowledged *vitia natura, non animi*, as infirmities of nature, not of purpose of mind. If his Fame rather mounted upwards, than spread abroad, we may thank the subtilty of those times, who liked not that the splendor of his Religion should dazzle their own, and we may pity the distempers of those dawns that knew not how to value that *Morning Star* till it was set. It was *Augustus* his lot, after a long and Honourable Reign, to dye, and yet *Tum quidem pauci luxerant, postea temporis omnes*: Few mourned at his death, but a while after, all. For *Tiberius* succeeded him, who was as wicked, as *Augustus* was good: And whatever the people thought of *Gustavus* whilst he lived, a while after when *Ericus* came to Reign, they knew what it was to want their *Gustavus*: Of whom it may truly be said, that he dyed a King, a Patriot, a Knight, a Christian, true and unconquered, and yet lives a monument of the truth of that Golden Sentence, uttered by the God of Truth, *Him that honours me, will I honour*.

*Deo Tri-uni Gloria.*

THE





## The Life, and Death of Mrs. Jane Ratcliffe, who dyed Anno Christi 1638.



Ms. *Jane Ratcliffe* was born of good Parents, who were Her parentage.

morally Civil, and moderately Religious, according to the temper of the times wherein they lived: Her Uncle was Master *Edward Brerewood*, a learned Professor in *Gresham College London*. In her younger years she was rather Civil than Religious, and sometimes rather merry than Civil; yet lightsome without lightness, or immodesty: Though too much delighted with dancing, Stage-plays, and other publick vanities, according to the fashion of young folkes, especially in

those times when these things were so well thought of, that they were admitted to be acted in the Churches. But it pleased God, according to the election of Grace, in due time to call her by the Ministry of Master *Nicholas Byfield*, who was a powerfull, and a profitable Preacher of Gods Word at that time in the City of *Chester*; which also was seconded by the afflicting hand of God, who took away her first Child (which she much took to Heart) but God made it an occasion to make her his own Child by Adoption, and Grace. For from that time the meanes of Grace had a more kindly operation upon her, which made her ever after more to mind her Father in Heaven, than any Child she had upon earth.

Her conversion.

Yet at first, she rather feared God than loved him, whence were engendred many perplexing scruples in her soul, which for the present were very grievous unto her: For her Spirit was sore wounded, and *A wounded spirit, who can bear?* Prov. 18. 14. The truth is, the pangs of her New Birth were so painfull, and bitter, and sometimes so terrible, that it was a difficult thing to fasten any comfort upon her. But after the Lord had chastened her soul with his severe Discipline, and thereby had prepared her for a Cure, he shewed himself her most favourable and effectual Physician, according to that *Job 5. 18. He maketh sore, and bindeth up; He wounds, and his hands make whole.* For he quieted her troubled spirit, and settled it in the assurance of his love.

The manner of it.

Being thus, through Gods goodness, converted, and comforted, it pleased him to bestow many excellent endowments upon her, both Intellectual, and Morall. For by her frequent, and attentive hearing of Sermons, and reading good Books, the Bible especially (unto which she was addicted with an incredible desire, and delight) and by moving Questions to such as she thought best able to answer them, she became an excellent proficient in the most sound, and usefull points of Religion: yet took she not upon her to teach

Her excellent parts.

reach any but her own children, and servants, though an *Apollos* might not have disdained to learn of such a *Priscilla*, Act. 18. 22.

Heavenliness.

She medled but little in worldly matters, and when she did, she little minded them: yet (shadowing her self from acquaintance with the world) she shined gloriously in her knowledge of God, and Heavenly matters.

Her prudence.

As she had occasion to converse with others, she shewed her self a very prudent *Abigail*: *The Word of God* as *St Paul* prescribeth) dwelt richly in her in all wisdom, which appeared in her speech, in her silence, in her carriage, and in her actions.

In her speech.

In her speech: For (as the some Apostle requireth) *being enriched both in knowledge, and utterance*, 1 Cor. 1. 5. She opened her mouth with wisdom, as that rare Woman, *Prov. 31. 26.* having (as *St. Jerome* dictated to *Celantha*) thought beforehand what she should speak: and while she was yet silent, forecasting that she might say nothing which afterwards she would wish to be unsaid again; And so she was fitted, and well prepared either to counsell, or to comfort: to reprove, or to plead for, as there was occasion.

In her silence.

Yet was she not (as some women would have been, with her abilities, and some without them have been) obstreperously talkative, nor affected by her words to make any ostentation of her wit, or other good parts: But very sparing of her speech, so that she was as much observed for her silence, as for her discreet discourse when there was just occasion, and opportunity. For she had learned, That *In multitude of words there wants not sin*, *Prov. 10. 19.* That *Whosoever keeps his mouth, and his Tongue, keeps his soul*, *Prov. 22. 23.* That *Death and life are in the power of the Tongue*, *Prov. 18. 21.* That *Tatling women* are condemned by the Apostle, 1 *Tim. 5. 13.* That *Of every idle word account must be given at the day of judgement*, *Mat 12. 36.* And that they who profess Religion, and *refrain not their Tongues, their Religion is vain*, *Jam. 1. 26.* This moved her, with *David*, to resolve, that her mouth should not offend, *Psalme 17. 3.*

Her Prudence.

Certainly such silence as she used (in those that know how to speak) is an argument of wisdom: For a *wise man* (saith *Solomon*) and it is as true of a woman) *holdeth his peace*, *Prov. 11. 12.* And *he that refrains his lips is wise*, *Prov. 10. 19.* And so far was she from speaking ill, especially of the absent, or of her betters, that *St. Jeroms* precept to *Celantha*, was set forth in her practice, which was, rather to look to her own life, than to carp at anothers. And she well knew, that where *corrupt communication* is restrained, there that which is *good to the use of edifying* is required: Yet was she so wise, and wary, even in the use of good words, as to observe when, and where, and before whom to use them, and the season when to give over, as well as when to begin her discourse.

Her holy communication.

Her wife demeanour.

She gave father proof of her prudence in her carriage, and behaviour: And *Bishop Hall* in his *Contemplations* makes this a very good proof of wisdom. *There are some* (saith he) *whose speeches are witty, while their carriage is weak; whose deeds are incongruities, whilest their words are Apothegmes.* It is not worth the name of wisdom that may be heard only, and not seen. Good discourse is but the froth of wisdom: The pure, and solid substance of it is, well-framed actions. And according to this we may commend her conversation for prudence in practice, above that which she shewed either in the use, or restraint of her Tongue: For as *St. Jerom* saith, *She taught others more by her example than by her speech*, much more then by her silence. She was a woman of a well composed spirit, discreetly advised, framing her affairs by good direction of grace, and reason, without any direction of humour or passion, which bare no sway over her at all, and very seldome had any shew or appearance in her, but when her discretion told her it was fit to make use of



of them for due advertisement to others; and then she would order it with such moderation, as that neither her words, nor her looks, nor her gestures, carried any colour of contradiction to her prudence and piety: So that her wisdom was a protection to the reputation of her piety against all scornful reproaches: Yea, it was a promotion of the Christian profession to more estimation in her person, and for her sake.

And though she was singularly gifted, yet was she far from their disposition who think they do nothing well unless they be singular: And though she had less to do with worldly matters than most would have had in her condition, yet therein also she gave that proof of prudence which *Solomon* observeth, *Prov. 14. 1. A wise woman (saith he) builds her house:* For she was very provident in managing her Family affairs both whilst she was married, and when she was a widow also.

Now from her Intellectual parts, let us pass to her Moral, and we shall find, that though she had a very good Head, richly stored with ingenious and religious Notions, yet she had a far better Heart, more abundantly furnished with excellent graces, whereof we will single out some.

1. For her Faith, which is the hand that turneth the key to unlock the store-house of divine Beneficence: This appeared by a Paper written with her own hand, wherein, she did set down the *Articles* of her faith in full, plain, and perspicuous terms, with pertinent proofs of Scripture to every point, and then she maketh particular application thereof to her self, as thus:

Her Faith.

"I do believe the Scriptures to be the very Word of God, *2 Tim. 3. 16.*  
 "2 *Pet. 1. 21.* and I have found them so to me by the witness of Gods  
 "Spirit, which I have felt testifying of them, and by the unutterable com-  
 "fort which I have received by them, wonderfully refreshing my Heart  
 "when it was in the deepest distress, whereby God hath made them so good  
 "unto me that I account them *better than Thousands of gold, and silver,*  
 "Psal. 119. 72.

The confession of her faith.

"I do believe that God made man at first *after his own Image,* Gen. 1.  
 "26. which Image did chiefly consist in *Knowledge and Holiness,* Eccles. 7.  
 "29. Eph. 4. 24. and out of admiration of this Image, I do long for that  
 "time when I shall be satisfied with it Psal. 17. 15.

"I do believe that all mankind hath sinned, *1 King. 8. 46.* and that the  
 "nature of man is stained with sin from the Birth, *Psal. 51. 5.* I know, and  
 "must acknowledge that the cause of all the afflictions which do befall me  
 "in this life, is in my self, and I know no cause to murmur at my crosses  
 "when I look upon my sin.

"I do believe that *Jesus Christ* is God, and my God, *Psal. 68. 20.* and  
 "in that he is a God, and my God, it doth exceedingly comfort me: For  
 "he is full of grace to supply my wants; A Counsellor to direct me in  
 "my doubts; Almighty to defend me; And an everlasting Father to love,  
 "pitty, and bear with mine infirmities, and to spare me; A Prince of peace  
 "to perform reconciliation with his Father for me, and to fill me with the  
 "peace which passeth all understanding, and that he will establish, and order  
 "me henceforth and for ever.

"I do believe that the Passion of *Christ* was by the eternal decree, and  
 "appointment of God, *Act. 2. 23.* and that his sorrows were sustained for  
 "our sins, and for our sakes, so as he bore all our iniquities, *1 Pet. 2. 24.*  
 "And that in his own person, he fulfilled and finished all sufferings need-  
 "full for our salvation, *1 Pet. 3. 18.* And that his Passion (so grievous as  
 "cannot be imagined) is a sufficient price for the sins of the world, *Jeb. 2.*  
 "29. Therefore why should not I be willing to suffer any thing for his  
 "sake, that hath suffered so great things for me: And say (with *St. Paul*)  
 "God forbid that I should rejoyce in any thing but in the Cross of *Christ,* I  
 "will for ever trust in him; And rely upon him as the life of my life, and

"as to me *both in life and death advantage*: And having such a proof of  
 "the infinite love of God to me in not sparing his own Son, but giving him  
 "up to death for me, shall I ever doubt of my freedom from condemna-  
 "tion, such a price being paid for the discharge of my debts by such a  
 "surety?"

"I do believe that Christ overcame sin, death, the grave, and Hell, and  
 "rose again from the dead, ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right hand of  
 "God in Majesty, *Rom. 1. 4.* And that he hath purchased his Church by  
 "his blood, and that he is a Lawgiver to his Church, *Jam. 4. 12.* which  
 "is gathered by his voice, *Joh. 17. 9.* separated from sinfull society with  
 "the world: For she is an holy Church, *Eph. 5. 25.* yet dispersed over the  
 "world; For she is *Catholick*, *Eph. 1. 10.* And though *Catholick*, and dis-  
 "persed, yet but one, *Eph. 4. 4.* Knit unto Christ, by an indissoluble uni-  
 "on, *Col. 1. 18.* And I am sure that I am a member of this Church. For  
 "I am called out of sinfull communion with the world by the voice of the  
 "Ministers of Christ, who are in his stead, and separated from it by the power  
 "of the Word; And I do rely upon Christ's merits for righteousness, and  
 "salvation. I do not delight in the society of the wicked, but in theirs  
 "who fear him, whom I love with sincere affections, as the most worthy  
 "people of the world; And whatsoever I want of an holy life, yet I do  
 "not live after my old evil conversation; But I constantly endeavour to be  
 "more and more holy. What thanks shall I give unto God, who hath  
 "called me out of darkness into his marvellous light, and saved me from the  
 "common condemnation of the world? O the depth of the love of Christ  
 "unto me!

"I do believe that there shall be a generall Judgement, *Psal. 9. 8.* That  
 "Christ shall be the Judge, A visible Judge in his humane nature, *Act. 17.*  
 "13. That it shall be at the last day; But the precise day and hour  
 "is not known to any man, or Angel, *Mat. 24. 36.* That then every man  
 "shall be judged, *Jude 15.* and every secret thing shall be brought to light,  
 "*Rom. 2. 16.* And that the judgement will be most just, and so confessed  
 "by all, *Rom. 2. 5, 6.* why then should I fear the last Judgement, seeing he  
 "shall be my Judge who is my Brother, Advocate, and Redeemer? He  
 "that was willingly judged for me, will give no hard sentence against me; yea  
 "he hath already absolved me from my sins, and given me the earnest of  
 "his Spirit, and the seal of the Sacraments, and I have judged my self that  
 "*I may not be condemned with the world, 1 Cor. 11. 32.*

"I do beleieve that the glory of Heaven is unspeakable, and incompre-  
 "hensible by us here on earth, *1 Cor. 2. 9.* That it is eternal, *Math. 25.*  
 "45. And that it is the gift of God proceeding onely from his free Grace,  
 "not our merit, *Luke 12. 32.* His free gift bestowed onely upon the Elect,  
 "*Rev. 21. 27.* O that I could by the effectualness of contemplation behold  
 "the greatness of this felicity which is provided for me! yet as I can con-  
 "ceive it, I cannot choose but long to be absent from hence, that I may be  
 "*present with the Lord, 2 Cor. 5. 8.* whose admirable beauty I shall clearly  
 "see, and know as I am known, and that with a perfection both of holiness  
 "and happiness; such holiness as will not onely free me from all sin, but  
 "from all possibility of sinning; such happiness, as that ceasing from all  
 "labour and sorrow, I shall enjoy an eternal Sabbath, and shall be free to all  
 "the treasures of Heaven; And (with the fruition of Gods glorious pre-  
 "sence) shall enjoy the sweet society of all the glorified Saints and Angels.  
 "And all this, as it is unutterable, so it is unalterable: For as I cannot be  
 "disappointed of it, because it is certain, so I cannot be deprived of it  
 "because it is eternal. How then should the hope of the future life, but  
 "swallow up the afflictions of the life present? And why should I fear Death,  
 "when being dead I shall be so blessed?"



Yet was not her Faith elevated so high, but that she could readily apply it to promises of an inferiour degree: For as she trusted in God at all times, as David teacheth, *Psal. 62. 8.* so did she in all things, whether temporal or eternal. In straits and difficulties for the affairs of this life, she had that ready at hand: *Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass, Psal. 37. 5.* If at any time she was sinisterly Censured by any one, her faith applied that promise to her heart, *He shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgement as the noon day, Psal. 35. 6.* And whatsoever it were that came upon her as a Cross, her Faith was either as a wreath betwixt her shoulders and it, that it did not pinch her, or a remover of it from her self to him, who was best able to bear it, by vertue of that Warrant, *Psal. 55. 22. Cast thy burthen upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee;* And that done, her Faith, which teacheth to keep an Even pace with the promises, not making haste, *Isa. 28. 16.* by anticipating the time of accomplishment, taught her soul to wait upon God, as Davids did, *Psal. 62. 1.* to effect his own work at his own time, in his own way and manner, wherein she would not prescribe any thing at all.

Her Faith.

By this daily exercise of her Faith, she gained a great deal of freedom, and lightsonness of Spirit, which admirably appeared in her deportment upon great disappointments of that which was her own due, and unexpected payments unto others: when she hath seen no way of supply for the present occasions she hath believed that Gods Providence would effect what her forecast could not, when she was not wanting in the use of means, and that he could furnish her with that which should be sufficient, albeit for the present she saw not how, nor by what means it would come to pass; and therefore when she had done what belonged to her duty, in the affiance of her Faith, she rested quiet, and remained cheerfull, and slept neither the less, nor the worse for it; And that which confirmed her Confidence the more, was, that she still found by Experience, that God was most worthy to be trusted.

Her Comfort.

That her Faith was good as it was great, appeared by the effect of it in her Devotion and Piety, which was suitable to her knowledge of God, and her Faith in him; by both which, as she had a clear apprehension of him, so none had more dear, and devout affections to him, or more assured signs of such, than she, as appeared in these particulars:

She was frequently, and fervently conversant with God (besides the publick) in her private Supplications, and therein was he most favourably familiar with her; For he sent forth his Spirit into her heart, whereby she cried, *Abba Father, Gal. 4. 6.* The Spirit of Grace and Supplication, *Zach. 12. 10.* which enabled her in an extraordinary manner and measure to pour out her soul into his Bosome; And though she duely esteemed of the solemn Prayers of the sacred Assemblies (whereof a learned and pious Divine said, that never any one prayed well privately, who contemned, or neglected the publick prayers of the Church) and never sleighted, or censured set-forms of Prayer, yet could she, and that excellently well, conceive Prayer, and vary her Petitions as the present occasion did require.

Her frequent Prayers.

Yea in this Devotion she was so abundant in apt and pertinent expressions, that indeed it was admirable, that one so silent in her common Conversation with the world, should be so fluent, and eloquent in her entercourse with God. Nor was she more copious in speech, than fervent in Spirit: For such was her holy violence in Prayer, as that she seemed not to knock at Heaven Gate for an other to open it, but to make a battery upon it her self, and to break in by the powerful importunity of her supplications.

Her fervent Prayers.

Her service also of God in this kinde, was no dry Devotion, but steeped, and drenched in showres of tears: And though her prudence used as much privacy as might be herein, yet such a singular gift could not be hid from

Her private Prayers.

her servants, and some secret female Friends, who sometimes, when they were sick, or possessed with fears, or pains of child-birth, they would move her with importunity to pray with them, and when she yeilded to them, and God to her, by answering her request, they were apt (as there was cause) to impute the good effect to her fervent supplications. A female friend of hers (who was her bed-fellow in *London* for many weeks together) and thereby was a partaker of her daily Devotions, professed, that she was so plentifully furnished for utterance of her requests to God, that she never wanted variety of meet words to be presented unto him, but when a surcharge of sighs and tears put her Prayers to a pause.

Her holy  
Speech.

When the heart is full of love, the mouth is filled with praise of a person most deservedly, and most dearly beloved, whereof, we have an example in this Vertuous Gentlewoman, who when time, company, and occasion did invite her, to communicate to others the good matter which her *heart indited* of God, she used her *Tongue as the pen of a ready writer*, Psal. 45. 1. And when she had that great King for the subject of her speech, she spake of him with such hearty and savoury Relishes of Sacred delight and Reverence, and with such an affectionate force, as if her Soul were ready to leap out at her lips into the ears of others, to kindle the same holy fire in their hearts, who heard her, which burned in her own bosome, Longing (as *David* did) that others might *taste, and see the goodness of the Lord*, Psal. 34. 8. That they might be Rivals with her in her Religious Love; and glad she was when any sinner was converted, or any already called, better enabled to promote the glory of God, and that was the end which she principally aimed at in her godly discourse of him.

Her Humi-  
lity.

In giving vent to her heart in this duty, she could spend her spirits with great delight, both to herself, and to those choice Friends who had opportunity to hear her, when just occasion was Ministred unto her; and yet when she had spoken best, she found matter of complaint in her own expressions, as being too faint, and too flat, and so far below that which was meet for the Majesty of the great God, inasmuch as all the Acceptation which she desired of him, was but to pardon her presumption (as the Errour of her love) for taking upon her to speak of his Excellency, and the weakness of her spirit and speech, which made her fall infinitely short of doing him right in the publication of his praise.

Her love to  
Gods chil-  
dren.

Another evidence of her dear affection unto God, was the great love, which for his sake, she bore to whom, or whatsoever had any near Relation to him, according to that *1 Joh. 4. 21. He that loves God must love his Brother also*: And he must love him rather in a direct, than in a collateral line, as Gods childe, rather than as his Brother, more for Gods sake than for his own: The dearest degree of love belongs to those persons and things which are nearest to him, and to such she bore a sincere, and singular good will: As to his Saints with *David*, Psal. 16. 3. and to his true Religion, and worship, both at home, and abroad, the happy progress and prosperity whereof was with her (as *Jerusalem* with *David*) *preferred above her chiefest joy*, Psal. 137. 6. And it was a great affliction to her heart, to hear any ill tidings of any good man, or any good cause.

And to the  
Church of  
Christ.

Her love to  
the Word &  
Sacrament.

She highly prized Gods word, and in the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, she felt such a sweet refreshing as might make amends for the severity of her frequent Fasting, so that for her part and portion of it, in respect of the common sort of Communicants, she might say, *I have meat that ye know not of*, Joh. 4. 32. Dainties, which infinitely exceed whatsoever delighteth, or pleaseth a sensual palate: For the House of God, she shewed her self just of *Dauids* minde, when he said, *I have loved the habitation of thy house, the place where thine honour dwelleth*, Psal. 29. 8. And *How amiable are thy Tabernacles*,



bernacles, O Lord of Hosts, my soul longeth, yea even fainteth for the Courts of the Lord, Psal. 84. 1, 2.

If by any imperious impediment she were kept from the Church (as by sickness in her body, &c.) her soul was love-sick by her longings to be there; and House of God. And whereas many women take a little occasion to absent themselves from it, she would many times force her feeble body to carry her soul to the Sanctuary, though the day before she were confined not only to her chamber, but to her Bed; whereby, though she hazarded her health, yet it pleased God so graciously to accept of her zeal to his House, that she was never the worse for those pious adventures.

She kept a great distance from doting on the world, which St. James condemns as *enmity to God*, Jam 4. 4. Though, while she lived, she could not choose but be in the world, yet did she so love her dear Lord Jesus Christ, that for his sake she was exceedingly estranged from the world; which appeared.

1. By her estrangement from sensual delights, which she shewed by her frequent Fasting from meats and drinks: By her abstinence from such sports and pastimes as before her Conversion she had been too immoderately addicted unto, And by her firm resolution to forbear Marriage after her widowhood, and to rest in that condition wherein she might best attend upon the service of God.

Indeed her love, and delight in communion with God, made her mindless of meat, and careless of provision for the flesh. Well she knew, that though Fasting makes the Body weak (as David saith, *My knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh faileth of fatness*, Psal. 109. 20.) yet it strengthneth the spirit, and maketh it vigorous in Conflict, and Victorious in the Event; yea Fasting and prayer make a potent combination, which is able to drive the strongest Devil out of his usurped possession, as *Matth. 17. 21*. These two she used, not onely as weapons against the Devil, but as wings to elevate her soul God-ward and Heaven-ward; yet herein was she observant of our Saviours Rule, *Mat. 17. 18*. that she fasted without an appearance of Fasting, onely the next day it might be discerned by her faintness, she having spent her Spirits in spiritual exercises the day before.

For those Sports and pastimes wherein formerly she had taken too much contentment, she not onely abstained from them, but much complained of her vanity in them: Her eyes (which before were used to behold them with delight) now shed tears of shame and sorrow, that formerly she had set her mind so much upon them, and now she employed them in the more frequent and affectionate reading of the holy Scriptures, wherein she took more delight than she had done before in the most pompous Spectacles, set out to take the eyes with gazing, and the mind with wonder.

And as for Marriage, her heart was so devoted to her Lord Christ, that though she had divers fair invitations to it, by such as both for profit, and credit, and other considerable respects, were worthy rather to be desired, than denied, yet she resolved not to change her condition in that kind, and that not onely in love, and Loyalty to her former Husband, but that she might be more free to serve God according to that of St. Paul, *1 Cor. 7. 34*. *The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit, but she that is married careth for the things of the world how she may please her Husband.*

2. She had so chosen God for her portion, and set up her rest in the riches of his love, that she had but little mind of the worlds riches. She knew, that riches may be had, and well used of the Religious; and that poverty alone commends no man unto God, as St. Jerome speaks, yet did she not dote upon them; But though she was competently careful and frugal, as Christ prescribeth, *Joh. 6. 12*. *Gather up the broken meat that nothing be lost*; and though she was provident as the Apostle requires, *1 Tim. 5. 8*. *If any provide*

*vide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an Infidel; yet withall, believing that of the Prophet David, Psal. 37. 16. A little that the righteous hath is better than the riches of many wicked; and as conforming her self to that of St. John, Love not the world, nor the things of the world, 1 Joh. 2. 15. She often besought of Almighty God rather to make, and keep her poor, than to suffer her heart in any sort to sink down from her Maker, to dote upon Mammon.*

Her bounty  
to the Ministry

She was one that could very well find in her heart to *honour God with her substance*, as *Prov. 3. 9*. She was as cheerful in her layings out for him, as any Miser could be in his layings up for himself; and when she heard of the irreligious Parsimony of some towards the maintenance of the publick Ministry in that City of *Chester*, she hath professed that she had rather be at all the charge of all the common Contributions her self (if her estate would bear it) than that God should be Grumbled at, or his service poorly prized, or the wages of his work unwillingly paid.

Her desire  
to dye.

Another undoubted testimony of her true love to God, was, in that she so much desired to dye out of a fervent affection to him, insomuch that she feared a long a life would keep her too long from the enjoyment of him; being therein like unto David in those ardent Aspirations of his. *As the Hart panteth after the water Brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God: my soul thirsteth for God, for the living God, when shall I come, and appear before him, Psal. 42. 1, 2.*

That which worldlings are most afraid of, that she so much wished for, that her Friends were fain to plead with her to be pleased with life, though she, not being contented with their Arguments, contended against them by contrary reason, shewing first why she did desire to dye. Secondly, why she was not afraid of Death, and hoping that it would not tarry long, she had in readinesse some special matters to be remembred at her Death, which she left in writing under her own hand, and are as followeth:

First, *Why I desire to dye:*

Why she  
desired  
Death.

"I desire to dye, because I want while I live, here, the glorious presence of God, which I love and long for, and that sweet fellowship of Angels, and Saints who would be glad of me as I am of them, and would entertain me with unwearied delight.

"I desire to dye, because while I live, I shall want the perfection of my nature, and be as an estranged, and banished person from my Fathers house.

"I desire to dye, because I would not live to offend so good a God, nor to grieve his holy Spirit: *For his loving kindness is better than life it self:* And he is abundant in mercy to me, and it doth lye as an heavy load upon my heart many times, to think of displeasing him.

"I desire to dye, because this world is generally infected with the plague of sin, and some have this Plague-sore running upon them, and I my self am tainted with the same disease, so as whilst I live here, I can be in no place, nor in any company, but I am still in danger of being infected, or to infect others, and if this world doth hate me because I endeavour to follow goodness, how will it rejoyce if my foot do but slip? Therefore how woful would my life be unto me, if I should give occasion to the world to triumph, or blaspheme in respect of me? I cannot choose but desire to dye, when I consider that sin, like a Leprosie hath so corrupted me, that there is no soundness in me, my Minde, my Memory, my Will, and Affections, yea my very Conscience is still impure; In every faculty of my soul there is a miserable mixture of vile infection which makes me aweary of my life; And all this is the worse, because it is incurable; and an inseparable companion of my life, so that I can go no whither to avoid it; there is no business that I can dispatch that concerns my happiness without a muteny in mine heart;

Though



"Though Gods works be all fair works, yet there are in my nature many defects, insufficiencies, mistakings and transgressions; So that I may say with David, *Innumerable evils have compassed me about; mine iniquities have taken hold on me, so that I am not able to look up*, Psal. 40. 12. I therefore desire Heaven for holiness, rather than for happiness, that I might sin no more. I desire that condition wherein I may most glorifie God.

"I desire to dye, because of the Devils malignant, and uncessant assaults: I can stand no where before the Lord on earth, but one Devil or other, is at my right hand, and must of necessity enter into conflict with them, and their temptations, and be buffeted and gored by them, which a Thousand fold worse than Death: More easie it is to *wrestle with flesh and blood*, than with those *Principalities and Powers, and spiritual wickednesses*, and great Rulers of the world: For they are subtle and cruel; and like *roaring Lions they go about seeking whom they may devour*, 1 Pet. 5. 8.

"I desire to dye, because by Death I shall rest from the hard labours of this life.

"I desire to dye, because nothing in this world can give me solid, and durable contentment: I am less in liking of life, and have more desire of death when I consider the misery that may come both on my Body and Estate, and fearful alterations may come, and wars may come, and all the desolations and terrours which accompany them, and I may be left in the hands of the sons of violence: Besides, I daily suffer the loss of my Friends who were the companions of my life, and means of much contentment unto me; And those whom I lose by my life, I shall find by my death, and enjoy in another world unto all eternity: And for my children it doth not trouble me; For that God which hath given life and breath, and all they have, while I am living, can, without me, provide for them when I am dead; my God will be their God, if they be his, if they be not, what comfort would it be for me to live? my life would be exceeding bitter unto me if I should see them dishonour God whom I so much love.

When she enjoyed the greatest portion of temporal or spiritual comfort, yet would she never say, *Master, it is good to be here*, as *Matth. 17. 4*, but making that but a step for an higher ascent, she rather inferred, It is good going hence: For if on earth there be so much good, how pleasant and desirable is Heaven; The joyes on earth to those that are there, are but as the earth is to Heaven, little, and low, dark, and heavy.

*Why I do not fear Death.*

"I fear not Death, because it is but the separation of the body from the soul, and that it is but a shadow of the body of death, *Rom. 7. 24*, where as the separation of the soul from God by sin, *Isa. 59. 2*, and of soul and body for sin, is death indeed. Why she feared not death.

"I fear not Death, because Death is such an enemy as hath been often vanquished, and because I am armed for it, and the *weapons of my Warfare are mighty through God*, and I am assured of victory.

"I do not fear Death for the pain of it; For I am perswaded I have endured as great pains in life, as I shall finde in Death, and Death will cure me of all sorts of pains; And because *Christ dyed a terrible and cursed Death*, that any kinde of Death might be blessed to me; And that God, who hath greatly loved me in life, will not neglect me in death; But his Spirit will succour and strengthen me all the time of the combate.

"I do not fear Death for any loss: For I shall but lose my Body by it, and that is but a prison to my soul, an old rotten House, or ragged garment; nay, I shall not lose that neither: For, I shall have it restored again at my Saviours second coming, made much better than now it is: For this *wile body* shall be like the Body of *Christ*, and by death I shall obtain a far better life.

And

And as an incentive of Divine love, she prepared a breviary of God's principal benefits to her self for meditation on her Death-bed, and for thanksgiving to God, which was this:

Her thankfulness.

"How shall I praise God, 1. For my Conversion. 2. For his Word; both in respect of my affections to it, and the wonderful comforts I have had by it: 3. For hearing of my prayers: 4. For godly sorrow. 5. For fellowship with the godly. 6. For joy in the Holy Ghost: 7. For the desire of death. 8. For contempt of the world. 9. For private helps and comforts. 10. For giving me some strength against my sin. 11. For preserving me from gross evils both before, and after my calling, &c.

Her universal obedience.

She shewed her holy love to God, by conforming her practice to his Precepts, according to that *Joh. 14. 15. If you love me, keep my Commandments.* She thought nothing too much that she should stick at (if God commanded, or forbade it) nothing so small, but his Word was able to give it weight enough to bow down her neck to the obedience of it. If it was a greater matter that he required of her, she considered, that he was a God infinitely, both great and good, and that unto her, who had and would do for her ten Thousand times more and greater things than she could do for him: If it were a little thing, she conceived that the contempt or neglect of it would aggravate her guilt, as *Naamans* servants said to their Master, *If the Prophet had bidden thee do some great matter, wouldst thou not have done it? How much rather when he saith unto thee, wash, and be clean?* 2 King. 5. 18. The less the duty is, the more is the disobedience if we do it not; For thereby we extenuate the Authority of the Almighty, and such as slight it in a little thing, will not regard it in a greater: She was therefore very precise in every point which God required the performance of.

Her love to God.

By this means she still increased in holiness and sanctification, and kept a greater distance from great offences, according to that of *St. Jerom, Non cito ad majora progreditur, qui parva formidet*, who so is afraid of a small sin, will not easily grow bold on those that are greater. Her love to God was *strong as death*, Cant. 8. 4. yea, and much stronger, so that Death could not affright her; For she desired daily to look death in the face, nor could it hurt her more than she was content to endure: For though it was not likely that she should go through the narrow wicket of Death, and not be pinched in her passage, yet was she well contented with it, seeing it was the ready way to come to God, whom she so much longed to behold.

Her Charity.

Her Charity was very chary of the credit of the absent, towards whom she would not suffer either her Tongue, or her Ears to be guilty of any wrong or robbery of their reputations. She never imposed false crimes, or feigned faults upon others: She never discovered their secret sins, or aggravated those that were known: She never denied, dissembled, nor diminished the vertue or good parts of any. Though her hatred of sin was such as became a sincere Christian, yet knew she how to distinguish betwixt sin, and the sinner, and setting a severe dislike on the one, she reserved (as charity required) love, or compassion for the other.

Her Charity was regular according to the Rules of Scripture, which she set down in a paper with quotations of Texts for her direction in four particulars, 1st. *I must give readily*, Job 31. 16. Prov. 3. 28. 1 Tim. 6. 18. 2ly. *I must give secretly*, Matth. 6. 3. 3ly. *I must give liberally*, 2 Cor. 8. 12. & 9. 6. 4ly. *I must give cheerfully*, 2 Cor. 8. 12. It was answerable also according to her own ability, and others necessities: She had rather give a little to many (since the number of the needy is very great) than a great deal to a few; And she so ordered her charity, that she might still be able to exercise her hand that way; And not as some, who give so much, that after a while they can give no more. And upon extraordinary occasions,



if she were not magnificent, the let was not in her minde, but in her means.

Her Charity was vigorous, and so cordial, that what she gave was alwayes without grudging, knowing that God loves a *cheerful giver*, 2 Cor. 9. 7. yea she was so cheerful herein, that she bestowed nothing upon her self with more readines, than she did upon others, whether it were towards the maintenance of the Ministry, or in giving Almes to the poor; And yet herein did she follow the rule of our Saviour, *Matth. 6. 3. Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth*; For she was many times as close in giving her own, as a Thief would be in taking away from others; So that none did more good deeds with less shew, or sound of words than she.

For the object of her charity, she took her direction from the Apostles precept, *Gal. 6. 10. Do good unto all, but especially to the household of faith*. She indeed shut up her charity from none that had need of it, but she enlarged it chiefly to such as were of the faithfull.

Her love and charity was very intire and great to her Friends, yet not so confined to them, but that she reserved a competent measure for them that dealt unfriendly with her, or that were enemies to her. If there was any unkinde difference between her, and any one, though she enjoyed the freedom of her judgement to think as there was cause, yet would she not suffer her affections to be estranged from them, but was ready to do them good, if power, and opportunity did furnish her for it. She requited love for hatred, pity for spight, friendly offices for offensive usages. She bare ill will to none. She hated nothing, but that which is worse than nothing [sin] and that she hated in all, and most of all in her own soul.

As her Charity was evidenced by doing, so also by suffering: If any tribulation were upon others, or imminent over them, she was like minded with her Lord and Master, according to that of the Prophet, *Isa. 63. 9. In all their afflictions he was afflicted*. She did passionately sympathize in the sufferings of her fellow-members: If it was ill with the Church, or any particular Saints, it was no better with her. Charity made her suffer as much by inward affection, as they did of their enemies, by outward affliction.

Her Patience also was very remarkable: For though her apprehensions were quick enough to conceive any thing tending to the disturbance of peace and patience; yet she enjoyed such a calmness of spirit as could hardly be turned to a storm. If any were injurious towards her, her tongue could more readily pray, and her eyes weep for them, than with looks, or words of indignation, or disdain set upon them. If she were angry at others, which was very seldome, it was sin, their sin that was the cause of it. If news came to her of any losses in her estate, as sometimes there did of great ones, yet was she never put out of temper with those ill tidings, having these considerations ready at hand to quiet her heart: It is that God that gave all, that now taketh away some, why should I take it ill? He would not have me to be in love with, nor relye upon *uncertain riches*, which were never true to any that trusted them, but upon himself; and I willingly renounce them to rest upon him. He can, if he see it good, recompence the loss in the like, or some better kinde. If he take more, there will yet be many poorer than my self; And if he take away all my goods, he can give me content without them, for he is *All-sufficient*; and so though I have nothing, I may be *as possessing all things*, 2 Cor. 6. 10. The world and I must part, and whether we be unstiched by parcels, or torn asunder by taking all at once, all is one to me; that which he chooseth is best for us both, for his own glory, and my good, if I grudge not against him, but willingly (as I pray) give way to his will.

Patience  
how tryed.

By bodily sufferings her patience was exceedingly tried both for the truth and strength of it: For of some of her children she had long, painful, and very perilous labour; But that which exceeded all, was, a long, and sore sickness, to which were applied very rough and irksome remedies; so that she suffered not onely the anguish of her disease, but many things also of the *Physicians*, as that woman in the Gospel, *Mark 5. 28*. And had it onely been pain and torment, it had been more tolerable; But it was accompanied with a strange infirmity and deformity: Her jaw being faln, she could not bring it up towards her upper jaw: Her mouth was drawn awry towards her ears, so that with much difficulty both to her self and others, her food was conveyed through so crooked a passage to her throat, Which might have caused the greater discontent to her minde, because it was the shipwrack of much beauty and comeliness, which until then was seated in her countenance, and whereof she kept remarkable impressions to her dying day; yet shewed she admirable patience under this great affliction, to which her Heart was brought meekly to submit; and concerning which, she said, that if it pleased the Lord still to continue her a spectacle of deformed misery, she would not repine at his doing, or her own suffering, but would willingly, abide it untill he freed her Body from the disease by health, or her soul from her Body by death.

Her Modesty.

Her Modesty also manifested it self by her shamefaced estrangement from sin and vanity, concerning which vertue in her it may be said, that it was rather sometimes too much, than any time too little, and it shewed it self divers wayes.

1. In her looks, which was habitually composed to a modest and gracious gravity, so that against any thing that was unseemly to be said, or done, she carried a severe rebuke in her very countenance; or if any were so immodest as to speak, or do any thing before her, not becoming Christianity, her modesty made some supply to their want of it, she would blush for them.

2. In her Speech, whereas some would have vaunted themselves, or made some vain-glorious shew of such sufficiency as was in her, she rather shadowed her own light with a dark Lanthorn: and therefore in that wherein she was a teacher, she carried her self as in the person of a learner, rather asking Questions, than making Resolutions, or giving rule, and directions unto others.

3. By her silence: For as St. *Ambrose* saith, *Though silence be a rest to other vertues, yet is it a chief act, and exercise of Modesty*; yea, her pace, her habit, and her whole behaviour was a lesson of modesty, which, together with her other vertues, wrought a kinde of awfulness in her person, so that those that had not grace to do well in private, were more afraid and ashamed of an appearance of evil in her presence, than in the sight of many a Magistrate.

Her Humility.

As for Humility, she made great account of it; she studied it seriously, and got it so by heart, that there was no need of Art to make profession or ostentation of it. *Solomon* makes contention the proper effect of pride, *Prov. 13. 10*. So peaceableness is a sure sign of Humility; and this she shewed in that she could endure Contradiction, Reproaches, and other trials of Humility without a quarrel, or breach of peace with any, being still ready to deny her self, and to yeeld to others so far as with a safe conscience she could. Once a new Gown being brought her to put on, and presented as a gift from her Husband, wherein his kindness had put him to more cost than she wished, to make her more fine than she desired to be, she humbly besought him with tears that it might not come upon her back; she said indeed little with her Tongue, but her eyes spoke much, because she was loath to contradict him whom she



she was bound to obey; and at last she submitted to his will, though against her own, not onely because that habit was no better than others of her rank did wear, but because it was a testimony of her Husbands love, and of her own loyal subjection to his will; wherein she followed the advice of Bishop Hall in his *Contemplations*. *It is not (saith he) for a good wife to judge of her Husbands will, but to execute it; neither wit, nor stomach, may carry her into a curious inquisition into the reasons of an enjoined charge, much less to a resistance, but in an hood-winckt simplicity she must follow whithersoever she is led, as one that holds her chief praise to consist in subjection, following her Husband, as the Israelites did the cloudy Pillar, which when it stood, they stood; when it went, they followed.* And indeed it was no marvel that she was so obsequious to her Husband, for amongst her papers were found special directions, which she had drawn out of the Scripture, for her conjugal affection, and behaviour towards her Husband, which were these which follow, under this Title;

*Duties which concern me in particular.*

"I must submit my self to my Husband, as to the Lord, Eph. 5. 22.

"I must account him my Head, Eph. 5. 23.

"I must be in subjection to him in all things, as the Church unto Christ, Eph.

5. 24.

"I must get his consent even for those times that I set apart for Religious duties, 1 Cor. 7. 5, 10.

"I must walk pleasingly towards him, 1 Cor. 7. 34.

When by his death she was loosed from the Law of her Husband, she would have returned to a meaner habit; but because it was suitable to the place which she held in the City (as having been wife to him who had been twice Mayor of Chester, and divers times a *Burgess* of Parliament) and for that God made such good things neither onely, nor principally for the use, and wearing of the wicked, but for his children; And that it might not be imputed either to singularity nor Nigardize, she made no remarkable change in her attire; and indeed, to keep down pride, she would not eat the bread of idleness, Prov. 31. 27. but willingly wrought with her hands, as that vertuous woman did, vers. 13. and readily descended to such homely offices as were meet for the meanest of her servants.

Notwithstanding such excellent gifts and graces, wherewith God had enriched her soul, her mind was not lifted up to Vaunting or Vanity, nor to the undervaluing or envying Gods gifts in others, but in Lowliness of minde, she esteemed others better than her self, Phil. 2. 3. disavowing her own praise, though those that gave it, thought it much less than her due, and advancing others far before her self, though in gifts they were far below her; and no marvel, for she was not as those who are far more curious to know the faults of others than to correct their own, but an exact enquirer into her own life, a severe Censurer of her own imperfections and failings; and as for others, she observed them most for that which was best in them, to make her self more holy by imitating them therein, and more humble for that wherein she fell short of them.

Her preferring others before her self.

She often presented, and arraigned her self before Gods Tribunal, to bring her self down in submission as guilty before him, begging pardon on her knees at his hands, and she came the lower by comparing her own faultiness, infirmity, and misery, with his infinite Purity, Power, and Majesty, in comparison of whom, *All Nations are but as the drop of the Bucket, or the small dust in the Ballance*, Isa. 40. 15. which made her to think of him with admiration and love, and of her self with detestation and loathing, and when she took notice of any good thing in her self, she boasted not of it, even because she had received it, and that of Gods free gift, making it a Memento of thankfulness to him that gave it her, knowing that he might have passed by her, and given it to another, and that he might be provoked to

Her self-denial.

take it away from her, if she should take any of that glory to her self which was due unto him alone.

Her Sincerity.

She alwayes held this for a *Maxime*, that if it be good to be esteemed vertuous (and most desire to be so esteemed) than to be so indeed, is much better; For the substance of a good thing is alwayes better than the semblance of it; therefore she was so sincere in her whole course, that she hated the least appearance of Hypocrisie: She was one of those whom *David* blesteth for their integrity, *Blessed are they who keep his Testimonies, and seek him with their whole heart*, Psal. 119. 2. Her love was without dissimulation, Rom. 12. 9. She loved not in word, or in Tongue onely, but indeed, and in truth, 1 Joh. 3. 18. and this appeared in that she made her deeds of charity and good will alwayes better than her words, whereof she was so chary, that some blamed her for want of affability, which being objected to her, she said, *I like not the lavish language of some, who have their mouths full of complemental curtesie to every one, though their hearts be shut and Contracted, when their mouths are so enlarged; and if they have love enough within to maintain such liberality of words without, I like my own heart the worse, that it is not so ready to attend upon my tongue, as on the sudden to Minister Cordial affections meet for such frank and friendly expressions.* She used rather to let her Friends see her love by her works, than to hear it by her words.

Her Constancy.

Her Constancy also was very remarkable, by which her spirit was stedfast with God, and her Heart stedfast in his Covenant, as the *Israelites* should have been, but were not, Psal. 78. 8, 37. Her Faith was grounded and settled, Col. 1. 23. So that she was not carried away with divers and strange Doctrines, Heb. 13. 9. much less with every wind of Doctrine, Eph. 4. 14. But what she was for Faith and godliness from her first Conversion, the same she was in all places, at all times, and in all companies: But for the measure or degree of Grace, she was not, as a stake in an hedge, which grows not, but as a plant in the Garden that springeth up, no dwarf in Gods House, but one that by Spiritual Nourishment, and daily exercise of her graces, grew up apace towards the stature of Christ, and as its said of the *path of the just*, Prov. 4. 18. She shined more, and more unto the perfect day: So that she was best at last, and most heavenly minded when she had the least time to tarry on the earth.

Her growth in Grace.

She was a Loyal, and obedient Wife; A careful, and kind, though not a fond Mother; A gentle and beneficent Mistres; A good and a charitable neighbour, and a true and constant Friend.

Her sickness

Towards her latter end she fell into some Bodily distempers, wherein she had fits or trances, like the *embrions* of death, which (by a Gradual failing of her spirits) left her at last unable to speak or move, yet without any great alteration in her countenance, which by some, was conceived to be a spice of the Mother; It was short, and not sharp, for she felt no pain; yet when she returned to her self, she found that she was commonly more feeble than before.

Upon the *Munday* seven-night before she dyed, was the first assault given, which set Deaths pale colour upon her face and fingers from the middle joynts towards the ends; Her nails turned to a blewish black, which being rubbed a while, returned again to their former complexion, and she remained that night indifferent well; the next day her disease appeared in the form and quality of a kindly ague, and so continued mostly till within three or four dayes before her end, and then it turned from an intermitting Ague to a continual Fever, that afflicted her with extream burning, and other pains which commonly accompany such a disease, especially when it rageth most as it doth towards the latter end.

During her sickness, having the free use of all her faculties, her soul, no doubt, was



was exercised in holy meditations; For which she had kept in store many particulars of importance to be remembred at her departure out of this world. Her desires were strong for a speedy dissolution, so that she implored God with the request of *David*, Psal. 38. 22. *Make haste to help me, O Lord my salvation:* and Psal. 40. 13. *Be pleased O Lord, to deliver me; O Lord, make haste to help me:* And this she desired that she might have a joyfull meeting with him, and fruition of him, after whom her soul longed, even then when her life was most lightsome, and her condition most comfortable: And now the time drew near that her desire was to be granted in that kinde which she most desired, by the power of death, to pass to the Authour of life, which she did in such a calm manner, that when she was thought to be but asleep, she was found to be dead, on *Friday, August the 17. Anno Christi 1638.* Her Death.



The Life, and Death of Mr. Ignatius Furdaine,  
who dyed Anno Christi 1640.

**I**gnatius Furdaine was born at *Lime-Regis* in the County of *Dorset*, Anno Christi 1561. And when he was yet young, he was sent by his Friends to the City of *Exeter*, to be brought up in the profession of a Merchant; and from thence, being about fifteen years old, he was sent into the Isle of *Garnsey*; And God by his good providence having brought him to that place, did also there effectually call, and convert him by his Grace: So that from that time he resolved to be like that wise Merchant in the Gospel, Mar. 13. 46. to part with all for that *Pearl of great price*; whereas others did make it their great work, and highest design to get the Pelf of the world, and to load themselves with thick clay, Hab. 2. 6. And in testimony of his thankfulness to God, he left by *Will* a considerable Legacy to the poor of *Lime* where he was born; and to the poor of *Garnsey*, where he was new-born. His Birth and Education.

God seasoning his heart with Grace in his younger years, the general course of his life, did for the future relish of it, according to that of *Solomon*, Prov. 22. 6. *Train up a childe in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.* For as he was trained up in Religion from his youth, so he continued not only in the form and profession, but in the life and power of it, until his old age, and death. His Conversion.

In the whole tenour of his life, his piety was most eminent; and indeed, there have been few observed to hold such constant, and close communion with God, as Master Furdaine did. It was his constant practice for many years together, even to his old age, to arise between two and three of the clock in the morning, and that even in the coldest seasons of the year, and His holy life.

His early rising to converse with God.

Time precious.

to spend the time in secret Meditation, and Prayer, until, fix a clock, which was the appointed time for his *Morning-sacrifice* in the Family; At which time he was called from his secret devotions to the exercise of Religious Family-duties. And if at any time he had over-slept himself (as he accounted it) and did not rise until four a clock, he would much bemoan himself, for the loss of so much precious time, wherein he might have enjoyed sweet, and comfortable communion with God: Surely, had he not experimentally, found much sweetness in this his spiritual converse with God, as *David* did *Psal.* 104. 34. he could not have continued so constantly therein. And having thus awaked with God in the morning, and renewed his acquaintance with him day by day, its no marvel that he did walk with him all the day long after.

He is slandered and vindicated.

In all his affairs and dealings, his care was to walk very exactly, and sincerely, according to *St. Pauls* direction, *Eph.* 5. 16. But though in all things he studied to approve himself to God, and to walk as in the sight of God, 2 *Cor.* 2. 17. yet could he not escape the malicious censures of men, who charged him to do all in Hypocrisie. He well knew that he had the imputations of dissembling, and Hypocrisie cast upon him, by men void of charity and sincerity; But the testimony of his own conscience did more comfort him, than the uncharitable censures of men dejected him; And he used upon that occasion to take up the words of *Job*, *Till I die, I will not remove mine integrity from me*, *Job* 27. 5. Many have oft heard him to profess, that he would not willingly commit a sin to get a world, though the *evil which he would not do, that did he*, as *Rom.* 7. 25. (as it is incident to the best of men) yet did he bewail it with grief of heart.

The sincerity indeed both of his intentions and actions hath been questioned by some, who were not ashamed to say, that under colour of doing Justice (when he was a publick Magistrate) and providing for the poor, he robbed the poor, and helpt to keep his own house by that which was due to the poor: But for that fals-hood that was thus charged upon him, there were none that could ever better clear him from it than himself, not onely his conscience witnessing for him before God, but his Books (wherein he kept an exact Record of all the money which he received by way of mulct from Swearers, Drunkards, &c. according to the Law) and the Officers that distributed the money, testifying his integrity before men; So that he might truly say with *Jacob*, *Gen.* 30. 33. *My righteousness shall answer for me*; and so it did herein both before God and men.

Nay, he was so far from depriving the poor of their right, that he added much of his own, distributing six-pences and shillings even when he had no money in bank.

He had not onely the testimony of his own conscience, and of good men, for his upright and just dealing, but even of such who had little goodness in them. A prophane Gentleman jeering at his heavenly discourses; Another of good quality, though of little piety, replied, *Well, Gentlemen, you may laugh at him, but on my conscience, he meaneth well, and whosoever of us goeth to Heaven, shall meet Master Jurdaine there.*

His heavenly Conversation.

He was a man that made conscience of all the duties and exercises of Religion both in private, and in publick: His frequent discourses of Heaven, and the way thereunto, and assurance of his interest therein, did declare that his Heart and conversation were much in Heaven. He used to take occasion to confer of Spiritual and Heavenly things with all sorts of men that he conversed with. One should feldome hear him speak but of Heaven and heavenly things. His heart was so full of Heaven that he could not but utter, and breath it forth in his discourses with men, and especially with those whose hearts and faces were towards Heaven: When he was at Table receiving his dayly food, he did usually minister occasion of holy discourses



courses, and diverted vain, and unprofitable talk, to such edifying speeches, as might minister grace to the hearers, according to that exhortation, *Eph. 4. 29.* He took occasion from earthly things to speak of Heavenly; as from the sweetness of the creatures, to speak of the infinite sweetness which is in God; From feasting on earth, to the sitting down with *Abraham, Isaac,* and *Jacob* in the Kingdome of Heaven, *Matth. 8. 11.* and feasting with God and his blessed Saints there. And when the Table-cloath was taken away, he would often say, *In heaven there is no taking away, here we are soon satisfied, and cloyed, but there will be such a feast, that we shall be continually delighting our souls with it, without any cloying,* And his manner was to close his meals with singing some short Psalm.

He delighted much in reading good, and holy Books, and especially that Book of books, the sacred Scriptures, wherein he most delighted, and thereby shewed that he had the property of a godly man, set down *Psal. 1. 2. & 119. 97.* The word of God was his meditation all the day long, yea both day and night. He did not onely read the Bible above twenty times over, but he read it with special observation (as appeareth by the *Asterisks*, and marks in the Bible which he used) making particular application to himself. The like course he took in reading over that usefull Book of Master Rogers his seven *Treatises*, and other practical Books, wherein he was very conversant, and his collections out of several Authours do abundantly testifie. And he took so much delight in reading that voluminous and excellent Book of the *Acts and Monuments* of the Church, that upon occasion he told a Friend that he had read it seven times over.

His zeal for God, and his glory, and against Idolatry, prophaneness, and other evils, whereby God was highly dishonoured, was most eminent, and remarkable. He was a man of an *Anti-Laodicean* temper; He had well learned the Apostles direction, *Rom 12. 11.* To be fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, and not the time. He was far unlike *Ignatius Loiola*, the Founder of the Order of *Jesuits*, who was a man of fire that was set on fire by Hell to promote the cause of the Prince of darkness; But he had an holy fire kindled in his heart from Heaven, whereby he did burn with zeal for the advancement of Gods glory, and an holy indignation against sin, and errour. He would (if it had been possible) have burnt up all the dross, and filth, that corrupted the Truths of God, and that was contrary to the wayes of holiness; and therein he was very like to *Ignatius* the Martyr.

Neither did his zeal carry him beyond knowledge, like that of the *Jews*, *Rom. 10. 2.* when in his zeal he used often to cry out *Fie upon discretion*; For he condemned only that counterfeited pretence of discretion, which was taken up, and pleaded against true and regular zeal: And truly, if carnal discretion be set up, and cried up, like the worldlings Idol, it is the part of true Christian zeal to cry it down.

He was a very strict and conscientious observer and sanctifier of the Christian *Sabbath*, or *Lords Day*. He did then rise very early as on other dayes (if not earlier) and called upon those in his Family to rise early on that day, saying, *This is Gods day, and as we do expect that our servants should rise early to go about our work on our dayes, so God expects our early rising on his Day, to go about his work and service.* And he used carefully to attend upon Gods holy Ordinances. The feet of them that dispenced the Gospel, were beautiful in his eyes, as *Rom 10. 5.* more beautiful than their Faces to many other. He was one of those Saints, that sat down at Gods feet to receive his word, *Deut. 33. 3.* as Disciples used at the feet of their Teacher, implied, *Act. 22. 3.* and he was very desirous, and willing, to learn of any that came with the Lords message unto him. He was a *Mnason*, an old Disciple, *Act. 21. 16.* yea a Disciple when he was old: It never came into his heart to cast off Ordinances, no, not when he had attained to an high measure towards perfection.

perfection. He was a constant writer of Sermons, even when he was old, and that, not for his own benefit alone, but for the good of his Family, to whom he did constantly repeat the Sermons. And if he found himself overtaken with drowsiness in hearing the word (an infirmity incident to age) his manner was to stand up, and to rouse up himself that he might hear the more attentively. He knew that Religion consisted not in hearing, repetition, and profession, but in practice; and therefore his care was to digest his hearing, and knowledge into an holy conversation.

**His love to Ministers.** His love was so great to the Ministry of the word, and the Lords holy Ordinances, that he did intirely love, and affect all faithfull and painfull Ministers, though their gifts were but mean; But he could not away with a lazie Minister, though he was never so learned. Where fidelity, and learning meet together in one Minister, Oh! how highly would he reverence him.

**His desire to have others saved.** And being desirous not to go to Heaven alone, but to draw others with him, his usuall course was, when he went with his Family to Gods House, to make an exhortation to his children and servants, that they should consider into whose presence they were going, and whom they were to hear, even that great God, to whom they were to give an account of every word, which they should hear; And therefore he required them carefully to store it up for their practice, and not to say, My Father, or my Master would not afford me time; For if they did, he would protest against them in the day of Judgement. And as he was going to the Congregation on the week-dayes, he would often finde some of the Country people that were come early to the Market, and then would ask them where they did live; and when they answered five or six, or more miles off, he would thence take occasion to shew them how vain a thing it was to pursue the world, and to neglect the care of their precious and immortal souls; And would ask them, how they could rise so early to get the world, and not rise as early to get interest in *Jesus Christ*, and to attain the favour of God, and assurance of eternal happiness. And then looking back upon his Family, he would say to them, You see here how these people can rise betimes to get a little part of the world, and you will hardly rise early to get the assurance of the favour of God, which is far better than the whole world.

As he returned from Sermons, he would be speaking to them that went with him of what they had heard, exhorting them to be mindfull of it, and to put it in practice; And when one of the company was troubled, hearing him to press such things upon them, he told him, that he had heard many good Sermons at St. Peters [the Cathedral] but never heard one at the great Conduit before; He presently replied, *Sirs, are ye troubled to be put in minde of the word of God? I pray God the time come not, when you are in hell, that you wish you had not onely practised the Sermons which you heard at St. Peters, but had received good counsel from the Word, at the great Conduit also.*

**His Assurance.** Thus by his diligent attending upon, and carefull applying the means of Grace, and Gods blessing upon them, he attained a very great measure of assurance, even to a kinde of *Plerophory*, such as the Apostle speaks of, *1 Thess. 1. 5. Much assurance*, and *Col. 2. 2. Full assurance of understanding*, by which he was carried as with full sails, to Holy Duties. And truly, if we consider the measure, continuance, and constancy of it, there are few Christians that have attained the like. Assurance was much in his Tongue, and in his Heart; It was that which he earnestly laboured for, and obtained by fervent prayer, and diligent use of the means. God gave him the Testimony and Seal of the Spirit, and so assured him of his eternal love in *Christ*, as also of his Adoption, and eternal happiness in Heaven, God gave it him as part of his reward for his sincere and faithfull service.



At sometimes he had more than ordinary comforts, and incomes of the Spirit for the strengthening of his Assurance: As for instance, At a time, he being at a Sermon, and attending heedfully to those discerning and differencing marks of uprightness, which were then laid down, and one mark being more powerfully pressed, and coming fully home to his condition, he being in a deep and serious meditation, and reflecting upon himself, and finding it to be truly in him, it seemed to him as if one struck him upon the shoulder, encouraging, and saying, *Be of good cheer, thou art the man*: upon which he had presently such inward joyes, and ravishings of spirit as were unexpressible.

His joy unspeakable.

And as by diligence he obtained, so he carefully kept his assurance by frequent trial of himself, and his spiritual estate towards God; He used to try himself by all the marks of sincerity which he found in the Scriptures, heard by the Ministry of the word, or read in the Books of godly Divines, and thereby he did clear up his evidences for Heaven; And he did not only try his estate by some marks, but he kept a narrow watch over his Heart and wayes, and thereby his assurance was preserved; and he kept it for a long time together, even for thirty years, and more: And being asked whether he never met with any temptations of doubting of his estate towards God, he gave this answer, That he had been, and often was sorely assaulted by Satans temptations, which were set against his Faith and Assurance, and that he had been foiled in respect of the application of some particular promises; But he was not thereby driven from his holdfast of Christ, or from the assurance of his interest in the Covenant of Grace; yet still he acknowledged that his assurance, and all his ability in spiritual things, was through Christ that strengthened him, as Paul, Phil. 4. 13.

How he maintained his Assurance.

As he had this assurance himself, so he was alwayes forward to stir up others to labour for it; There were scarce any that he met with, if he supposed that their Faces were Heaven-ward, but he would be questioning with them about their assurance; blaming them if they did not diligently seek after it, and encouraging them to labour for it. And when some did ask him how they should get it, he gave them this answer, That they should importunately seek it of God, and not give him any rest till he granted it unto them; *I would (said he) lock, or bolt my Chamber door, and beg it of God, and never give him rest till I had obtained it*; and then he advised them that they should daily try themselves by some marks, and he often mentioned three that he used to try himself by, 1. A sincere desire to fear the name of God, as *Nehem. 1. 11.* 2. A sincere endeavour to do the will of God in all things required, as *Psal. 119. 6.* 3. A full purpose of heart to cleave to the Lord, as *Act. 11. 23.* and these he did not onely speak of, but pressed them with much earnestness, as longing that others should partake of that high privilege, and heavenly gift with himself.

He stirred up others to labour for it.

If he met with any Schollar, and such an one especially as applied himself to the study of Divinity, his usual question to such was, What evidence have you for Heaven? You Schollars have the best opportunities of all men for the getting of assurance; You are still looking into Gods Book, and into others good Books, and should acquaint your selves with your spiritual estate towards God, and so have a greater measure of Assurance than others.

The like course he took when he met with any others, as occasion was offered; or if he found none, he would take it of himself: Once when he was a Parliament man, being at London, and coming accidentally into the shop of an intimate acquaintance, a man of great estate and imployment, and an Alderman of the City, he expressed his wondring at so great trading for the things of the world, and thereupon demanded how he could in the midst of such worldly business attend the weighty affairs of Heaven? His Friend

Friend answered, that he hoped he looked after the good of his soul. Mr. *Furdaine* replied, *How can you attend upon the worship of God every morning?* His Friend answered, that though he could not attend upon it every morning, yet he failed not of it in the evening; *Well Sir,* said Master *Furdaine*, *I will tell you in plain terms what I would have you to do; I would take all these goods, and throw them out into the street, and let them rather be cast away, and perish; then that they should be a means to ruine my soul unto all eternity.*

His desire  
of death.

From this Assurance it was that he was so fearless of Death, He knew that Death was an enemy, as the Apostle saith, *1 Cor. 15. 26.* But that through *Christ*, it was become a Friend to open the Gate of Heaven. Whereas Death in it self is as *Bildad* saith, *Job 18. 14. The King of Terrors,* or as the Heathen said, *Of all Terribles the most terrible;* yet he, being assured of his interest in *Christ*, found it not so to him; For he looked upon it as having lost its sting through *Christ*. Indeed, he made it so familiar to him by his continuall meditation of it, that he was so far from fearing it, that he did delight to speak of it, yea, earnestly desired it, and with joy expected it, whereby he discovered his great proficiency in the School of *Christ*. It was his usuall saying, That if Death were offered him on the one hand, and the Kings Crown on the other, he would take the Crown, and throw it into the Kennel, and choose Death far before it: He knew that he should be a great gainer by Death, and thereby obtain the *Crown of life and glory*, *Jam. 1. 12. 1 Pet. 5. 4.* and that he feared not, but rather hoped for Death. And this was further manifested, in that, when the Plague was very hot in the City of *Exeter*, and he being in the highest place of Authority there at that time, when the poor flocked about his house for relief, though he would not causelessly expose himself to danger, yet being in the discharge of his Duty, he feared not the infection; But often professed, that if by Gods disposing, the Plague should seize on him, he would kiss, and welcome it as the messenger of Death.

Nor was the meditation of Death then in his mind onely in times of danger, but at all times; There was not a day wherein he did not speak of it, and not onely when there was occasion offered to talk of it, but he would take occasion to discourse of that subject: As when he was invited to a Feast, he would tell the messenger that he would come if he did live so long: And when he went out of his house upon publick or private businesses, he would (as it were) take a solemn leave of his wife, telling her, that he knew not whether he should return to his House again.

Yet carefull  
of life.

Yet did he not so much desire Death as to undervalue the blessing of life, or to neglect the means for the preservation of it; For he acknowledged it to be a great blessing, and he was willing to live as long as the longest-lived man, if it were Gods good pleasure, and if he might do him service. And when he was sick, or in any danger, he would carefully make use of the means, that he might thereby serve Gods good providence for his recovery or deliverance, saying, That though he must trust in God, yet he must not tempt him by seeming to trust in him.

His heaven-  
ly minded-  
ness.

His minde was not so much upon Earth, and Death, as upon Heaven, to which he was assured Death would be a passage for him: Sure his Heart was much upon Heaven, or Heaven was much in his Heart, as appeared by his frequent discourse of it both day and night; And our Saviour *Christ* tells us, *Mat. 12. 34. That out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.* All that knew him, and looked upon him without a prejudiced eye, would say, That he was a most Heavenly minded man; A man that lived in Heaven as much as most that lived upon earth. When in the night he looked upon those glistering lights of Heaven, *Ezek. 32. 8.* the Firmament adorned with those Stars of light, *Psal. 148. 3.* he used to raise up his thoughts and  
speech



speech much higher, even to the glory of the highest Heaven, saying, *If these visible Heavens be so glorious, how doth the Heaven above them exceed in glory, where God alone shall be the light, and yet the Righteous shall shine forth as the Sun in the Kingdome of their Father*, Mat. 13. 43. There was scarce any occasion administred, or any special act of Gods providence that did occur, but it would draw out some speech of Heaven from him; As when any cross, or loss befell him in his affairs, he would say no more, but, *Heaven will pay for all*. And when in a journey he fell from his Horse, and lay for a while in a swoon, as soon as he recovered, his first words were, *Well, I see that I am now deceived, I thought that my horse would have cast me into Heaven*.

These are some few heads of the breathings of his piety, to which much more might be added; and truly they which knew him will marvell, not that so much is said of him, but rather that there is so little.

He was as eminent for Justice as for Piety; when he was advanced to the chiefest place of Government in that City, to be Mayor of that honourable Corporation: He was an eminent Magistrate, and that not onely in the year of his Mayoralty; but ever after as long as he lived. He looked upon it, not as a place of honour onely, but as an office of trust, wherein he might honour God, and execute justice amongst men, and reform those evils which abounded in those times in that place: He did not glory so much in having the Sword carried before him (though it was a singular badge of honour to that City, that the Kings sword should be taken from his side, and delivered to the Mayor to be carried before him, as a signall testimony of his favour, and their Loyalty, and courage in the insurrection of *Perkin Warbeck*) as he was desirous to draw forth the sword of Justice against evil doers, and not to carry it in vain, Rom. 13. 4.

His Justice

He was observed to be an impartial Adminiftrator of Justice, and one that without respect of persons did punish evildoers, of what quality, or condition soever they were that did transgress the Law; whether they were Citizens or strangers that came thither, if complaint were made to him, they should not escape such condign punishment, as the Laws of the Land; or custome of the place did award. As for instance;

His Impartiality.

There was a Gentleman of quality that was complained of to him for swearing five Oaths, and for some other mildemeanours: Master *Furdaine* thereupon sent a Constable with a Warrant to fetch him before him: But the Gentleman gave the Constable threatening Language, so that he durst not execute his Office: Whereupon Master *Furdaine* sent one Constable more for him, who brought the Gentleman before him: And he being in his Court when he came, after divers good Admonitions given him, he told him, that though he was never so great a Gentleman, he could no more go to Heaven whilest he took such Courses, than he could eat that stone (pointing to a great stone in his Court); and then required him to pay five shillings for his Oaths, which he did: Then he told him that he must put in sureties for his good behaviour: This the Gentleman refused to do, alleadging that he was a stranger: Whereupon Master *Furdaine* commanded the Constables to carry him away to prison till he would find sureties, which accordingly they did; and as he was going into the prison door, he desired that he might return back again, and he would give Bail: When he came to Master *Furdaine* to do it, he again gave him many good instructions, and the Gentleman (though he was a man of a very high spirit) gave him many hearty thanks for his good counsell, and promised amendment for the time to come.

Examples of it.

The Master of *Bridewell* could witness how many disorderly persons were sent thither by Master *Furdaine's* Warrants, more than be any other Justices in his time.

The Stocks, and Whipping-post could testify what swearers, drunkards, unclean persons, and such like notorious offenders were punished, principally by his indifferent execution of justice. And if any of the offenders that were liable to the Censure, and penalty of the Law, desired to be spared, he would tell them, *Here be my children whom I dearly love, and yet if any of them should commit such offences, they should suffer as you must do: and therefore I cannot remit of the penalty of the Law.*

What excuses, or fair pretences soever they made, he caused the Law to be executed upon them; yea, and that the more severely, because of the greatness of the crime, and the greater dishonour that redounded to the Name of the most high God thereby.

When some scandalous offenders, for the gross sin of uncleanness were accused, and questioned before the Court, and some present (for by-respects) pleaded for them, desiring to have them spared, he wished the Watchmen that were at the Gates to keep out the Plague (it being a time wherein some neighbour-Towns were infected) should be called home: For (saith he) *the Plague is in the Guild-Hall of the City*: Adding further, that if they did not execute the Law upon them, he would complain of them to the Council Table: And thereupon, after much contest, there was Order taken for their severe, and just punishment.

He was ever very Vigilant, especially in the year of Mayoralty, when the government of the City lay upon him, both to prevent, and remove disorders: Inasmuch, as he would go himself with the Constables to search for idle, and disorderly persons on *Sabbath* dayes at night, and at the end of the Assizes, and Sessions, and in Fair weeks, &c.

A great re-formation wrought by him. Yea, he did not only execute justice, but he shewed himself zealous therein, manifesting the greatest indignation against those evils whereby God was most highly dishonoured, as swearing, and *Sabbath*-breaking. Indeed, swearing was most odious unto him, and had there been a greater penalty than was at that time appointed by the Law of the Land, he would most readily have inflicted it. But by his punishing as many as were brought before him, it struck such an awe into the generality, as that some that lived at that time in the City, and near the place of the greatest concourse of people, the Corn-market, observed that they did not hear an Oath sworn for many years together.

He did not only maintain his zeal against swearing, and swearers of the ordinary sort, and rank of men, but even of the highest that came within the Verge of his Authority. As for example;

His Courage.

A Gentleman of great quality, and much favoured at Court, was heard to swear five or six times in the City. Master *Furdaine* having notice of it, sent some Constables to demand the penalty for swearing. The Gentleman was of an high spirit, and at this time accompanied with the chiefest of the County of *Devonshire*, and there were divers hot spirits about him. The Constables pressed towards the room where he was, saying, that Master *Furdaine* had sent them to demand the aforementioned penalty: and it was like to have broken forth into a great, and dangerous contest; but a prudent Gentleman, of a more moderate temper, and one that feared an Oath, stepped forth to them, and told the Constables that this Gentleman was of an high, and impatient spirit, and had great company about him: I fear therefore (said he) that the event may be of sad Consequence if you pursue your intentions at this time; yet the Constables seemed unwilling to depart till they had what they came for; The Gentleman seeing this, said, I will now pay the six shillings to you for him, and I promise you faithfully, that I will take a convenient time to admonish the Knight when it shall do him more good than the Rigorous exaction of the penalty of the Law can at this time, and so they departed.

It



It is credibly Related that Master *Furdaine* being summoned to appear in the *Star chamber*, for an act of Justice, wherein it was supposed that he went some-what beyond the strict letter of the Law, being there in the presence of some of his Judges, who were Noble-men, and hearing them to swear divers Oaths, he told them, that they must pay for every Oath that they had sworn, or otherwise he would make it farther known.

He reforms the prophanation of the Sabbath.

When he was Mayor of *Exeter*, he did much reform the open prophana- tion of the *Sabbaths*. For whereas the Hulleis had wont to set their Mills a going on the *Sabbaths*; he put a stop upon them for that whole day, know- ing that that whole day was to be dedicated to God, and his worship, and ser- vice; and whereas it was usuall to sell Fruit and Herbs, and other things on the *Lords holy-day*; as also Bowling, Cudgel-playing, and other prophane pastimes were then much used, by his Zeal and Vigilancy, and by the care of other Officers under him, they were wholly left off, though not without much Reluctancy, opposition, and some danger at the first; For there were commo- tions and tumults, and great resistance made against him; but by his constant zeal for God, and his Day, and Gods blessing upon the same, they were at last suppressed and quelled.

And not onely when he was Mayor, but everafter, being a Justice of Peace, in which Office he continued for twenty and four years, he was much taken up in the execution of Justice, yea, sometimes for the whole day from morning till night: So that he did not onely execute Judgement in the morning, as *Jer. 21. 12.* after he had been with God in the Mount of heavenly meditation, but all the day long, as *Moses* sate to judge the people, and the people stood before *Moses* from the Morning untill the Evening, *Exod. 18. 13.*

His zeal, and cou- rage.

And when he was out of power as a Justice, he discovered his zeal as a Christian, against prophane swearing, and for the strict observation of the *Sabbath*, wherein there is a remarkable instance of both at once; and it was this; Master *Furdaine* returning from the Parliament in the company of a person of Honour, he was invited by him to stay at his house that night, being *Sa- turday*, and the *Sabbath* following, he (having observed that Noble personage to swear, as they travelled together) told him, that he would not go into his house, for that he was a Swearer, and he feared that the house would fall upon his head: Answer was returned, that he need not fear that, for the House was newly built, a fair, and strong house: To this he replied, yea but the flying Rowl of Curses shall enter into the house of Swearers, & shall consume the timber, and stones of it. But to obtain his company, the Lord pressed the inconveniencies of his Lodging in an Inne on the *Sabbath* day: Master *Fur- daine* replied, *But I will never go into your house, unless you will engage your self, that no Oath shall be sworn, nor cursing uttered by you, your Lady, nor none of your Servants or Family:* This was faithfully promised; Yea but then (said Master *Furdaine*) how shall the *Sabbath* be kept? The answer was, That he should have an honest Sermon in the forenoon. And what in the afternoon, said he? Except we shall have a good Sermon in the afternoon also, I will not go in. That likewise was granted, and (as it is said) all was faithfully perform- ed.

His mercy to souls.

He was not for judgement only, but for mercy also: And he shewed mer- cy to the souls of them that were brought before him, as transgressors of the Law, and to be punished according to their demerits: For he would labour to convince them of the hainousness of their offences, that so he might bring them to a sight of their sins, and to repentance for the same.

He did much encourage the Officers under him to a diligent, and faithfull discharge of their duty: And indeed they stood in much need of it, meeting with many Discouragements from some others: And when he found them some-what backward, through Timerousness, or other

by respects, to execute his Warrants upon persons of high place, he would exhort them to be active, and forward in doing their duty, telling them, in good earnest (for that was his usually word) that if he had as good a Warrant from God, as they had from him to apprehend offenders, if he were required to apprehend the Devil himself, he would not be backward to put it in execution.

His justice.

His zeal was not only in distributive justice as a Magistrate: But he was conscientiously carefull as a Christian, in commutative justice, in his commerce, and dealings with men, wherein he made the Word the Rule of his practice: and if he found at any time that he had swerved from that Rule, he would Retract it, that so neither his own conscience, nor other men might reproach him for walking disorderly, and besides the Rule: and that appeared, not only by his avoiding all usurious Contracts, but also in making restitution of all that had been gotten thereby.

He restores use money.

He had sometimes taken usury for Money Lent to a person about *Time*, which he had received for divers years: For at that time he held it Lawfull, by reason of the practice which he had observed in some forreign States, and the Concurrent judgements of some Divines of Note, who spake in favour thereof: But upon his perusall of the Writings of other godly Divines of our Nation, and by conference with some worthy Ministers of his acquaintance, he was so convinced of the unlawfulness of usury, that he did not only forbear the practice of it for the future, but restored the interest formerly taken: and took no more for the Loan of Money, than the party borrowing would Voluntarily give him.

He did much bewail the common course of too many, who sin against God, both in getting, and spending their worldly estates. For (said he) as they get it unjustly, and by indirect means, so for the most part, they spend it lewdly, and lavishly in satisfying their sinfull lusts.

His Charity

Neither was he more famous for justice, than he was for charity, and that both in his life, and at his death: In his life-time he was a free-hearted man, and open-handed. He was a great patron of the poor: Another *Job* in that respect: He could truly say with him, as *Job* 30. 25. *Was not my soul grieved for the poor?* No doubt it was; and the bowels of his compassion did yearn towards them: He was an Advocate, and did earnestly plead for them, and especially for Gods poor; honest poor persons, whose hearts, and faces were set God-ward, and Heaven-ward, and his hands were very open to relieve them: He did that for them, which many of far greater estates had not hearts to do.

He would often say, that he wondered what rich men meant, that they gave so little to the poor, and raked so much together for their children. *Do you not see* (quoth he) *what becomes of it?* and would reckon up divers examples of such as heaped up much for their children, and they, within a short time had scattered, and consumed all: And on the other side, he often spake of such as had small beginnings, and afterwards became rich, or of a competent estate: giving a particular instance in himself: *I came* (said he) *but with a groat, or six pence in my purse to this City: had I had a shilling in my purse, I had never been Mayor of Exeter. And therefore leave children but a little, and they (by Gods blessing on their labour, and industry) may become rich: But leave them a great deal, and they are in danger to be Beggars.*

His care for the poor was most remarkable in the time of the great Plague in that City, which was *Anno Christi* 1625. For in the Mayors absence he was chosen his Lieutenant, or Deputy, and he, seeing the deplorable condition of the City, accepted of it, and then he wrote divers Letters to many Towns in *Devonshire*, and to some in *Dorset*, and *Somersetshire*, by which means he procured severall summes of Moneys, for the suppliall of the wants of the many Hundreds of poor, that at that time were in a very distressed estate:



estate: One that was an eye-witness related, that he had seen morning after morning coming to his door, sometimes thirty, sometimes forty, yea fifty, or sixty, or more, wringing their hands; some crying that their Husbands were dead: Others that their wives were dead: Others that their children were dead, and that they had not any thing wherewithall to bury them. Some again cried that their Families were sick, and they had not wherewithall to relieve them. Others that they had divers children, but they neither had Bread, nor Money to buy it for them. Some cried for Bread: Some for Physick: Others for Shroudes for their dead: And he not only heard them patiently; but his bowels yearned towards them, and his Hands were stretched out for their relief. For, standing within his own Shop, with his own Hands he ministred supplies unto them all, and so dismissed them for the present. And the next morning when there was a renewall of their sad complaints, his charitable care of them was renewed also: And thus he continued morning by morning, even for the space of near three moneths, till the return of the Mayor into the City.

Besides his great care of supplying the wants of such poor as came unto him, he had a speciall respect to poor House-keepers, and Tradesmen, such as were ashamed, and unwilling to make their sad, and necessitous condition known; And a peculiar care of the godly poor, concerning whom he used to advise with the Constables, and Church-wardens of every Parish, and according to their need, would proportion some relief and help unto them, and send it by the hands of the said Constables, or Church-wardens.

And his care for the poor was not only in that extraordinary season (as their exigents did require) but so long as he continued in the land of the living: And he was so constantly exercised in this great work of charity, that he did it, as it were, naturally: As the Apostle speaks of *Timothy*, Phil. 2.20.

But though he did well, yet heard he ill even for this, and by some it was cast in his teeth, that he made Beggars: And when he was asked by a man of place, and estate, what he would give to keep the poor from begging? (supposing that he would not be so forward therein, as he was in relieving them) he freely offered a great part of his estate, upon condition that the other would do the like: But when he saw his forwardness, the other pulled back his shoulder, and would not joyn with him therein.

He was given much to Hospitality: He would not eat his morsels alone by himself, as *Job* 31. 17. He well remembered the Apostles direction, *Heb.* 13. 2. *Be not forgetfull to entertain strangers.* He was most loving, and friendly to them, and especially to such as did suffer for conscience sake: As those godly Ministers who were silenced for *Non-Conformity* (although his own judgement was well satisfied in that point.) To him they did continually resort, and by him they were kindly entertained: Insomuch as by the profaner sort, he was cried out on as an *Arch-Puritan*: But by those that took Religion to heart, he was honoured with the title of *Gains mine Hoste, and of the whole Church*, as *Rom.* 16. 23.

If we consider his last *Will*, and Testament, we shall find in it very great and unparalleled acts of charity: As he gave one third part of his temporall estate to his wife, and another third part to his children, according to the custome of the City; so out of the other third part, he left very large Legacies, especially to the poor.

We will here omit many Legacies given to Ministers, and others, and point only at some that were more remarkeable; And take them in his own words in his *Will*; *First, I give to all the poor of this City, and County, that receive pay of Parishes, and also to those that dwell in Almes-houses, I give five shillings to each, to be paid at my Buriall. I give to one hundred more poor people ten shillings to each, to be given to such as my Overseers shall think*

to have most need, the honest poor to be chiefly looked unto. Also I give 10 the poor of Lime, where I was born, and to the poor of Garnsey, where I was new born, five pounds to each place. Also, I forgive all the Moneys owing to me, if it be under the value of twenty shillings to each. (These smaller sums which he had lent to the poor were very many:) Also my Will is, and I give now more to fifty poor people of this City and County, twenty shillings to each, by my Overseers, or the major part of them. Thus out of that estate which God had given him, he gave again by way of gratitude to God, viz. to the poor, who are Gods receivers. God gave him, and left him a competent estate (after his many, and great losses) and which is more, he gave him an heart to honour him with his substance, Prov. 3. 9. and to lay it forth as became a faithfull Steward, in the service, and for the honour of his Lord, who had intrusted him with it.

It's true, some did wonder, and others did sharply censure him for his extraordinary charity and liberality, and especially for that he left no greater a part of his estate to his wife: But this may be said in his defence: That the strait, and close hearts of others, are no fit pattern to measure his large heart by. And besides, God had opened his hand in giving very liberally unto him blessings, both spirituall, and temporall, and especially spirituall, even the graces, and comforts of his Spirit: And he enjoying such sweet communion with God even above most other men, what marvel is it if he did more for God than other men use to do? And as for his wife, as he left her the third part of his estate, so likewise he made her Executrix of his Will, and thereby much more had come to her than there did, had not some Debts (which he accounted good) failed and come short both of his, and her expectation: Besides, he did assure himself, that her Brother, who was then living, and a man of great estate, would be ready to supply any of her wants.

Thus we have heard what Master Jurdaine did for God: In the next place let us see also what God did for him. Besides all those graces, which were eminently in him, and whereby he was enabled to act so zealously, and vigorously for God, which all were Gods free-gift: And that comfortable Assurance that he had, which was part of his reward: The Lord also advanced him from a mean, and low estate, to the highest place of honour and dignity in that City. His beginnings were but small, as appears by his answer to some that threatned to follow him with Suits, and not to give over till they had not left him worth a groat: To whom he chearfully replied: That he should be then but two pence poorer than when he came first to Exeter: For (said he) *I brought but six pence with me hither*; and yet, through Gods blessing on his labours, he gat a competent, and comfortable estate, whereby he maintained a large Family of children, and servants; kept Hospitality: was liberall to the poor, and open-handed to any pious use, even far beyond many who yet had larger estates. But when he had the greatest temporall estate, he set no great estimate upon these fading, perishing things: He set them not up in his Heart (as worldlings use to do) but trod them under his feet: And usually also he set them very low in his ordinary discourse of them, and especially when he was speaking of Heaven, and Heavenly things. And yet he did not forget to acknowledge Gods goodness in bestowing any of these outward things upon him. He found by experience that they were but *uncertain riches*, 1 Tim. 6. 17. And that they had *wings, and would fly away*, Prov. 23. 5. But he did not run crying after them, as they use to do who set their hearts upon them: Whereas he saw, and acknowledged Gods hand as well in taking away, as in giving: As Job did, Job 1. 21. and therefore was quiet, and content, having experimentally learned, in some good measure, that excellent lesson with St. Paul: *I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content*, Phil. 4. 11. By vicissitudes, and changes of estates, God did exercise his faith, patience, and contentation.

How God  
honoured  
him.

Having



Having passed through the severall inferior Offices, he at last ascended to the highest place of honour in the City, to be Mayor there, wherein (as hath been shewed) he demeaned himself as became a Christian-Magistrate, and his ambition therein was highly to honour God, who had thus honoured him. And afterwards he was twice chosen to be a Burgeſs of Parliament, wherein his zeal for God, and against the corruptions of the times, was abundantly manifested. He was a great stickler to have the Bill passed for the punishment of Adultery with death: But those times would not beare it: Surely some of the Law-makers knew some speciall Reason for it.

He is chosen Mayor, and Burgeſs of Parliament

When he made a motion for the passing of that Bill; One, or more of the Members in the House, cried out, Commit it Master *Furdaine*, Commit it; Upon which a great laughter was occasioned; whereupon he presently said unto them (in a zealous manner like himself) *Do you laugh when a man speaks for Gods honour, and glory?* Upon which there was a more than ordinary silence in the House. The Bill was at that time laid aside, but in a following Parliament, it was called upon by the name of Master *Furdaine's* Bill. He was also (as it's said) the first man that promoted the Bills for the more strict sanctification of the *Sabbaths*, and against Swearing.

His courage

Yea, God did not only advance him to places of honour, and dignity in the eye of the world: But gave him an high place also in the Hearts of his people; and therein God made good his promise, *1 Sam. 2.30. Such as honour me, I will honour.* His name was very precious in the esteem of those that knew his worth, both whilest he lived, and since his death.

Indeed it is confessed that he was a by-word unto many, and that his name was taken up by way of reproach, but it was by such as were upbraided, and reprov'd by his holy, and gracious conversation: And he valued not their reproaches, knowing that his Lord and Master did suffer much more in this kind, and that this was but a Chip of that Cross, which, as he was commanded, he was willing to bear: Yea, he was well content to drink of this bitter Cup after his Master, and with him, he *dispiſed the shame*; Heb. 12. 2. which the men of the world cast upon him: Nay, he accounted it his honour to suffer shame for the Name of *Christ*, as the Apostles did, *Act. 5.4.* But some there were that brought shame upon themselves, whilest they thought to cast contempt, and scorn upon him. Amongst other instances, this one was remarkable: That being chosen Burgeſs for the Parliament, not without much opposition, and going up to *London* to clear the Election, at which time, there was an accusation sent up against him by a man of no mean place, and power, That he was the Host of the *Schismaticks*: Whereupon some presumed that he would have been sent back with disgrace: And accordingly there was a Sermon prepared by one to jeer him at his return; This being his Text, *Psal. 114.5. What ailed thee—thou Jordan that thou wast driven back?* Thus men of prophane spirits will dare to make the sacred Word of God to serve their own base lusts and ends. But Master *Furdaine*, instead of being driven back, was confirmed in the place to which he was chosen, and so shame was cast into the face of this wicked scorner. And his Sermon, or Invective rather, proved abortive.

He is reproached by the wicked.

And as Master *Furdaine* stood up boldly for God, so did God stand by; and for him, and assisted him, and carried him through many troubles, and dangers that did threaten, and even compass him about. One act of Gods providence, amongst many others, was most notable, in delivering him out of trouble. He having done an act of justice (as was hinted before) in punishing an unclean person, whose offence was aggravated by some hainous circumstances, being moved with an holy indignation against the offence, he went (as it seems) besides the letter of the Law in some circumstance:

Whereupon

The power  
of prayer.

Whereupon some Friends of the person punished (being stirred up with fury for the disgrace that reflected upon them; without weighing the dishonour that was done to God, and the foul blot that was cast upon Religion) resolved to prosecute him to the uttermost for it, wherein they put him to great charge, and trouble, by prosecuting him in the *Star-Chamber*: And when the cause was to come to a finall determination, it was much feared by many of his Friends, and through the boastings of his Adversaries, that some heavy censure would have passed upon him, to his crushing, if not to his utter undoing. But when his Friends on earth failed, he flees to Heaven for succour, and defence, and cried unto God in  *Davids words, Psal. 22. 11, 19. Be not far from me, O Lord, for trouble is near: For there is none to help: O my strength, hast thou to help me.* And he set apart the evening, and a great part of the night, by Fasting, and Prayer, to engage God on his side, who hath the Hearts of all men, even of the greatest in his Hands, to turn them as he pleaseth, *Prov. 21. 1.* And behold, the next morning he received a reall, and gracious answer from Heaven, being not only acquitted, but commended by the Lord Keeper, God stirring up the Hearts of divers in that high, and arbitrary Court, to speak for him. Thus the Lord was a *very present help* to him in the time of trouble, *Psalm 46. 1.*

His Prudence.

After he was thus (through Gods mercy) freed, and returned to his house, he piled up the Books, and Papers of all the proceedings in that troublesome, and vexatious business, under his Cupboard in his Parlour, which was the place to which he did often resort, and where he had that daily sweet, and heavenly communion with God aforementioned; and being asked the reason why he left so many Books, and Papers to lie in that manner? His answer was; These I keep in my sight as memorials, and monuments of Gods mercy in freeing me from my troubles.

Many other particulars might be instanced in: But by that little which hath been said, you may guess at the great worth of this holy man. Only give me leave to adde the observations, and testimony of Master *Thomas Manton*, who knew him well, who speaks thus of him:

"Master *Ignatius Furdaine* may in some sense be stiled the wonder, and "*Phoenix* of his age and place of abode: concerning whose piety, and frequent communion with God, his constant heavenliness, his charity in giving, lending and entertaining: His doing justice with impartiality, and diligence, we have already heard: And therefore give me leave only to suggest a few other passages, and observations.

"1. That for his temper, he was a man of a raised zeal, and *heroicall* spirit, one of those rare examples which the Lord giveth the world now and then, and therefore his actions are not to be measured by an ordinary standard.

"2. Seldome or never did any come in to his company, but he would discourse with them about holy things, asking the younger sort, how they did hope to be saved? The more grown, if they professed Religion, whether they had any assurance? which if they denied, he would tell them, that he was even ashamed of them. In good earnest (would he say) I would study the Promises, and go into my Clofets, and lock the door, and there plead them to God, and say, that I would not go forth till he gave me some sense of his love.

"3. His entertainment at his Table was free, and sufficient, but frugall, and sober: If his Wife at any time excused the slenderness of it, he would say, *Brown bread, and Kennel water is good fare with the Gospel.* I have oft heard him say so: There is somewhat a like saying of Master *Greenhams*, and possibly Master *Furdaine* might borrow it thence, it suiting so well with the temper of his spirit.

"4. A formall man had once preached a Sermon at the *Cathedral*, about  
"Heaven



"Heaven: The discourse was for the most part frothy, and bepeath the  
 "dignity, and worth of such an Argument. Master Furdaine was present as  
 "well as my self: After Sermon I went to his house (being to receive a  
 "Letter from him to Oxford) and after many good instructions, he asked  
 "me, if I had been at the Sermon that morning? I told him, yea, *And did*  
 "*you (said he) hear those wonderfull things which God hath provided for them*  
 "*that love him?* And so he readily picked out all those passages which were  
 "any way subservient to use, and profit. It was wonderfull to me to see  
 "how an holy Heart could draw comfort out of any thing. The Sermon  
 "as Master Furdaine repeated to me, was another kind of Sermon, and seem-  
 "ed to be savoury, and spirituall. I remember with what warmth, and vi-  
 "gour he spake of it, even till this day, and hope that I shall never forget  
 "it.

"5. This is not to be forgotten, his sending a Letter to the late King,  
 "and expostulating with him about setting forth the *Book concerning sports,*  
 "*and recreations on the Lords dayes,* which was inclosed in another to the  
 "Bishop of Exeter, to desire him to convey it: And notice being given to  
 "the Bishop that Copies of it were divulged (possibly by the Transcriber)  
 "he thought he could not conceal it with safety, and therefore carried it to  
 "the King, who when he had read it, in a great anger said, He would hang  
 "him. But the Bishop (a pious man) fell upon his knees, and besought his  
 "Majesties pardon, alleadging, *That God had not a better servant, nor his*  
 "*Majesty a better Subject in the whole Land.* When the Bishop returned from  
 "his moneths attendance, Master Furdaine went to visit him, and after civili-  
 "ties past, the Bishop said, *Ah, Master Furdaine, would you put me upon so*  
 "*hot a service? You know there are many eyes upon me* (meaning the Arch-  
 "bishops party, who suspected him as a favourer of Puritans) Yea, my Lord  
 "(said Master Furdaine) there are eyes upon you, the eyes of God; and his  
 "holy Angels, to see how you discharge your duty, and office as the Kings  
 "Chaplain, and Bishop of the Church.

"6. Now and then, when he had leasure, he would usually go to his  
 "Neighbours shops, and admonish them to take heed that the cares of the  
 "world did not deaden their Spirits to Heavenly things; telling them, if  
 "they had many Thousands, it would not still the cry of Conscience, pur-  
 "chase the least Favour from God, nor so much as ease the pain of the  
 "Teeth, or keep off one fit of an Ague; yea, if money were thrown to  
 "the Dogs, they would not so much as smell at it.

"7. He would often perswade his Fellow-Magistrates to a liberal  
 "Provision for the Poor, and when they would ask him, where they should  
 "have money? He would answer, God will provide; Rather than the poor  
 "shall want, let us sell our Gowns.

"8. When he did distribute money to the Poor with his own hands  
 "in a time of great Infection, and some asked him if he were not afraid of the  
 "Plague? *What (said he) afraid of Gods Visitation? Let us rather fear the*  
 "*Plague-sore of our own hearts.*

"9. In his troubles in the Star-Chamber, when one told him, he was  
 "sorry that the Lord-Keeper was against him: He answered, *I have a*  
 "*greater Lord-Keeper than him: The Lord is my Keeper, I shall not be a-*  
 "*fraid.*

"It is not amiss to set down what others thought of him: I remember a  
 "godly man observed him, that in every business (though he adven-  
 "tured far) the Lord carried him through with Reputation, and so  
 "compared him with another of great parts, who, though godly, was  
 "alwayes Foiled in every undertaking. Drunkards, and frequenters  
 "of Ale-houses, were afraid of him: He was their usual bug-  
 "bear.

"bear; Their *memento* in the middle of their excess was; Its time to be gone, Mr. *Furdaine* will come by and by.

"The ordinary sort of men were convinced of his Integrity, insomuch as carnal and vicious men, at a time of Election of *Burgesses* for Parliament would say one to another; If you choose any, choose *Furdaine*, he will be right for the Common-wealth, and will do the City service. He was twice chosen *Burgess* for the Parliament, and once *Mayor* of the City, and once *Deputy-Mayor* in a time of great Infection by the Pestilence.

"The Reverend Minister that preached his Funeral Sermon, amongst others, had this Expression: Look upon his *Will*, and you will think him the richest man in the City. Though many exceeded him in estate, but few or none in making provision for the Poor. Delinquents seldom went from him without Conviction. A Noble mans Servant that had scorned him, being brought before him, and convicted for having sworn rashly three times, Mr. *Furdaine* demanded his Fine, and shewed him the hainousness of the sin, with which the man was calmed, and though he came from his companions braving, yet he returned with the acknowledgment that he was a good Justice; and when they asked him, what *Furdaine* did to him, he answered, *He gave me good Law, and fair Words.*

I have heard above thirty years ago, that some godly persons in *Exeter* were Convented before the Bishops Court for keeping some private days of Humiliation; whereupon Mr. *Furdaine* went to the Bishop (who was a godly man) to intercede for them. The Bishop told him that such Conventicles were forbidden by the Law, the state being jealous lest the seeds of Sedition or Heresie might be sown in them: To whom Mr. *Furdaine* replied, *My Lord, Do you think that the Lord Jesus Christ, when he comes to Judgment, will say concerning these, and such like poor Christians, take them Devil, take them, because though they sought me by Fasting and Prayer, yet they did not observe every Circumstance with so much Prudence as they might have done.* Whereupon the Bishop dismissed them.

His Sick-  
ness.

His Pati-  
ence.

I am now come to the last Act of his Life, his sickness, and the Period of that, his Death. In his sickness, which was very painful, he being sorely afflicted with the Stone, and Cholick, yet did he manifest more than ordinary Patience, not opening his mouth in any word that might savour of repining, or discontent at his present Condition; but meekly and patiently submitting to Gods afflicting Hand, and waiting for his long-expected, and much desired Dissolution. He did then much act faith in *Jesus Christ* and his gracious Promises; And his assurance remained unshaken, though Satan was then busie with him by his Temptations: But being *Strong in the Lord, and in the Power of his Might*, he did resist him. Some of his nearest Friends that observed his confident Assurance in the course of his Life, and of his happy estate in Heaven after Death, did suppose that Satan would have set upon him with so much Violence, as to have shaken his Assurance, as no doubt he had will enough to do; but God who had him in Chains, would not permit him to do it: But he went out of the world as a Conquerour out of the Field, being through Christ, Victorious over all his spiritual enemies. One particular in his sickness may not be omitted which was, his taking all occasions of exhorting and encouraging others to constancy in the Faith, Zeal for God, and making sure of Heaven; and when his Spirits began to fail him, he would say, *I cannot speak much more to you now; Remember what you have heard from me in my health.* He was willing also to incite others that were absent to the discharge of their Duties; The *Mayor* of the City that then was, sending to see how he did, he called the messenger unto him, and said, *Remember me to Mr. Mayor, and tell him from me, that*

he



he have a special care of these three things: To do Justice: To provide carefully for the poor; and to make sure of Heaven. His gracious Speeches in the time of his sickness, were many, and more than can be here expressed.

Having fought the good Fight of Faith, and finished his course, he sweetly, and quietly resigned up his Soul into the Hands of his blessed Saviour and Redeemer. He departed this Life, July the 13, Anno Christi 1640. being the sabbath Day.

His Death.

The sabbath was his Delight on Earth, and on that day God gave him to enjoy an Eternal sabbath with him in Heaven. As he had sweet Communion with God in the use of Ordinances for many years on that day, so he went to enjoy an immediate Communion with God on that Holy day; and after all his Labours he entred into Rest, even that glorious Rest in Heaven, Heb. 4. 11. His Departure hence was in the Seventy ninth year of his Age, and, according to his Account for the New-Birth, in the Sixty fifth year. For so long he reckoned since the time of his effectual Calling: At the Celebration of his Funerals, there hath not been known any man to be more lamented than he was, the loss being so great, not to the City alone, but to all those Western parts, the influence of his Example, as a Zealous Magistrate and Christian, reaching far and near.

His Funerals

After he had served his own Generation by the Will of God, he fell in sleep, Acts. 13. 36.

F f f 3

The



The Life and Death of Mrs. Margaret Duche,  
who dyed Anno Christi 1646.

Her Paren-  
tage.

**H**er Father of Mrs. *Margaret Duche* was Master *Henry Southworth*, a Gentleman of a good Family: Her Mother was a virtuous and Religious Matron. He was a Merchant and Customer of *London*, by which means having acquired a plentiful estate, he contented himself with it, and with-drew from thence to a more quiet, and retired (that is a more happy) life at *Wells*, where he lived plentifully, and having onely two Daughters, his Co heirs, he gave them liberal, and pious education in all those wayes which commend, and accomplish well-bred Gentlewomen:

Her Educa-  
tion.

Her Marri-  
age.

This Gentlewoman, who was the younger of his Daughters, was deservedly dear to both her Parents, and lived with them till their deaths, which fell out to be shortly one after another: For as they were lovely and pleasant in their lives (if I may so use the words of *Dauids* Lamentation over *Saul* and *Jonathan*, 2 Sam. 1.) so in their Deaths they were not divided. She was then about the one and twentyeth year of her age, at which time she was desired in marriage by many younger in years, and higher in means and lands than the Gentleman was, unto whom (with her great contentment even to her dying day) she yeilded her self, and her affections, resolving (as the virtuous *Marcella* in *St. Jerom* answered her young Woer, *Cereallis*, who was of a Noble, and Consular race, *Si nubere vellem, utique maritum quarerem, non hereditatem*) that when she married, she would marry an Husband, not an estate, though yet God had blessed her Husband with a competency of these outward things.

Her Charity

Their Marriage was Celebrated by that incomparable, and even (in this age) famous Prelate, Bishop *Lake*, in the City of *Wells* (who never married any Persons besides themselves) where, for some years, they lived together, and the Town to this day gives an ample testimony to their piety and charity. For her part, they say, as *Gregory Nyssen* said of *Placilla*, that if she prevented him not in any work of charity, yet she was sure to concur with him therein; And when she departed from thence, they soon complained, and Lamented the want of her charity. The Blinde complained that they wanted an eye, the Lame a staffe, the Mourners one to comfort them, the Languishing one to visit them, as *St. Jerom* said of *Nepotian*. For indeed, she was eyes to the Blinde, feet to the Lame; she was a Mother to the Poor and Distressed, and to those who had nothing to help them, *The blessing of those* (as *Job* saith of himself) *that were ready to perish came upon her, and she caused the widows hearts to sing for joy.*

From



From Wells they removed to Blackfryers in London, where she lived long under the powerful Ministry of the thrice worthy and learned Doctor Gouge, a man, famous for his pains in the Church of Christ. What her Life, Faith, Charity, Patience was, during her abode there, was well known to all in general, and particularly observed by that Reverend Doctor, and abundantly testified at her Funerals by him, so that nothing needs to be added to his full, and faithful testimony. One thing was well observed by him, and is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the many opportunities she had to see Playes, to which the neighbour-hood, and Vicinity of the Play-house there, and the frequent throngs of Gentlewomen which prest thither, might have been forcible and prevailing invitations, yet she could never whilst she lived there, nor indeed all the time of her being in London, be induced to see any of them; And being sometimes advised by her dearest Friend, to go thither, as other Gentlewomen did, to avoid too much retiredness, she answered, it is hard to say whether with more discretion, or Religion, that she liked it not, and that, next to Gods house, she could best spend her time in her own. In Gods House (if I may with reverence use Tertullians expression) she saw enough of the *Scena Scenica Doctrina delectantur*; *Sat nobis sententiarum, sat versuum, sat etiam Canticorum, &c.* Sentences, Verses, and Songs enough to delight her soul. Would she see a Tragedy? There she could see before her eyes Jesus Christ, evidently set forth, crucified amongst them; Gal. 3. 1. What a sight is Christs coming to Judgement? Kings throwing down their Crowns and Scepters, and themselves before him? In her own house she could (as Solomon describes the excellent Huswife, Prov. 31. 27, 28.) imploy her self in looking well to the wages of her Household, and not eating the bread of idleness, that so her children might rise up, and call her blessed; Her Husband also, and he might praise her.

She removed to Blackfryers.

Her Piety.

Her love to Gods House

Her Huswifery.

Her retiredness.

She was so far from the gadding disposition of other talking, walking women, that she was for the most part as a Snail, *Domi parva*, within her own shell and Family. And as St. Jerom portrays his never enough admired, and applauded Marcella, *Raro procedebat in publicum, & Maxime Nobilium Matronarum domos visitabat, ne Cogeretur videre quod contempserat*. She went seldom abroad, and especially chose to decline the houses of Noble and Honourable Ladies, lest she should be tempted to see those vanities which she resolved to contemn, and so be unwillingly wrought and brought to desire what she so willingly despised.

Her weakness.

Her holy Life.

This retiredness (as usually it doth) drew on her a decrease of Health; which occasioned, for the enjoyment of a better Air, and recovery of health, her removal to Cheswick, where she lived to her dying day, exceedingly beloved, and dyed extremely Lamented, and desired of all.

While she enjoyed her health, which yet was much interrupted, her constant, and unfailing practice was, besides daily prayers in the Family, to betake her self in the morning, and at other convenient times to her constant private devotions in her Closet; And then allotting some time (for being a wife and prudent woman, she made a little time reach far) in the education, and oversight of her children, and disposing and dispensing the affairs of the Family; The residue of the day she spent in reading Books of Piety and Devotion, and most willingly those of Doctor Gouge, by which means she made her heart, *Bibliothecam Christi*, a Library of Christ, and furnished her self with such a stock of Christian knowledge, and devotion, as carried her on, with much comfort and cheerfulness through all her afflictions, till she arrived at her long, and much longed for home.

Her Meekness.

Both in her health, and sickness, she was of so meek and mild a comportment, and behaviour towards all, that she conquered by it, as Ignatius advised Polycarp to do, those that had (if at least any had) any Venemous sting, or spleen against her. For her meekness she seemed indeed like that Dove

in the Prophet *Hosea*, chap. 7. 11. that had *no heart*, none certainly to do any harm or injury to any. And as *Solomon* saith, *Prov.* 15. 1. *A soft answer turns away wrath*; so without doubt her soft and milde disposition in these rough and blustering times, kept off many an impetuous storm and shower from her. This mildness was eminently conspicuous in her sickness. One night her Husband perswaded her to use an *Electuary* that was sent her, she refused it twice, but in milde terms; yet the next morning she told him, that she had been too blame (it might be) in her words the night before. Often she desired all the world to forgive her if she had offended any, as she heartily forgave them all that had offended her. Her Husband told her, that he thought she had no enemies; *Yea* (said she) *some have wronged me, but I forgive them from my heart, and desire God to forgive them.*

Her Sick-  
ness.

In all the time of her sickness she was never heard to use any impatient word to any, or of any, *Quis unquam ab hac muliere quod displiceret audivit?* That I may use *St. Jeroms* Question concerning another on her behalf, Who ever heard any thing from this good woman that might displease him? Or believed any thing against her, and condemned not himself of too much credulity or Malignity in believing it? Cheerful she was, yet she tempered it with such a becoming severity; severe she was, yet she allayed it with such a decent cheerfulness, that it may be truly said of her, what was said by *St. Jerom* of a virtuous woman, *Nothing was more severe than her cheerfulness, nor cheerfull than her severity.* Such a concurrence and Constellation of virtues and sweetness, such a Mirror of Charity, such a Treasury and Magazine of Chastity and Sobriety was in her. In short, she had such an eminency in single Vertues, as if she had had no more, and yet such a worthiness in all, as if she had been singular in none.

Her Pati-  
ence.

Since the troubles of these bleeding times she suffered many afflictions with a *Masculine* patience, though much imbittered to her by a long, and tedious sickness, and the necessary, and indispensable absence of her dearest Consort, which yet she professed, that it never bred in her the least ill thought of him, saying often, that she did but desire to see him again, and to speak with him, and then she was ready, if God so pleased, the next day to sing old *Simeons*, *Nunc dimittis*, *Luke* 2. 29. *Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.* And God heard her prayer, and his also (for in this they were joynt and mutual Orators) and to her great comfort, she saw him, and spake, with, and for three weeks space they mutually enjoyed each other abroad in the house. But then the *first-born of Death* began to devour her strength (as *Bildad* speaks, *Job* 1. 13, 14.) and threatened to bring her to the *King of Terrors*; for so indeed Death is to them that have not made their peace with God: But to her, however in regard of the dissolution, and parting of those dear friends, body and soul (which had been now for two and forty years sweet, and loving inmates) a valley of *Achor*, *Hos.* 2. 15. (that is, bitterness, as the word imports) yet was it to her a door of hope to open her a passage into that better world, which she so much longed after, often professing, that there was nothing that could tempt her to wish for life, but the breeding up of her little ones; which yet now she was the less solicitous about, because she could leave them in the hands of their tender, and careful Father, not doubting (as old dying *Jacob* said when he was blessing the two Sons of *Joseph*, *Gen.* 48. 15, 16.) *That that God which had fed her all her life long untill that day, and the Angel which had redeemed her from all evil, would bless them.* And now finding her self arrested by the messenger of Death, and her body (like the house of *Saul*) growing weaker, and weaker, but her Soul (like the house of *David*) waxed stronger and stronger, took higher flights, and made nearer approaches to God that gave it.

Her Sick-  
ness.

When her Husband came to her (as he did frequently) he continually admonished, and minded her of the gracious Promises of mercy in *Christ*, and of faith in him; and desired her to be strengthened, and comforted in them:

Her



Her answer was, she was comforted in them, she found the comfort of Gods Spirit in her, and verily believed she should see the *goodness of the Lord in the Land of the living*, Psal 45. 13, Ever and anon saying, *I am comforted: Gods Spirit is in me which makes me endure my sickness, and more paines than you can think of, so comfortably as I do.* Her Comforts.

When she knew of none by, her usual prayer was, *Lord look down upon me in thy Mercy; Lord forgive me my sins; Lord assist me with thy holy Spirit; Lord thou hast assured me of the forgiveness of my sins; Lord assist me still with thy holy Spirit.* And many times passing the whole Night without Sleep, she spent that time in these, and the like Heavenly Prayers, and Ejaculations, in which her Husband, and those which attend her continually, still found her when they came to her.

Never man had a more faithful, dear and loving Wife, or more careful of what concerned him than himself, and more tender of any thing said, or done against him, than if it had been said, or done against her self. And when he seemed to lament the loss he should have if God took her from him: She meekly answered, *We came not into the World together, and therefore may not look to go out together.* When he replied, that it would be much better for their Children if he went first, as by the course of Nature was most likely; she said, that he could do much better for the Children than she could, and thanked God for that she could now leave them with him. A loving Wife.

For the space of three weeks she kept her bed, and about a fortnight before her death, being surprized with a fainting fit, in which she was like to depart, and thereby perceiving that Earth would suddenly return to the Earth, whence it came, that her soul might be the better Winged, and prepared for a return to God that gave it, she desired that all the Family might be called up, and joyn in prayers with, and for her. At which time, observing the Grief and Passion of her Husband, and those that were present, expressed plentifully by Tears from their Eyes, she besought him, and them, not to grieve and lament for her Happiness.

About that time a Reverend Person coming to visit her Husband, he solicited him to enlarge that great Act of Favour unto him, by a greater Act of Charity to his Wife, by visiting her also whom God now visited with sickness, as also to pray with, and administer some Comfort unto her, which he most willingly condescended unto, and having taken a strict account of her Faith in Christ, and hopes of a better Life, he left her with his Fatherly Benediction, top full of Comfort; and when she was afterwards told that he came out of respect and kindness to visit her Husband, she said No, but God had sent him for her Comfort, often acknowledging the consolations which she had found by him.

When any came to visit her in the time of her sickness, at the parting, she desired them to pray for her, and often sent Messengers, and caused Letters to be directed to her Friends in London to pray for her, for that she now was preparing for another World. Prayers desired.

When she was sometimes desired for her Childrens sake to cheer up her self, her answer was, that to leave them did not trouble her, because she was assured that God would provide for them, adding, that she would willingly leave Husband, Children, and all, to go to Christ, which was just the mind of that blessed Martyr Ignatius, *Befal me (said he) what will, or can, so I may enjoy Jesus Christ, my Love, my Life, that was Crucified for me;* or rather St. Pauls case, expressed in that most elegant Barbarisme, Phil. 1. 23. *Desiring to be with Christ, which is much more magis melius, much more better.* Her Faith.

And now finding the day of her life wasted to the evening, and ready to die into Nighr, on the Lords Day before her Death, she desired the prayers. She begs Prayers.

Her Afflictions.

Prayers of the Congregation in the Parish where she lived, being well assured (as she said) that many good people would pray heartily for her. After which, some coming to visit her, and exhorting her to Patience, and to remember the Afflictions of *Job*, she answered, that she had had her part in his Afflictions, God having given her *Luctuosam fecunditatem*, as St. *Jerom* said of *Lata*, a sad, and sorrowful Fruitfulness, taking away seven of her Children in their Minority, so that she (as *Hanna* spake in her Song, 1 *Sam.* 2. 5.) that had *born seven, waxed feeble*, yet she comforted her self with this hope, that they were in Heaven before her, and hoped that they would be Lamps to lead her to Heaven; For she assured her self, that they followed the Lamb whithersoever He goeth; and for those two which were yet alive, she thanked God, for that she saw no ill Qualities in them. Besides (she said) that God had taken away her goods from her, but had given her Patience, which to her was of more value; and she esteemed it above them all, knowing that God was able to restore all when he pleased.

She often acknowledged Gods goodness to her in sending her a milde sickness, and not taking her away with some suddain stroke (as he did the Wife of *Ezekiel*, Chap. 24. 16.) or by some tormenting Disease, as he is pleased to visit some of his Dear Ones, acknowledging the wonderful Mercy of God to her therein.

She bleffeth her Children.

A week before her Death, she called her eldest Daughter to her, being to go from her to School at *Putney*, and putting her hand on her shoulder, she said to her, *I give you that Blessing which my Mother gave me at her Death; The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob blefs you* (and then added the blessing which *Aaron* by Gods own appointment was to give the Children of *Israel*) *The Lord blefs thee and keep thee; The Lord make his Face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; The Lord lift up his Countenance upon thee, and give thee Peace.* And bad her serve God, and pray duly to him both morning and evening, and fear his Name, and then (said she) *I doubt not but God will blefs you, as he hath blessed me.* In the evening of the same day, she commanded her younger Daughter to be brought her, and to be put upon the Bed in a kneeling posture, and then putting her Hand on her shoulder, she gave her also the same blessing as she had given to her Sister.

Her Comfort.

Four days before her death she grew a little better, which put her Friends in some hope of her Recovery; but the day following her sickness seized on her again, and so continued upon her, that she slept no more till she slept the sleep of Death; and together with her Sickness, her Piety, Devotions, and Comforts increased in her.

Her Devotion.

In the last Night of her Life, presently after midnight, feeling Death now approaching, she sent for her Husband, and Family out of their Beds, and told him when he came to her, That she was now leaving the World and Him, and expressed in many words her great Devotion, Faith and Assurance of that everlasting Life, which now she was shortly to enjoy; and desired that they might now all pray together, which they did, she still expressing much Devotion and Comfort; And after an hour spent in those Passages, she desired that the Bell might be toled for her, and some Gentlemen of her Neighbours, coming to her, before them she expressed her Comforts, and Assurances of everlasting Life as before, and with increase therein; and in prayers they continued till near the rising of the Sun.

After this she seemed for a while willing to slumber, and closed her Eyes, and so lay for a little while, but then turned her Head to the other side of the Pillow, and after a few restless turnings, she said (what the Prophet *Micah* had said before her, *Micah* 2. 10.) There is no Rest in this World, and then opening her Eyes, after some Expressions of the Comfort which she felt, distinctly knowing all that were present, and speaking to them all, she seemed



med to slumber again, and after a little time, spake these Words, *Come, let us go, let us go*, repeating those words several times, which she spake not in a slumber, but being awake, and as perfect in her understanding, and memory, as at any time in her life. And it is a comfortable opinion that *Divines* teach from *Luke 16. 22.* That the Angels do attend on Gods children, especially at the time of their dissolution, to conduct their souls from earth to heaven; which opinion she sometimes in her sickness related to her Husband, and added, that she had heard it from the Pulpit, and read it in some Books, and she believed it to be true, and comforted her self with it.

After a little time she called for some drink, and having taken it, it began to alter her, as it seems she felt in her self, for she presently laid her self back on her Pillow, and lifting up her eyes towards Heaven, she said, *Lord have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus receive my Soul*; and so continued moving her Lips, and her Tongue, but her words were not heard, and then held up one hand, and then joyned both her hands together, holding them up with her Eyes still Heaven-ward, till her strength failing her, she laid down her hands by her, and stretched her self in the bed without any help, and sweetly fell asleep about seven a clock in the morning, *August the 15. Anno Christi 1646.* Her Death.

And *August the 24.* she was decently, and solemnly laid in her Bed of Rest; The House (as *Job* saith) appointed for all the Living, *Job 30. 23.* where the weary are at Rest; where the wicked cease from troubling, and hear not the Voice of the Oppressor, *Job 3. 17, 18.*

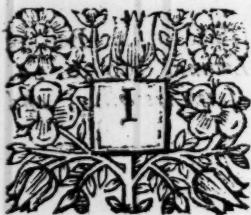
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THE



The Life, and Death of Mrs. Margaret Corbet,  
who dyed Anno Christi 1656.

Her Paren-  
tage.



If we enquire into the Relations of this Gentlewoman, either by Affinity or Consanguinity, or both sides, the Families are ancient, of renown, and good reputation. Concerning the Family from whence she was descended, her Father was Sir Nathaniel Brent, late Warden of Merton Colledge, a learned Knight, whose great pains, and dangerous adventures to procure the *History of the Council of Trent* (which he translated into English) are to be remembred with an honourable mention, and for his faithful discovery of Jesuitical jugglings, his name will be had in honour, when the names of the Popish party will rot.

Her Mother, the Lady Martha Brent, was a Lady of a Gracious spirit, abounding in Love, Meekness, Humility, love to Gods Ordinances, and Gods Children. Her delight (with David) was in the Society of Saints. She imitated her worthy Father in the sweetness of disposition, who was Doctor Robert Abbot, that learned and godly Bishop of Sarum, who was *Malleus Papiismi & Arminianismi*, the Hammer of Popery and Arminianisme: His excellent Works are Monuments of his Honourable memory.

Her Educa-  
tion.

To be born of a godly Family, and to be well descended, is a mercy not to be neglected. Master Philpot, a zealous Martyr, being a Knights Son, and an Arch-deacon, told his Adversaries that he was a Gentleman. Anabaptistical parity, and Levelling designs are worthily to be abhorred, and looked upon as a ready way to Confusion, Rapine, and Violence. So then we see that she was a Gentlewoman every way well descended. Her Ancestors were persons of Honour, and from them she had the benefit of an ingenious and liberal Education. This is much, but its more, when I say that she came of a godly stock, and of praying Relations; and indeed, this is that which Ennobles Nobility it self.

Her timely  
Conversion.

God in mercy began with this Gentlewoman betimes, even about the fourteenth year of her age. Then God gave her a willing minde, and purpose of heart to serve him in the dayes of her youth: Insomuch as she was *swift to hear* the word of God, *she waited diligently at the posts of Wisdomes Gate*. She wrote the Sermons which she heard (a practice used by King Edward the sixth, that rare English Josiah) and she left many volumes of Sermons of her own hand-writing, taken with great dexterity, and these are as so many choise Monuments of her Industry. She was much conversant in reading of the holy Scriptures (which can *make us wise unto salvation*) and she joyned with her reading, prayer, and meditation. Her delight was in the word of God: It

Her Piety.

was



## Mrs. Margaret Corbet.

was (as with *Jeremy*) the joy and rejoicing of her soul, And with the reading of Scriptures she searched Expositors, and *Practical Divines*, and attained thereby to such a measure of Divine knowledge, as enabled her to state some Questions of controverſie for her better use, and help of her Memory, and to discourse very soundly upon the most Material points of Religion, and even above her age and sexe, to maintain the truth, as occasion was offered, with strength of Argument against gain-sayers.

Her Knowledge.

She was eminent for the grace of *Humility*, and when I have said she was of an humble spirit, what can be said more? This the Apostle would have us to be clothed withall, 1 Pet. 5. 7. Humility is the Ornament of all Graces: Its that Salt that seasons the best parts and graces. So humble was the spirit of this excellent Gentlewoman, that the poorest might have free access unto her, and receive courteous language from her mouth, and liberal almes from her Heart and Hand, both being opened wide for their relief. The observation of this humble deportment from her child-hood, gained the heart of her dear Husband unto her, long before she was ripe for her Marriage: Her humble spirit evidently appeared by her condescending to them of low estate. The servants in her Family, the poorest, and meanest in the Parish where she lived, will bear witness to the truth of this particular.

Her humility.

She was of a meek and quiet spirit, which (as the Apostle saith, 1 Pet 3. 3.) is in the sight of God of great price. All her Relations will attest her meek deportment, and how much she hated brawls and contentions: Her very enemies (if they would speak their consciences) can testify her readiness to pass by injuries. So far she was from rendering Reviling for Revilings, that she endeavoured to recompence evil with good, and prayed for such as despitefully used her, professing that it was the desire of her soul to do her very enemies all the Christian offices of love which lay in her power.

Her Meekness.

Special notice ought also to be taken of her Wisdome and Gravity in the ordering of her conversation. Her discourses were savoury, administering Grace to the hearers, and tending to edification. Her behaviour was modest, and grave; though she was of a cheerfull spirit, yet it was without levity: She was no tatter, busie body, no medler in the affairs of others: She was no gadder up and down from house to house, hearing, and telling of news (as too many do to the wounding of the reputations of others.) The vain and frivolous discourse of some who came to visit her, was an heavy burden, and affliction to her spirit. The discourses of such as tended to the defaming and blasting others reputation, were a great grief and trouble unto her; and when she heard such discourses, she would endeavour to turn the stream another way, and move such discourse as might be profitable for the souls good.

Her prudence and gravity.

Her Love was very eminent towards all those feared God: she was with *David*, a Companion to such, a Lover of their acquaintance, who were the Saints, the excellent ones, Psal. 16. 3. Inſomuch as when she apprehended any thing of God, though in persons inclining to separation, and of a contrary judgement from her, she was so compassionate, as to labour with much sweetness and candour, to convince them of their errors, and to win them to the truth; imitating herein the holy practice of learned *Marcus*, who gained some *Anabaptists*, and *Seſtaries* by kindness, and benefits, and overcame them as much by love as by Arguments.

Her love to the Saints.

Her holy Courage deserves special notice; For though she was humble, meek, and loving, yet she was stout, and courageous in declaring her judgement upon just occasions, before those whom she knew to be contrary minded, hating compliance against conscience, and doubting alwayes the soundness and sincerity of those who durst not own their opinions. She was much of her worthy Fathers temper in that particular, who hath been often heard to say, *That a Coward can hardly be an honest man*; And much of *Esthers* resolution, desiring rather to suffer her self than sluggishly, and silently to see the truths of God to suffer.

Her Courage.

Her frequent prayers. She was a praying Christian: She was much in prayers and tears, much in a sacred acquaintance, and holy communion with God: Her gift in prayer was very great: She was much in her Closet alone, and there much upon her knees: An excellent pattern for womens imitation, which by no means should suffer that great duty to be omitted. It was a Character of *Paul*, when converted, *Act. 9. 11. Behold he prays.* Praying Christians are the best Christians, they are prevailing Christians; and as Reverend and holy Master *Dod* was used to say, *Never despair of that person who can but pray.*

Her Constancy. She was fixed and sted-fast in Religion, having frequently read the Scriptures, and many sound, orthodox, and practical *Divines*, she became settled, rooted and grounded in the truth. She was one that held fast her profession without wavering. She was not carried about with every wind of Doctrine, *Eph. 4. 14.* neither was she of their humours, who for politick ends comply with all companies in their opinions. She kept close to the publick Ministry where she lived; There she heard the word faithfully dispensed. She neither was of their opinion, nor practice, who out of, I know not what kinde of singularity, separate from the Ministry of a godly Pastor and Husband. Her delight was very great in Gods Ordinances, and she was glad when they said, *Let us go to the house of the Lord in company.* She had such an high esteem of, and longing desire unto the house of God, that when her strength failed her, she would be carried thither; By reason of lameness, the feet of her body were weak, but the feet of her soul, her affections, were strong, nimble, and vigorous.

Her Family government. Look upon her in her Relations, as a Wife, a Mother, and Mistress, and you shall see she was mindefull of her duty to God in them all: Her great care and endeavour was to set up God in her Family, In order whereunto she bestowed great pains in *Catechising* of her children, and other near Relations committed unto her charge. Her great design was to bring them all up in the fear and admonition of the Lord, and to inculcate again and again, that main and needfull Lesson of *Remembering their Creator in the dayes of their youth.* Much pains she took in *Catechising*, and instructing her servants, especially before they were to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. She used to examine them of the Sermons they heard, and she customarily read over those Sermon - Notes to them which she had taken at Church, that so they might be the better prepared to give an account thereof to her Husband. God was pleased to give her several *Olive branches round about her Table*, well bred, well *Catechised*, and well governed, and of very great hopes. As *Eunice* and *Lois* instructed young *Timothy*, so she instructed those hopeful little ones in the holy Scriptures, and acquainted them with the knowledge of God in their tender years. Thus according to *Solomons* counsel, they were *trained up in the way wherein they should walk*, *Prov. 21. 6.* And that even from their childhood; Infomuch as one of them (though very young) hearing a neighbour using the name of the Lord upon a slight occasion, reproved him for it, alleading the Commandment of God against it, *Thou shalt not take the Name of God in vain.* And another of them reasoning with his fellows about God and the Devil, professed that he had rather be in Hell with God, than in Heaven with the Devil. And a third, who by reason of her age could not speak distinctly, said in some discourse with her Father, that God Almighty would not bless them who tell Fibbs (meaning Lies) and that she had rather dye than tell a Fibb; so far had their Mothers instructions prevailed with them.

Her Charity. She was eminent for a charitable and bountifull spirit; she was another *Dorcas*, full of good works, and *Alms-Deeds*. That high *Elogium* that *Solomon* gives a Vertuous Woman, may properly be applied unto her, *Many Daughters have done virtuously, but she excelled them all*, *Prov. 31. 29.* Many there are that come far short of her, but very few that went beyond her in the acts of Charity. God gave her a liberal and plentiful estate, and that

was



was a great mercy; But it was a far greater mercy that he gave her a liberal heart to do good, and to distribute: To cast her bread on the waters, and to honour God with her substance. That protestation which Job makes for his own Vindication, may fitly be applied unto her, Job 31. 16, 19. He would not withhold the poor from their desire, nor cause the eyes of the widow to fail. He would not see any to perish for want of cloathing, nor any poor without covering. The whole Country round about where she dwelt, will bear her witness, that she visited and relieved the sick, and cloathed the naked, fed the hungry, and healed the wounded. Her purse, her hand, her heart, were all open for their relief. She bought many precious Drugs, and Cordial waters: She made several precious salves, and gave them all away to such as were in need of them. She spared not her best pains, being never weary of well doing; insomuch that in the extremity of her greatest sickness (such Bowels of compassion yearned in her) she compounded several Medicines with her own hands, and applied them. Thus will her works praise her in the Gate, and being dead, she yet speaketh, Prov. 31. 31. Heb. 11. 4. For her precious name liveth. The Lord will have the name of the Righteous to be in everlasting remembrance, Psal. 112. 6. and the Memory of the just is blessed, Prov. 10. 7. And precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints, Psal. 116. 15. Now this rare Gentlewoman reaps the fruit of her serving of God, and the whole harvest, whereof she received onely the first-fruits in this present world.

The usual saying is, *All is well that ends well*: Come we therefore to speak of her end. Her life was holy, and therefore her death must needs be happy. It pleased the Lord to exercise her with a long and lingering sickness; and amidst the weakness of the outward man, God gave her great strength in her inward man; Though her limbs and outward strength failed her, yet God was her strength and portion, and he never failed her. A few dayes before her distemper waxed high (her Husband being from home) she sent for all her Family both young and old, to come in unto her chamber, with whom she prayed near two hours, with such pathetical, heavenly, Scripture-Language, as drew admiration and tears from those that were present. She blessed her children, Counsell'd her servants, heartily and affectionately commended her Husband unto God; she wept and prayed, and prayed and wept, and could not easily part with the company, nor yet leave off praying, and sleeping.

Her Sickness.

Her Holiness and Piety.

Upon the encrease of her distemper, her spirit was much disturbed, and some impertinent speeches did fall from her, yet in the midst of all her impertinences, Grace, and the Spirit of God, did eminently declare their Power and Sovereignty in her, by many savoury and choice speeches, and sweet breathings of her soul; some of which are these that follow, *I was in the Devils claws, but Jesus Christ, the sweet Bridegroom of my soul, the sweet Bridegroom of my soul (these words she often reiterated) the sweet Bridegroom of my soul hath delivered me.* At another time, *I am safe, for Jesus Christ is at my heart, and I would not part with him for ten Thousand worlds.* Again, *Come Lord Jesus the Captain of my salvation, ride on gloriously conquering, and to conquer for me, Satan, Sin, Hell, Death, and all mine enemies.* Afterwards again, *I was in Hell, but now I am in Heaven; I am in Heaven indeed; indeed I am in Heaven: I am in Heaven eternally; I am in Heaven, the habitation of Gods glory, unto all eternity.* Much of this nature she did speak, even when her understanding was so disturbed, that she scarce did know her near Relations, and those who did attend upon her in her Chamber.

Her holy Speeches.

And now all these things are worthy to be transmitted unto Posterity, and to be had in perpetual Remembrance. She was an eminently godly Gentlewoman, being but little above Eight and twenty years of age when she died, which was in the Beginning of March Anno Christi 1656. But though

Her Character.

the

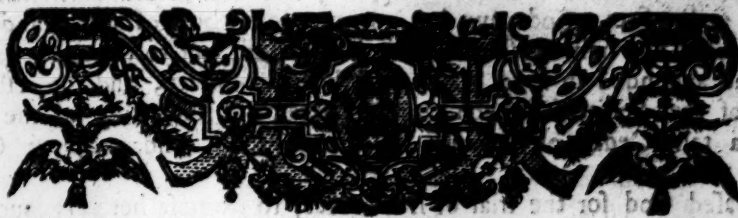
Her Death.

she was young in years, yet was she old in Grace: She had lived long in a little time: She was a Mirror of her Age, and a Renown of her sex, a Pattern worthy of imitation. She was the beloved faithful Wife, of as an intirely loving and faithful Husband. She was a tender affectionate Mother to her own, and no less careful of those Pledges committed to his Charge. She was a most dear Sister, an affectionate Mistress, careful both of the Bodies and Souls of her Servants, that they should neither want corporal, nor spiritual Food. Her profession was with *Joshua*, Chap. 24. 15. *Choose you this day whom you will serve; But as for me, I, and my house, we will serve the Lord.* She was not onely a Friend to her Friends, but a friend to her Enemies, even unto such as desepitfully used her. All the Country round about could not but look upon her, whilst living, as a publike gain, and when dead, as a publike loss: She was very useful whilst she lived, and will be much missed now she is dead. Two things were very eminent in her: Settledness in Religion, and Holiness of Conversation. By her death the poor have lost a liberal *Almoner*; The sick have lost a good *Physitian*; The wounded have lost a good *Chirurgion*; The Husband hath lost a faithful *Wife*; The Children a tender *Mother*; The Servants a gracious *Mistress*: And not any that knew her of all her Neighbours and Friends, but they will find a great loss, and miss of her. All that knew her loved her, but onely such whose love is not worth the having. She lived much desired, and dyed much lamented: For her *to live was Christ, and to die was gain*, Phil. 1. 21. She was honoured in her life, and she was honoured at her death, by a confluence of many persons of quality, of the Gentry, Ministry and Neighbourhood round about, who by their concourse at her Funeral, shewed plainly in what an high estimation she was amongst them, and that her *good Name was like a precious Oyntment poured forth*. The hope of Glory was that sovereign Cordial which abundantly revived, and satisfied her spirits whilst she lived, and now her hope is turned into Fruition, and her Faith into Vision. All, her sorrows and sighings are turned away and her imployment is without the least tediousness, without interruption, and intermission to sing *Hosannahs*, and *Allelujahs* to him that sitteth upon the Throne, and to the Lamb for evermore.

This Life was drawn up by my Reverend and worthy Friend Dr. *Henry Wilkinson*, principal of *Magdalen Hall, Oxon.*

The





## The Life and Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Wilkinson, who dyed Anno Christi 1654.



**M**rs. Elizabeth Wilkinson was born of godly Parents, of an ancient, and well reputed Family of the Gentry in Devonshire. Her Father was Mr. Anthony Gifford her Mother Mrs. Elizabeth Cottle, and by them she was Religiously educated during her minority: After which she lived with an Aunt (an old Disciple) above twenty yeares together, where she had many prizes put into her hands to get Wisdome, even many spiritual advantages for her eternal good. But considering that no helps of education, nor any means could prove effectually with out divine influence; it pleased the Lord out of the riches of his mercy, in a signal manner to vouchsafe a blessing to all those helps, for the good of her soul, and to crown all endeavours in order thereunto with good success.

She was observed from her childhood to be very docile, very willing to learn, industrious in reading of, and swift to hear the Word of God preached. She was very carefull to remember what she heard, and took much pains in writing Sermons, and Collecting speciall Notes out of practical Divines. She had the Ornament of a meek, and quiet spirit; with that she was eminently adorned: She looked not (as too many do) upon gaudy, and vain dresles as any Ornament: She neither liked them, nor conformed to them, but went in a grave, decent, and sober attire: She was humble, Gentle, tender hearted, and full of bowels of Compassion, remembering such as were in bonds, as if she had been bound with them, Heb. 13. 3. She was of so affable, sweet, and courteous a disposition, that she gained abundance of love, and respect from all those that conversed with her: and by this means she was the greater gainer by all good Conferences. It was her usuall custome to move good discourse, and oft-times she turned the stream of other impertinent talk into something which was solid, and tended unto edification, and that Ministred Grace to the Hearers.

She kept a Diary of Gods dealings with her soul, & of other various dispensations that she met withall. She was much busied in prayer, meditation, & self examination. She would often desire her Husband, and others of her acquaintance to deal plainly, and impartially with her. For (said she) I would not be deceived with a formall profession, nor with a temporary faith. Perhaps through affliction you may judge far better of me than I deserve; wherefore I desire you to sift and search

Her Parentage and Education.

Her timely Conversion.

Her Humility.

Her piety.

Prudence.

*search me thoroughly: For I like such plain dealing best of all, and those are my best friends which deal most plainly with me.*

Her growth  
in Grace.

In process of time, after a carefull watching over her heart, and frequent addresses made unto the Throne of grace, she found returns answerable to her prayers, and desires: God gave her a large measure both of parts, and graces: She was able not only to assert the truths of God, but to convince gain-sayers. She abounded in love, faith, meekness, humility, and the rest of the graces of the Spirit, insomuch as she became a Christian of the higher Form, a tall Cedar of *Libanus*, a grown, solid, and excellent Christian.

Her afflictions sanctified.

It pleased God for the trial of her graces, to exercise her very much in the School of affliction. Insomuch as ten years before her death, she was (one time reckoned with another) at least half the time sick. But God ordered this sickness of her Body to be a medicine for her soul. For the spirit of prayer was much set on work hereby; and her Faith, Love, and patience did appear, and shine the more eminently. Out of the Furnace she came forth as gold purified seven times: so that the rod, and staff, correction, and instruction went together, and by these fatherly chastisements her soul did thrive more abundantly. When she was able, she neglected not the frequenting of the publick Assemblies: They were her delight: and she was a professed Adversary to the withdrawing from the publick Congregations of the Saints. Both them, and the godly, and Reverend Ministers of the Gospel she had in high esteem, and revered them all her dayes: And when she was not able to go to the publick Congregations, she used to spend her time in reading, praying, and meditating at home, and imployed her Friends to read to her, and pray with her. Such as were Stable, and sincere Christians, were her delight: Those she accounted more excellent than their neighbours. She would often say, that *She valued no friends like to those who were Friends to her soul.*

Ministers  
prized.

Her Relati-  
ve Duties

Concerning her deportment, and carriage to her Relations (for such as are real Saints shew it in their severall Capacities) never was a Wife more full of sincere love, and respect to an Husband, whom she loved entirely, and was as entirely beloved by him. Her affection to her children was very tender:

To her Chil-  
dren.

She was carefull to *Catechize*, instruct, and to train them up in the fear of God; and upon her Death-bed, amongst many other excellent Counsels, and instructions, she added this charge as from a dying Mother, that they should remember that they had a Mother, who would not allow them in any sin. She was carefull also to instruct her servants, and to teach them the fear of the Lord. Indeed she was ready, and willing (as opportunity was offered) *to do good unto all:* and as need required, gave unto them, both corporall, and spirituall food. She had a large heart, and improved it to do a great

And Ser-  
vants.

Her Char-  
ity.

deal of good in a little time: Insomuch as the poor, the sick, the afflicted, and the unexperienced to whom she was very mercifull, and usefull whilst she lived, had a very great miss of her when she was dead. In brief, she was one of those Worthies of *whom the world was not worthy:* And yet to give a further Character of her, I will here set down a Narrative, Copied exactly out of her own hand-writing, of Gods gracious dealing with her soul, as it follows word for word.

The time,  
and manner  
of her Con-  
version.

"It pleased the Lord out of the riches of his grace, to remove me from an ignorant place where I was born, and to bring me very young, into a Religious Family: And when I was about twelve years of age, upon the reading in the *Practice of Piety*, Concerning the happy estate of the godly, and the miserable condition of the wicked in their death, and so for ever unto all eternity; it pleased the Lord so much to affect my heart with it, as from that time my heart was wrought over to a desire to walk in the wayes of God. But at that time, I fear, I did not go upon a right principle, for  
I then



"I then did not eye the glory of God in it, but only my own safety, that it might be well with me for ever. But quickly after that I had but begun to set my face towards *Sion*, I was set upon with many temptations; and perplexities in my thoughts, which were very troublesome to me at all times; but especially when I was alone: The consideration whereof brought an horror upon my conscience, inasmuch as I did not know what to do. That little I had, whether from education, or from the light of Nature, caused a striving in me continually against those thoughts of *Atheisme*, which were most terrible unto me. I was sensible that it was a fearfull sin to have any such thoughts to Lodge within my Brest: but I desired from my soul to be freed from them, and had continual reasonings within me against them, and yet still for a long time I was troubled, but could not acquaint any with my condition. I did not think that it was so with any other as it was with me.

Satan's malice.

"In this strait, when I knew not which way to turn me, even there did the Lord extend his compassion towards me in my greatest extremity, in directing me to read *Calvins Institutions*, and especially that part that treats of the Creation: Whereupon the Lord was pleased to give in such satisfaction to my soul, concerning those things about which I was troubled, as that from that time forwards I was not violently assaulted in that kind.

Gods mercy.

"But no sooner was I freed from that trouble, but new ones sprang up: For the very remembrance of that horrid sin of *Atheisme*, left such a terrour upon my spirit, as made me fear that I had committed that sin against the Holy Ghost: And so my condition seemed to be, not only for the present, but, in my apprehension then, for ever most miserable. All other sins, though never so great, I knew upon true repentance were pardonable: But this sin, that I lay under the fear of, I knew out of the Word of God should never be pardoned: which caused many sad fears upon my spirit known to God alone.

Satan's subtilty.

"For the removall of these fears, the Lord in mercy directed me to the reading of Master *Scudders Works*, Where are laid down the marks of that sin. Upon perusall whereof the Lord was pleased to satisfy my misgiving heart, by a clear manifestation to my soul, that I had not committed that sin; and so assured me that though my sins were great, yet were they pardonable, which put me more cheerfully upon the use of such means as the Lord had directed me unto. And having satisfaction given in, concerning this particular, there was a great burden taken off from my spirit. Although I found no grace in my heart, nor discovery of the love of God unto my soul, yet, in that there was but a possibility, there was a ground of comfort administred to my heart; which I formerly feared that I should be shut out from. But still my fears remained, that I was not one of those in particular for whom *Christ* died: The more I looked into mine own heart, the more I saw of Sin, and Satan, discouraging me from having any hope, that the Lord should accept of such a vile sinful wretch as I was, who had entertained such sinfull thoughts.

Gods mercy.

"I likewise thought how small the number was of those that should be saved, in comparison of others; and my Repentance, I feared, came short of that which was required in the Gospel. As for Faith, I could not find the least measure of it in my soul, with many other sad discouraging thoughts. But when I was most perplexed with fears, and doubts, even then did the Lord graciously dart in some beams of his reconciled Countenance, as I was reading something in Master *Scudders Christian daily Walk*, &c. which the Lord set home upon my soul, and brought into my soul so much joy, and comfort at the present, as neither my tongue, nor Pen can express: But this joy remained not long, for I quickly lost the sense of it: yet the remembrance of it was sweet unto me at all times.

Her comfort and joy.

H h

But

Gods Mer-  
cy in want  
of means.

Gods pro-  
vidence.

Her faith in  
Promises.

Her fears  
and doubts.

"But after this, all my former fears returned afresh again upon my heart,  
"only I had a door of hope opened, that when God saw it best for me, he  
"would return, and renew his reconciled countenance unto my soul in the  
"clear light, and apprehension thereof: and this was when I was about six-  
"teen years of age. After which time the Lord did exercise me with va-  
"rious dispensations: For, for two years space, I was by providence cast up-  
"on a place, where I heard very little powerfull preaching, small helps for  
"the good of my soul, but what the Lord was pleased to give in by the  
"use of private means. But his power, and abundant mercy, was much seen  
"in that time, that, though I had not much comfort, yet the Lord was plea-  
"sed to keep up my spirit in a way of depending upon him; and my fears  
"were less at that time, than formerly when I had more helps:  
"So gracious was the Lord unto me, in keeping me alive in a time of  
"famine.

"After this, through Gods goodness, I was sometimes under the preaching  
"of a powerfull Minister, [Master Bateman of Ockingham] who was Crown-  
"ed with the Conversion, strengthening, and building up of many souls: un-  
"to whose preaching the Lord gave such a blessing, as I seldome, if ever,  
"went away from hearing him without comfort. Though I came to hear  
"him with many doubts upon my spirit, yet the Lord so ruled, and directed  
"him, as if his Sermons had been only concerning my particular, and he fully  
"acquainted with the whole condition of my soul. Sometimes the Lord di-  
"rected me to some supporting Promises, upon which I relied: But those  
"Promises which were made to Believers, though I highly prized them, yet  
"I durst not apply them to my self, fearing that I had no interest in them.  
"But that Promise, *Prov. 28. 13. He that confesseth, and forsaketh his sins,*  
"shall find Mercy. And that *1 Job. 1. 9. If we confess our sins, he is faith-*  
"full, and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteous-  
"ness. And the Promise is *1 Job. 2. 1, 2. If any man sin, we have an Ad-*  
"vocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and he is the propitiati-  
"on for our sins; and not for ours onely, but for the sins of the whole world;  
"And the Invitation, *Isa. 55. 1. Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the*  
"waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy, and eat, yea come, buy wine  
"and milk without money, and without price, together with the rest of the  
"Chapter; all those places the Lord often made a stay unto my soul: And  
"afterwards the Lord so blessed one means or other unto me, insomuch as I  
"was kept from sinking, and falling into such horreur as many of the peo-  
"ple of God sometimes fell into.

"But yet my fears and doubts were so many, as that my comfort never  
"lasted long: If the Lord did but *hide his face, I was troubled.* No longer could  
"I believe (then I found new strength given in) that the Lord would ever  
"have mercy upon my soul. The sense of *Original sin*, and *Actual trans-*  
"gressions in their filthiness, and guiltiness, caused my fears yet to remain  
"upon my spirit, my faith then seemed very small, if I had any, which I  
"much questioned: I durst not then say, *Lord encrease my Faith*, but I could  
"cry earnestly, *Lord work faith in me.* I found much dulness and deadness,  
"manifest distractions in duties, so that God might justly have withdrawn  
"himself from me for ever, yet notwithstanding all my uneven walking  
"with God, he was graciously pleased to manifest his mercy unto my  
"soul.

"When I was stricken with such weaknesses, as I apprehended might quick-  
"ly have ended my life, I fell into a great fear: At the first, finding my heart  
"to sink, the Lord was pleased to give me so much respite, as to pour out  
"my soul before him, desiring strength and support from him to keep up my  
"spirit, and to make me willing to submit to his dispensations, and the Lord  
"graciously



"graciously answered my prayers, in that he removed all my former doubts, Her prayers answered.  
 "ings, and fears, all the time of that sickness, which was long, and so dangerous, that neither I, nor others expected my life. The Lord then cleared up my evidences for Heaven, and gave me in so much comfort against the apprehension of death, as I never had in all my life before.

"Other like trials of the Lords love I found still, when I was in the greatest extremity, and stood most in need of help from him, insomuch as at such times, I have hoped that I should never again have questioned the love of God to my soul: But I have found it otherwise by sad experience: For when these impressions were worn of, I have been ready to call all in question again concerning my poor soul. It made me oft to think of that which was laid to Solomons charge, that he forgot the Lord that appeared to him twice. I found it the hardest thing to believe, that ever I went about. But this was a hard thing to believe. A hard thing to believe.  
 "vering condition could not satisfy my soul; For the Lord giving me sometimes a glimpse of his love, made me long after fuller enjoyments of it, so that I was carried out with a restless impatience, to beg that the Lord would take away the heart of unbelief from me, which did both dishonour him, and hinder me from that peace which the Lord was willing that his people should enjoy.

"My heart then being brought unto that frame, I was more willing than ever I was before, to impart my condition unto some spiritual Friends, whom She imparts her condition to Christian friends.  
 "I desired to deal impartially with me, acquainting them with the whole condition of my soul, how far the Lord had carried me on; and at what I stuck, and still as new objections did arise, I laboured to get satisfaction: Being convinced that I had too much prejudiced my self in that I had not sooner made my condition known, to some who were able to give me advice.

"This way of communicating my condition, I found the Lord blessed unto my soul, insomuch that my hopes were more confirmed, my fears more removed, my faith more strengthened, and by the hearing of such Sermons And finds comfort.  
 "and reading such Books as came closest unto the conscience, and were most for trial of ones spiritual condition, I found the greatest benefit by, and received the most comfort from them. Formerly I had many fears that I was not one of them who had an interest in the Election of Grace: But the Lord afterwards put into my heart to enquire whether I had those Graces of his Spirit wrought in me which none but his own elect people could have.

"Upon the strictest searching into mine own heart, the Lord was pleased after many years of fear, at last, to evidence unto my soul that there was a change wrought in my heart, will, and affections; notwithstanding the remainders of sin and corruption, which still encompassed me about. Being Her self-examination.  
 "confident that he that had begun this good work, would not leave it unfinished unto the day of Jesus Christ; and the Lord was pleased to set home divers Promises for the strengthening of my Faith; to wit, those which are down the Everlasting Covenant, 2 Sam. 23. 5. The Everlasting Love of God, Jer. 31. 3. Joh. 11. 13. The certainty of the Foundation, 2 Tim. 2. 19. The Certainty of the Promises, 2 Cor. 1. 20. They are all in Christ Yes and Amen; and that the Children of God have eternal life promised unto them, and that none shall be able to pluck them out of Christs hands, Joh. 10. 28. Then for divers years the Lord was pleased to stay me, to lead, and guide me, till he had set my feet upon that Rock which is higher than I, from whence I trust, that I shall never be removed. And now my hearts desire is, to ascribe that measure of hope and comfort which the Lord hath given me at any time, solely unto the Her thankfulness.  
 "praise of the Glory of his Grace, who hath made me accepted in his Beloved, which is so great a mercy as I can never be thankfull enough for, nor walk answerable thereunto. I know, when I look into my heart, there is matter

Her Faith. "of fear that the Lord will withdraw the influences of his comforts from me: But that which I rest upon is, the free mercy of God in Christ, expecting performance of his Promises made, Rom. 6. 16. *Sin shall not have dominion over you, because you are not under the Law, but under Grace*: And Ezek. 36. 25. that he will sprinkle clean water upon me, and that he will give me a new heart, and put a new spirit within me, that he will take away my stony heart, and give me an heart of flesh; Being perswaded that the Lord will keep me by his own Power through faith unto Salvation. And now that I may have all the Graces of the Spirit strengthened, and increased in me, which I find that I stand in continual need of: It is the desire of my soul to be a partaker of the Lords Supper, which, through the blood of Christ onely, I have right unto.

This is the particular account of Gods gracious dealing with this godly Gentlewoman: considering there was no administration of the Sacrament in that Parochial Congregation where she lived, and used formerly to receive it, nor any Pastor at all to Officiate there, she being desirous to enjoy that great Ordinance, and that after a pure way of administration, sent this aforementioned Narrative to the Reverend Doctor Harris, living then in the University, who admitted her to the participation of the Lords Supper in that publick Assembly where he administered it.

Now let us see also a Letter written by Doctor Harris concerning this godly Gentlewoman, whom he highly honoured, upon the occasion of his communicating the aforesaid Letter of hers to a friend: *Do not* (saith he) *think it lost time to read over this Narrative: It was penned by this gracious woman upon a serious occasion, what time she was to give an account of her self at her admission to the Lords Supper. The discourse is plain, but pregnant of instruction. I alter nothing in the thing, I onely take notice of the persons therein mentioned: As 1. God, 2. Satan, 3. The parties self: All which offer matter worthy thy thoughts.*

Satan's Method, and Subtily.

First in Satan, thou seest his most ordinary way and Method in tempting. His first attempt is to blow out all light left in the soul, and to quell all thoughts of a Deity if possibly he can, that so no room at all may be left for God: If that cannot be, but the Conscience will be sometimes talking; then his next work is to question and argue the case, whether indeed there be such a person as God, such a thing as the soul, such a book as the Bible, such a place as an Heaven or Hell; and if he cannot gain such a conclusion from the soul, then in the third place the Question is, *What manner a one this supposed God is?* And first, whilst thou art in thy natural state, he represents God made all of mercy, and when thou art under mercy, all of vengeance and fury; There was no place for fear, and here is none for hope: There sin was an inconsiderable thing, and beneath Gods Cognisance; here sin is unpardonable, and beyond Gods mercy: In both estates he labours the destruction of Faith, now in the threats, then in the Promises. In the first estate you must never yeeld to self-despair; no, spit in his face that shall once question thy belief in God; without the least doubting. *What? not believe my Maker with all my soul? What? once doubt or suspect him? I defy him, and the foul fiend that shall say so.* On the other side, when once converted, what hast thou to do with the Covenant of Grace and Peace? That is bread for Children, not for Dogs, Hypocrites, for such as have sinned against the Holy Ghost, as thou hast done; and at this bay he holds the soul for some space; and soon recruits his forces, and renews his Interrogatories, thus; *Thou within the Promise? Thou a believer? Canst thou say, darest thou say that thou hast faith? It may be thou darest not deny it, but what is that to the point? Thou darest not affirm it, though partial enough to thy self: Be advised by me, who loves plain dealing, and let not thy false heart, and these fawning Preachers befooled thee unto destruction.*

Thus.



Thus the Devil, up and down, first and last, thus he proceeded with man at the first, and though sometimes he shifts hands, and finds out new ways, yet here lyes his road for the most part, and this is the first party here named.

Now in the second place, what doth God? It must be granted that he permitteeth these Hellish Scullions to scour his Plate, and to fit the Vessels of honour for their Masters use, and they (as glad of the Office) bestir themselves, they draw their vessels, and render them as foul and ugly as they can; but when they have done their work, God takes his Plate out of their hand to their no small grief; and in the mean while God goes along with the temptations, and in them all supports his poor servants now more immediately by his own hand, prompting their Petitions, darting into their souls some glimpses of comfort, minding them of some Promise; so he sure, yeelding them some secret hope, something or other which draws them along still more or less. 2. Now more immediately by men, and other means; sometimes he directs them to some special Book or Treatise which fits their case, and holds soul and life together at present; sometimes he sends an Interpreter one of a thousand, that shall rip up their misery, and shew them their remedy, and at last fetches off his Captives, even then when Satan began to crow, and cry Victory, that extremity being Gods opportunity; and this is usually, though not ever, Gods way.

Gods Mercy to his own.

Now look upon the third concerned, the party tempted, what doth he? He sticks (often) in the birth, fool as he is; His first work is to keep the Devils counsel, confess and be shamed for ever. The Devil is true to him, and he will be as true, and never peach: He travels with a wofull burden of sin, guilt, horror; but if thou lovest thy self (saith the Devil) keep thy own counsel, trust not God, nor man. But if the Preacher doth force him to a confession, and he can hold no longer, then he makes forth but fair and softly. First, he makes many offers, goes, and comes, and something he would say, but is loath; he begins afar off, and then stops, begins again, and then stops again, takes another day, and then comes again, with a purpose of uttering all; and when he comes to his friend, either all is quice for the present, and the pang euer, or else if he hangs still on tharack, then he drops out somewhat, but reserves the worst, and so is little the better, because he comes not to the bottome quickly; or if he speaks out all, yet there is another tub in the way; how can I tell whether this parties testimony be true or no, his judgement and affection being right. He shews me promises, but knows be or I whether those promises do belong to me? He speaks of a Christ, but what is that to me, if he be none of mine? He talks of believing, seeing is believing: It is a senseless thing to trust to anothers goodness when I have nothing of mine own; To believe mercy when I feel wrath, shall I not believe mine own eyes? And thus after a world of Sermons, Sacraments, Conferences, the poor soul hovers, and findes no rest or satisfaction till God be pleased to work him to these things,

Man's folly

1. To a resolution of imparting himself to some godly friend, and of speaking his whole heart to some one or other.

2. Of resting in Gods bare word, without the assurance of sense.

3. Of accepting of Jesus Christ without any lyes, and Anns, notwithstanding his own unworthiness.

4. Of waiting upon God, and hearkning when he will speak peace; and when he is brought thus far that he will be beholden to a Communion of Saints, and will take Gods word without any further surety, and owe all to Christ, though he can contribute nothing, and in despite of all suggestions and discouragements will stick to the peace of Christ, and look for all his peace in that way, saying, Though he kill me yet will I trust in him, I will wait, and hearken to him; when (I say) he is thus far proceeded, Satan may now go shake his ears, and receive his answer, Its God that justifies, who shall condemn? Oh! Hell, Where is thy power? Oh! Death, Oh! Devil, what is thy Commission? Its not my meaning to prescribe to God any one way of working; but this is the way he often takes

takes with his children, and this we may find exemplified in this foregoing Narrative touching the Conversion and procedure of this Saint, so far as she hath commented upon her own life. Now for her death, I will tell thee what my observations were thereabout.

She dyed daily.

1. I find that God began with her quickly, and called her hence before she was aged, and that is mostly his method where an early harvest is intended. a timely seeds-time is promised, They live quickly, and live apace, who ripen betimes; so was it with her who was seldome out of action after her entrance, but gained as much time in so little a time as any I knew.

2. I observe that death came not all at once upon her; she was yearly dying some years before she dyed her last, and thus death was made familiar to her: I have seldome known any of her age that was less amazed at the speech and thoughts of death, so good a thing it is to know experimentally what it is to dye beforehand.

3. Observe how Gods power triumphs in weakest Vessels: It is a thing I have often thought on, that godly women for the most part dye more confidently and comfortably than do good men, the Lord trampling upon Satan in them, and in her very eminently.

Her Patience.

4. Her patience was remarkable in the midst of sore pains, which frequented her in the breeding and bearing of children, yet then her speech was, I fear not pains, I fear my self, lest through impatience I should let fall any unfitting word: It is a blessed frame when pain seems light, and sin heavy.

5. I plainly saw in her the power of Grace beyond nature; 1. When life and death were both laid before her, her speech was this, I am at my Fathers disposal; Howbeit of my self I rather incline to death, than life. 2. Whereas her affections were very strong both to her loving Husband and children, inso-much as it was conceived, that the last farewell would go very near her when she should part with so precious and dear Friends, she was so much taken up with the thoughts of Christ, that she seemed not to stick at any such Relations. Nay thirdly, she seemed wholly to forget her natural self, for being intreated to favour her body and speech in regard of the lowliness of her spirits, after some pause she brake forth into these words: Shall I for this poor carcass be wanting to my souls comfort, and my Saviours praises? Let me have your prayers still, and God his praises; yea, pray not onely for, but with me. Which being done, she overflowed with comfort, and in that condition I left her, and that stream of comfort led her, not long after, to the Fountain where are Rivers of joy for evermore.

Thus lived she a most profitable life: Thus dyed she a most fruitful death. God so turned this his servant, that living, dying, and after death she should be fruitfull. Thus will God honour those that honour him. To him be all honour to Eternity. Amen.

Now it may be usefull to make mention of her last sickness; especially eight weeks before her death.

Her holy speeches.

All her discourses were savoury, tending to edification. Many good Christians came to visit her, who all (if it were not their own fault) might reap some spiritual benefit from those many excellent speeches which proceeded out of her mouth. And the counsels she gave to her Relations, and other Friends, were tempered with gravity, and affection. She accustomed not her self to affectation of high-flown phrases, but held fast the form of sound words. She was an old Disciple, and her grave and sober Language accordingly discovered her so to be.

Her sickness

From the very first of her last sickness, her apprehension was that she should dye shortly, and her longing desire was to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. She often repeated those words of Job, There the weary go to rest; and those words in the close of the Revelations, Come Lord Jesus, come quickly. Upon the approach of her death (whereof she was very sensible) she asked her Husband, what Promises



Promises of assurance were a firm ground for her to bottom upon? He named *Joh. 10. 28.* And I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand. Likewise he added *Rom. 8. 33, 34.* Who shall lay any thing to the charge of Gods Elect? It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that dyed, yea rather, that is risen again, who is ever at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. He added *veri. 38, 39.* For I am perswaded that neither Death, nor Life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. These (said she) are sweet promises.

That morning she dyed, she desired her Husband to read the Seventeenth Chapter of *John* (which Chapter that eminent holy Scotchman, Master Rollock, caused to be read to him when he was dying,) after that was read, she was ravished with great joy, and expressed herself accordingly. Her Husband, and two other Friends prayed with her. After the last Prayer was ended, she said, *My flesh, and my heart faileth:* Her Husband answered her, *Thou God was the strength of her heart, and her portion for ever:* He would never fail her. She returned an answer (which were the last words which ever she spoke to him) *He will never fail me.* About an hour after she resigned up her spirit unto God who gave it; and her last words were, *I have finished my course.* She slept in *Jesus* December the 8. Anno Christi 1654. To her to live was Christ, and to dye was gain. She lived much desired, and dyed much lamented. Her name is like precious Oynment poured forth. She lived holily, and dyed comfortably, and now partakes of those joyes which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither can enter into the heart of man to conceive, even those things which God hath prepared for them that love him.

Her joy  
unspeakable.

Her Death

Divers Epitaphs were made at the Death of this rare Gentlewoman: I shall onely insert two, which were made by two Reverend and Learned Doctors.

On the Death of that worthy Gentlewoman  
Mrs ELIZABETH WILKINSON.

E-re while (Dear Consort) I was leas'd to thee;  
W-ife now to Christ for perpetuity:  
L-iving with thee was sweet, with him far best,  
I-n earth joy's mixt with pain, in him all rest.  
I-wrought, I suffer'd much in a few years,  
L-ife now rewards my work, wipes off my tears;  
S-ighs are all turn'd to songs, all tears to wine,  
K-ings favour crowns my heart, what should grieve thine?  
A-re we not both of the same household Will?  
I-at the Banquet, and thou at the Mill,  
B-oth fellow-servants: I my Pension now:  
N-ext thine, work on, the Feast succeeds the Flow.  
E-ach of us yet in hopes, my Dair to win,  
S-alvation from the Grave, thy soul from sin.  
T-hings worth the waiting for, Christ comes to save,  
O-mourn no more, but write this on my Grave,  
H-ere lies Mother, and Babe, both without stain,  
N-ext birth will make her and her Infant twins.  
Her Child was buried with her,  
Thus interwoven were our Names, in Death,  
Lest Wilkinson, without Elizabeth.  
Wee'l joyn again. 'Twas Man and Wife before,  
'Twill then be fellow-Saints for evermore.

ED. REYNOLDS

On

*On the truly Vertuous and Religious Mrs. Elizabeth  
Wilkinson. To Her Husband.*

Say, shall I speak or hold my peace?  
That seems more due; but this more ease;  
Where, what to speak, is hard to say;  
For should I utter all I may,  
'Twere endless: And to praise a Friend  
By halves, is but to discommend.  
And would I speak, To whom? and what?  
To those that knew? Or knew her not?  
Who knew her need it not: For they  
Know more than I am like to say:  
Who knew her not, may think that she  
Deserv'd but what they hear from me:  
And so instead of setting forth  
Her praise, I should but wrong her worth.  
He that adores with silent view,  
Doth not detract from what is due:  
But all that while his silence sayes,  
He knows not how enough to praise  
So, might I choose, I would adore  
Her Speaking worth, and say no more.  
But since I must (for so you say)  
Not hold my peace, I must obey:  
Yet 'tis, I say, too hard a task,  
To answer fully what you ask:  
To know, what first I should commend,  
And harder, where to make an end.  
Should I begin, where first appear  
Her worths, I must begin with Her.  
(Higher than so, I need not go,  
Tho, whence she came, be worthy too.)  
From first, her own deserving merit  
Claims more than others do inherit:  
Nor is it easie to express,  
What age of hers was spent amiss.  
Her temper meek; Her carriage such:  
Her language good, and not too much:  
Her habit comely, more than brave,  
Her conversation humbly grave.  
What Vertues deck't a single life,  
Were doubled, when she was a wife.  
How good a Wife, I need not tell  
To him who knew her worth so well;  
Nor, what was her Maternal care,  
To whom her Children were so dear.  
Nor was her good confin'd to home,  
But challenged a larger room;  
To heal the sick, the hungry feed,  
And succour those that stood in need;  
Good both to soul and body too,  
Of those with whom she had to do;  
To rich, to poor, to great, and small,  
But in her Closet best of all

(Which



(Which was her Christian daily walk)

In doing that which others talk:

Forward to good without constraint,

And as she liv'd, she dy'd a Saint.

But this to speak at large would crave

A Volume, not an *Epitaph*.

And were it done, I might offend

By shaming many left behind,

(Tho more there may be found, I fear,

That will commend, than follow her.)

Some minde good words, more than good lives;

Some are good women, not good wives:

Some, neither this, nor that, and some

Abroad are better than at home;

Some hope to dye like Saints, although,

'Tis too too plain; they live not so;

'Tis rare in all respects to see

A Wife, a Woman like to thee;

At home, abroad, in life, in death;

Like unto our *ELIZABETH*.

J. WALLIS D.D.

lil

The



*The Life of Gasper Colinius Great Admirall of France,  
who was slain in the Parisian Massacre, August 24.  
Anno Christi 1572.*

His Paren-  
tage.



*Aspar Colinius* or *Coligni*, was descended of a very Ancient and Honourable Family; His Predecessors had Kingly Priviledges in their own Country; as the Power of Life and Death, of Coining Money, Imposing Taxes and Tributes, &c. His Father was *Gaspar de Colonia* or *Colinius*, who lived under King *Francis* the first; and had to Wife *Ludovica Monmorancy*, the Sister of *Annas Monmorancy*, Great Constable of *France*.

When in the year 1522. the Admiral *Bonivet* had taken *Fontaraby* in the Confines of *Spain*, as soon as he was returned into *France*, the *Spaniards* came and besieged it with a great Army: The siege lasted twelve moneths, whereby the Inhabitants suffered much extremity by Reason of Famine.

His Fathers  
death.

King *Francis* hearing of it, commanded this *Gaspar* to raise an Army: and relieve *Fontaraby*, which Army he presently Levied; But in his march he fell sick, and died at *Ax*, August 4. Anno Christi 1522, leaving three Sons behind him, *Odet*, *Gaspar* and *Francis*.

His Mo-  
thers death.  
Popes poli-  
cy.

*Ludovica* his Widow, was made one of the Ladies of Honour to the Queen of *France*, and was very careful of the Education of her Sons, and lived a most Chaste and vertuous life all the remainder of her days, dying in *Paris*, Anno Christi 1547.

His Birth.

His Educa-  
tion.

Pope *Clement* the seventh, seeking to increase his Authority in *France*, made the elder Brother [*Odet*] a Cardinal; knowing that by reason of the Eminency of his Family, he might be very useful to him. By which means the Inheritance fell to this, our *Gaspar*; the second Brother, who was born Feb. 16. Anno Christi 1517. whose Ingenuity and towardliness appearing in his Child-hood, his Mother was very careful of his Education; And for his Instruction in Learning, she made choice of *Nicholas Beraldaus* to be his Schoolmaster, a man famous in those days in *France*. She also provided him Tutors to instruct him in Military Arts; of such as were most skilful therein.

His valour.

This *Gaspar* being thus furnished both for Peace and War, when he came to the age of twenty four, the Dolphin of *France*, the Kings eldest Son, besieging *Baion* at that time, *Gaspar* went to serve under him, and to put in practice what he had before gotten in the Theory: In which Service he shewed much alacrity and courage and in advancing near to the Enemies Trenches, he

was



was wounded with a Bullet in his throat. The same year also the King He is wounded.  
 having intelligence that his, and the enemies Army were ready to joyn bat-  
 tel in *Insabria*, *Gaspar* obtaining leave, hastened thither, and in that Bat-  
 tel gave great proof of his Valour and Prudence; so that shortly after King *Francis*  
 dying, and his Son *Henry* succeeding to the Crown, he advanced him to  
 great Honour; and whereas his Uncle *Annas Monmorancy* was Generall of His ad-  
 the Horse, he made this *Gaspar*, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot: In which vancement.  
 Office he carried himself so well, that in a little space he gat much repute  
 for his Justice, Valour and Prudence, and thereby became very grateful to  
 the common people: For, whereas the Souldiers formerly by their Rapines  
 and Punderings used much to oppresse them, this new Colonel kept them His milita-  
 in awe by Military Discipline, especially he severely punished them for incon- ry discipline  
 tinency, swearing, and blasphemy; and his Orders were so generally approved  
 of, that shortly after the King put them amongst His military laws.

The same King also advanced him to greater Honour, taking a great  
 liking to him, making him one of his own Horsemen, which Vulgarly are  
 called of the Kings Order. And whereas contention arose about that time  
 between the King of *France*, and King *Henry* the eighth of *England* about  
 the Town of *Bulloine*, which a little before upon conditions of peace had been  
 pawned to the *English*; The King of *France*, distrusting the *English*, made  
 this *Gaspar* Governour of all that Countrey; who presently going into *Picardy*, His milita-  
 whither King *Henry* of *France* had sent an Army to besiege *Bulloine*: ry service.  
 He with admirable art and diligence built a Castle near to it, which was such  
 a shelter to the *French*, and did so hinder the Sallies of the *English*, that in  
 a short time they were forced to treat about surrendring of the City. For  
 the finishing of which Treaty, the whole businesse was referred by the King  
 of *France* to our *Gaspar*, and his Uncle *Rupionius*; which being ended;  
 and the Town surrendred, *Gaspar* returned to the King, and was shortly af- He is made  
 ter made the Great Admirall of *France*, which amongst the *French*, is coun- Admirall.  
 ted the greatest honour in the Kingdome, having the command of the Sea,  
 and the Kings Navy. He was also made Governour of *Picardy*; and of the  
 Isle of *France*, and Captain of a Troop of men at Arms, and one of the Kings  
 Councel.

Anno Christi 1554. *Charles* the fifth, Emperour of *Germany* and *Queen*  
*Mary* of *England*, raised great Armies against the King of *France*, and to re-  
 sist such potent Adversaries, none was thought so fit by the suffrage of all, He is made  
 as our *Gaspar*; and therefore he was chosen by the King to that place; who Generall.  
 presently raising Forces hastned to the Confines of *France*, towards the *Belgick*  
 Provinces to secure them against the approach of their enemies. At this  
 time *France* was in great fear; considering the conjunction of such potent Ad-  
 versaries; and the King of *France* his want, both of Money and Arms to re-  
 sist them, so that many thought that the ruine of *France* was approaching.  
 Whereupon our Admirall periwaded the King to treat of Peace; which coun-  
 sell was so gratefull both to the King and his Nobles; that the charge of  
 it was presently committed to the Admirall, which within few daies he ef-  
 fected, to the incredible joy and rejoycing of all the Orders of *France*; and  
 he was looked upon as an Instrument of saving his Countrey, especially con-  
 sidering upon what honest, honourable and profitable conditions he had con-  
 cluded the Peace. He makes  
 peace with  
 the Empe-  
 rour.

About this time it fell out that the *Guises*, (who were *Lorrainers* by extradi-  
 on, and pretended a Title to *Sicily* and *Naples*, which they said the King of  
*Spain* had injuriously taken from their Ancestors) perswaded King *Henry* of  
*France*, that for divers years they had held correspondency with a great part  
 of the *Neapolitane* Nobility, so that if the King would but assist them with  
 some competent Forces, they doubted not to make an easie conquest of that  
 Kingdom.

His distast of perjury. Kingdome. By this their counsell they violated the Peace which was made a little before with *Spain*, and solemnly sworn to on both sides, which was a great grief to our Admirall, who sticke not to say, that such perjury proved alwaies, as dishonourable, so farall to Kingdoms; and that God in all ages had been a severe revenger of it: Yet the King would not hearken to him, but commanded him to raise Forces in his Province. This was the first cause of the feud betwixt, him and the *Guises*. of the feud betwixt, him and the *Guises*. Iomit.

The Emperour hearing of these preparations in *France*, thought to be before hand with them, and therefore raises an Army in the *Low-Countries* to invade *France*, which the King being informed of, and knowing that the first storm would fall upon *Picardy*, he presently dispatched away the Admirall for the securing of it; and before he had marched two daies journey, he was informed by his Scouts that the *Spaniards* intended to besiege *San-Quintan* in *Picardy*: He also received Letters from one Captain *Brullius*, that as soon as the Citizens of *San-Quintan* heard of the *Spaniards* intention, they were seized with such a *Pannick* fear, that many of them left their houses, and fled into the woods with their Wives and Children. Our Admirall hearing these things, dissembled the matter before his Souldiers, as well as he could, and shewing much alacrity, by great journeys hastened to *San-Quintans*. Whereupon two of his Captains [*Gernacus* and *Lusaricus*] endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from it; telling him that the City was not fortified, neither provided with food and other necessaries to sustain a siege, and that the enemies would beleaguer it before he could furnish it with such things, and therefore they told him that it was better, and more for his honour, to disturb the Enemy in the open fields, than, by shutting himself up within the Walls, to expose himself to such danger. But he, considering of what consequence that place was, and what advantage the getting of it would be to the *Spaniards*, adhered to his first resolutions; And having by the way adjoyned to himself about two Hundred and Forty Souldiers, he hastily flies to the City, and sets all hands on work for the fortifying of it. The *Spaniards* being informed hereof, presently begirt the City with a siege, and began to draw their Trenches about it, and possessed themselves of the Suburbs, whereby, by rolling Trenches they approached the Walls. This our Admirall taking notice of, Sallied out upon them, and firing the Suburbs, drave the enemies further off; yet when he had thoroughly viewed the City, and found the weaknesse of it, he began to suspect that he could not hold out long against so potent an Adversary. Yet considering that Gods Providence had cast him upon these straits, he resolved rather valiantly to die, then to give the enemy so great an advantage against *France*, by surrendring that Town to them. And therefore he laid out all his care, labour and industry, for the defending of it; and for the greater encouragement of the Citizens and Souldiers, he laid his own hands to every work that was to be done.

Whilst he was thus busily imployed, a Messenger brought him word, that his Brother *Andelot* was gotten safe into the City, with about five hundred Souldiers; The remains of a greater Army which the King had sent under the Constable for the Victualling and relieving the City, which Army was encountered by a great party of *German* Horse and Foot, who in the encounter had routed the *French*, slain many, and dispersed the rest; only in the time of the medly, *Andelot* with his five hundred men had slipped into the City.

As soon as this defeat of the *French* was known to the Souldiers and Citizens, they were possessed with so great a fear that the encouragements of the Admirall were little regarded. Hereupon he calls them all together, makes a Speech to them, and shewed them that the safety of their Countrey should be preferred



preferred before their lives; and thereupon caused them all to take an Oath, that if any one spake about the surrender of the City, he should lose his head for it; himself also took the same Oath.

In the mean time the *Spaniards* being Elated with their former victory, presse upon the City harder than before; and for twenty daies together continue their battery against the Walls, whereby they beat down a great part of them. The City battered.

The Admirall seeing this, and perceiving that they were approaching to give a generall storm, he encouraged his Souldiers stoutly to make resistance; telling them, that if they did but withstand the first stroke, the enemy would not be forward to attempt a second. Where the greatest breach and danger was, there himself stood Armed to resist in the very face of danger: Other places he commended to his Brother, and his other Captains. But whilst he was valiantly fighting in the breach, word was brought him that the enemy was entred in two other places of the City: Whereupon taking some of his trustiest Friends with him, he ran thitherward to oppose them, but before he came he found that that part of the City was filled with his armed enemies, against whom whilst he opposed himself, he was invironed by his Adversaries and taken Prisoner, who presently carried him away to *Am-  
werp*. St Quintan taken.  
The Admirall taken.

Whilst he was Prisoner there, he fell dangerously sick, and lay fourty daies tormented with a Feaver; and as soon as he began to recover, he called for a *Bible*, by reading whereof he much eased and refreshed his mind and body; And by the diligent study thereof he began to embrace the reformed Religion, and to have a tast of true Piety, and the right manner of calling upon God. His sickness a means of health to his soul.

Not long after he payed his Ransome, which was fifty Thousand Crowns, and so returned home; and being weary of the Factions and Affairs at Court, and seriously thinking of his change of Religion, he gat leave of the King to turn over his Regiment of Foot to his Brother *Andelos*, and his Government of the Isle of *France* to his Brother-in-law, Marshall *Monmorancy*; And shortly after he sent one of his intimate Friends to the King, humbly to signifie to him that he intended also to lay down his Government of *Picardy*, and therefore desired him to think of one to succeed him therein: The King answered, that he wondred at his resolution, and scarce thought him wise to divest himself so suddainly of so many places of honour and profit: and from that time, he began generally to be suspected of his change in Religion, shewing a minde so free from Ambition and desire of Rule. He devoted himself of his Offices.  
His temperance.

Monfieur *Andelos* also discovering his Resolution in Religion, the Cardinall of *Lorraine* (who hated the Family of *Coligni* with a deadly hatred, as the greatest enemies to the greatnesse of his Family) watched his opportunity, and suggested to the King, that all men took notice, that many great men of *France* were infected with the poison of *Calvinisme*, which they scattered amongst the inferiour sort of people, and in particular that Monfieur *Andelos* had blabbed out many things to the dishonour of the solemn sacrifice of the *Masse*, &c. The King being incensed hereby, commanded the Cardinall of *Chastillon* his Brother, and *Monmorancy* his Cousen, to send for *Andelos*, and to admonish him to answer modestly to the questions which should be proposed to him. Andelos questioned for Religion.

When he came before the King, he professed his great good, will toward him, and spake many things of his great merits, and then told him, that he was sorry to hear that which was reported, viz. that he thought ill of Religion, and therefore he required him to tell him what he thought of the *Masse*, which the *Calvinists* spake so much against: *Andelos* being a man of great courage, answered confidently according to the truth; which the King being offended His stout Answer.

fended at, exhorted him to look to himself, and to prevent the danger before it were too late. Whereunto *Andelot* with greater courage answered, That he had hitherto shewed himself obedient in all things to his Majesty, whom he had found alwaies bountifull to himself and his Family, but in the cause of Religion, he could neither daub nor dissemble with God; That his Body, Wealth and Dignity, were in the Kings power, of which he might dispose as he pleased: But his Soul was subject to God only that gave it; to whom therefore in this cause he must needs be obedient, as to his greater Lord.

His imprisonment.

At this the King was so enraged, that snatching up a dist, he therewith hurt his Son the Dolphin, that fate next him; and then he commanded one of his privy Chamber to carry *Andelot* to the City of *Meaux*, where he remained a Prisoner in the Bishops house, till he was removed to the Castle of *Melodune*.

The cause why he left his Offices.

Not long after King *Henry* the second dying, his Son *Francis* succeeded him, who was married to *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, the Daughter of the Duke of *Guises* Sister, by which means the *Guises* ruled all at Court, and they also boasted often of the Kingdom of *England*, to which this *Mary* was Heir apparent, as they said.

The Admiral knowing their cruel, Barbarous and bloody dispositions, who would never be free from turbulent Counsels, and especially from persecuting those of the Religion; he was now, without further delay resolved to lay down his Government of *Picardy*: and for that end acquainted *Lewis* of *Bourborn*, Prince of *Conde*, concerning his intention, wishing him to beg that place of the King, which accordingly he obtained.

His godly wife encourages him.

Our Admirall being thus eased of these publique Burthens, and the troubles of them which withdrew his mind from Religion, he kept at home in his own Castle, and the rather because of his Wife *Carola Lavollia*, born of an Illustrious and Ancient Family, which was wonderfully given to the study of Religion, exhorting her Husband also, that casting off the remainders of Idolatry and Superstition, he should wholly betake himself to the true service of *Christ*. The Admirall having often heard her presse this upon him, dealt seriously with her, telling her, that he never knew any, either in *France* or *Germany* which embraced in truth this reformed Religion, but that they were overwhelmed with manifold afflictions, under which they almost perished. He told her also, that by the Laws of *France*, which were confirmed by all the *Parliaments*, Whosoever made profession of this Religion, was to be burnt alive, and all his estate to be forfeited to the King. Yet, saith he, if you be so prepared with Faith and courage, that you can be content to undergo the same lott with others, you shall see that I will not be wanting to do my duty. To this she answered, That the condition of the Church at this day, was no other then what it had been in former ages, even from the beginning, and she perswaded her self, that it would be the same to the end of the world. And thus each of them encouraging other, the Admirall began to instruct his Family in the true knowledge and worship of God, and gave them *Bibles* and other good Books to read for their further edification. Withall he stoutly forbade them those oaths and Blasphemies which were common in *France*, especially in the Court. He provided also godly Governours and Schoolmasters for his Children, so that in a short time there was a wonderfull change in his Family; yea, by his example, his two Brethren, *Odet* the Cardinall, and *Andelot*, were exceedingly stirred up to the study of Religion.

Persecution attends the Gospel.

He instructs and reforms the Family.

The Admiral from his Child-hood had been bred in the Court, which did in those daies exceedingly abound with Luxury and other Vices, from which he was not altogether Free; But so soon as he embraced the true Religion, there



there was such a strange alteration in his Life and Deportment, that the powerful work of Gods Spirit did wonderfully appear therein. Before he durst come to the Sacrament of the *Lords Supper*, he conferred with divers Godly Ministers, both about *Transubstantiation* and *Consubstantiation*, for the settling of his judgment in the Truth: and once being present in the Town of *Vareuil* at a private meeting of the godly, where there was a Sermon, and the Sacrament to be administred; after Sermon he requested those that were present that they would not be offended at his weakness, but that they would pray to the Lord for him, and then requested the Minister that he would a little more explain himself about the Sacrament, which he willingly did; and having by sundry Texts of Scripture shewed that *Christ* is received only Spiritually and Sacramentally therein, he concluded with that of *St. Augustine*, *Manducare cibum qui non perit sed permanet ad vitam, est credere in Christum. Et Quid paras dentem, & ventrem? crede & manducasti. Item, Nolite parare fauces, sed cor. Christ* is to be fed upon not with our mouths, but with our Faith, &c.

The Power of Religion.  
His prudent humility.

How Christ is received in the Sacrament.

Our Admirall being much satisfied with this discourse, gave thanks, first to God, then to that Minister and Congregation, and shortly after was himself partaker of that holy Sacrament, the same whereof when it was once spread abroad in *France*, it cannot be believed what joy and consolation it brought to Churches of *Christ*; For though till that time the true worshippers of God had many Laws made against them by the Kings and Parliaments, though they were daily dragged to prisons, torments and death, so that they were forced to hold all their meetings in secret, yet was true Religion after a wonderfull manner dispersed through all the Provinces of *France*, and the *Popish* party found by Experience that the more they sought to suppress and extinguish the light of Gods Word, and the Professors of it, the more it daily encreased.

He partakes of the Sacrament to the great joy of the Churches.

Persecution the bellows of the Gospel.

Not long after fell out the tumult at *Amboise*, and the conspiracy of the Nobility against the *Guises*, whose pride and insolency the Princes of *France* could no longer bear with. Of this number was the Prince of *Conde*, and the King of *Navarre* his Brother. Whereupon the *Guises* procured an *Edict* from the King, whereby a meeting of the Nobility was appointed at *Fontainebleau*, especially to treat about matters of Religion; and when the day came, which was *Aug. 24. 1560.* the King requested those that were present to deliver their opinions: Whereupon the Admirall rising out of his seat, humbly presented the King with two Supplications under this title, *The humble Supplications of those who in severall parts of your Majesties Kingdom, do truly and purely serve God.* These Supplications were delivered to *Albespine*, the Kings Secretary, who publicquely read them. This bold fact of the Admirall was much wondered at, considering the Kings bitter enmity against that Religion, and the great power of the *Guises*. The summe of those Petitions was this:

A meeting of the Nobility

His zeal & courage.

*They which purely and sincerely serve God, taking this fit opportunity, do humbly beseech your Majesty, that of your Clemency you will be pleased to pity a great number of your Subjects, who unto this day are miserably afflicted, tormented and wasted for the cause of Religion in all your Provinces: We humbly beg of you that you will not be grieved to take Cognisance of our cause, and to appoint that the Scripture may be the judge in these great Controversies, whereby it will easily appear how much we do abhor Heresie, which hitherto hath been laid to our charge: As also how falsely we have been charged with sedition, when we never used force or arms to defend our selves, but ever thought it our duty in our greatest extremities only to have recourse to your Majesties Clemency. Our humble request therefore to your Majesty is, that you would be pleased to restrain our persecutors, by whose means there is no part of your Majesties Kingdom, which in these late years hath not been defiled with the blood of your innocent Subjects. Our*

The Protestants petition.

case

case hath been miserably when we have been forced to plead her cause before the Popes Clients and Pensioners, rather then before equall and indifferent Judges. Our humble request therefore is, that you would be pleased favourably to look upon so many Families who have alwaies acknowledged you for our gracious Lord and King; and, according to Gods command, have honoured and obeyed you, and shall be ready, if accasion be offered, to spend our lives for your dignity and service; and therefore we think it but equal that our lives and welfare should be protected against the rage of our cruel and bloody Adversaries. We further pray, that some publique place may be allowed us where our Ministers may Preach the Word of God sincerely, and Administer the Sacraments truly; That our Religion being no longer concealed, we may be freed from those false calumnies which our Adversaries have hitherto cast upon us; And we shall ever pray, &c.

His bold-  
ness.

A Parlia-  
ment defini-  
ed.

After these Supplications were read, there were great debates, but little about Religion, great complaints being made of the Kings debts, and consideration had how the same might be discharged. Hereupon our Admirall spake freely and boldly against the Forces raised by the *Guises*, under the pretence of a guard for the King, as if he needed such a guard in the heart of his own Kingdom; Whereas the Authority of the Kings name in *France* is so sacred and powerfull, that thereby the meanest Countable is able to suppress any tumult whatsoever. This free speech of his extreemly vexed the *Guises*, who hated him so much the more for it.

Some others propounded that there might be a publique Convention of the States called, as the onely means to cure the distempers of *France*; which though some had laboured to discredit, and so had caused an intermission of it for eighty seven years, yet it had alwaies been exceeding advantageous to the Kingdome, as the Parliaments in *England*, consisting of three States, had alwaies been there, whereby the *English* Kings had been enabled to make such powerfull Invasions of *France*.

Shortly after King *Francis* the second dying, his younger Brother *Charles* the ninth succeeded, and thereupon the former request was renewed for calling a Convention of all the States.

The Prote-  
stants per-  
secuted.

The Admi-  
rals over-  
sight.

At this time *Catherine* of *Medices* was the Queen Mother, a *Florentine* by birth, to whom the education of the young King, and the care of his person was committed, according to the ancient custom of *France*; But she was not suffered to have any thing to do with the Government of the Kingdom: And hereupon the *Guises*, who for a long time had been powerfull at Court, intruded themselves into that Office. And at that time many of the Nobility proceeded cruelly to torment and afflict those of the Reformed Religion; whereupon there was great fear lest some new Commotions should be raised in the Kingdom: But the Queen Mother pretended favour towards them, for which cause our Admirall endeavoured, and at last effected that she should be joyned in Commission with *Anthony* King of *Navarr*, who was made Protector during the Kings Minority. This many wise men disliked and opposed, saying, That in the stories of former times it did appear that the Government was never committed to the Queen Mother, especially if she were a stranger, but it redounded to the great hurt of *France*, and was the cause of many Civil broils.

A general  
convention  
of the States  
A petition  
for the Pro-  
testants.  
The Malice  
of the Cler-  
gy.

When the day of the publique Convention of the States came, he which made the Speech in the behalf of the Nobility, about the end of his Oration presented the King with a Supplication, that they of the Reformed Religion might have publique places allowed them for the exercise of the service of God in.

To this one *Quintin*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, and Professor of *Paris*, opposed himself, and made a long Oration in the name of the Clergy, which he rather read then pronounced by heart, wherein he took the boldness to  
affirm,



affirm, That all they that moved for publike places for those of the Religion, were guilty of Treason against the King and Kingdom, the authors of sedition, and bringers in of a new Religion, and therefore ought severely to be punished. Of which when the Admirall in the Kings Counsel afterwards complained, *Quintin* to excuse himself, professed that he had spoken nothing of his own Head, but only had pronounced that Oration which was penned and put in to his hand by the Clergy, and that he was ready again in the Convention of States, before the King and all the company, to avow that in all that he had said, he had no thoughts of hurt to the Admirall.

In conclusion there was an *Edict* sent forth in the Kings Name, commanding and requiring all the Judges and Magistrates through *France*, to release all those of the Religion that were in prison, and it was forbidden them upon great penalties hereafter to meddle with, or to trouble any for their Religion sake. As for the businesse of allowing them publike places for worship, that was put off to the next Generall meeting of the States, which was appointed, but held not, to be at *Ponthoise* in *Piccardy*.

The Protestants freed from persecution.

*January* following, there was a meeting of all the Princes and Nobles of *France*, appointed to be held at *Saint Germans*, whither also repaired the Deputies from all the Parliaments, and there it was decreed, that Churches should be allowed to the Protestants in the Suburbs belonging to each City: Upon the publishing of which *Edict*, the Peace of the Kingdom seemed to be settled, and in the Suburbs of all the greater Cities, yea of *Paris* it self, those of the Religion met publicly, and had Sermons preached without the least disturbance. But presently after was news brought that the D. of *Guise* in *Campania* had basely murdered about two hundred persons who were met together at *Vassiac* to hear a Sermon, according to the power given them by the Kings *Edict*, in a barn; and it was conceived that the D. of *Guise* took this boldnesse, relying upon the friendship of the King of *Navarre*, whose weak mind he had bowed and bound to himself by promising him the Kingdom of *Sardinia*, and other favours; and upon this confidence, adjoining his other Brethren to him, with a great Army he went to the Court, and there seized upon the King and Queen Mother (who seemed with many tears to bewail the violence profered to them) and carried them away to *Paris*.

Churches allowed them

A massacre by the Duke of Guise.

The King seized on by the Duke of Guise.

Hereupon, the Queen Mother sent divers messengers to the Admirall, and writ with her own hand to the Prince of *Conde*, requesting them to help her, and to deliver the King out of this captivity: This caused the Prince of *Conde*, with many of the Nobility, upon deliberation, to resolve to raise an Army for the rescue of the King, and to curb the insolency of the *Guises*, often saying, That he ought not to be deterred with reports, as if he intended to propagate his Religion by Arms, or to offer violence to the Person of the young King. For, said he, After such a publique Decree made by the King, and all the States in favour of those of the Religion, What had the D. of *Guise*, who is a *Lorrainer* by extraction, to do in *France*? Or by what confidence doth he exercise such cruelty against the Kings faithfull Subjects? And therefore he saw that there was no way left but to repell force with force; and that he was not the author of the War, but by War, defended those that were unjustly oppressed by War.

Why the Protestants first took Arms.

There was also a publique report that the D. of *Nemours* had endeavoured by flatteries to perswade the young Prince *Henry*, the Kings Brother (who was afterwards chosen King of *Poland*) to go with him out of the bounds of *France*, which the young youth had declared to his Mother. There was much speech also of the Massacre at *Vassiac*, and of their leading the King and Queen Mother as their captives to *Paris*, where they had a powerfull faction. They had also sent to the German Princes, desiring to be admitted into the league of the Protestants. The Cardnall of *Lorraine* had also sent to *Christopher* Duke of *Wurzburg*, a prudent and

valiant Prince, pretending that both he and his Brethren would embrace the Protestant Religion, and desired to be enrolled in the number of the Protestant Princes.

These things being publicly divulged, the resolution of the Prince of Conde to take Arms was generally approved of, and in a few days many Cities sided with and assisted him, as *Orleans, Biturg, Roan, Lions, Vienna, Valentia, Mont-alban, &c.* And whereas by the common consent of all the Protestants in *France*, the Prince of Conde was chosen Generall, he prevailed so far with them, that the managing of the War was conferred upon our Admirall, to whom he also delegated his own power and interest, for the opinion which he had of his excellent justice, gravity and prudence. This being generally taken notice of, the Queen Mother interposeth as a *Mediatrice* for peace, and sends for the Prince of Conde to come to their tents, intreating him, that for the convenient situation of it, he would deliver up into their Hands for a few days, as the fittest place for the Treaty, the City of *Boience*, where there is a Bridge that passeth over the River *Loir*, which Bridge she affirmed to be the fittest of all other places for the Parlee. The Prince of Conde upon the perswasions of his Borthor, the King of *Navarr*, and of the Queen Mother, and upon their faithfull promise that the Town should be delivered back to him again, and that his person should be in safety during the Treaty, without taking any further pledges, delivers up *Boience* to them, only desiring that whilst the Treaty lasted, the Constable, *Guise*, and Saint *Andrew* (who were called the Triumvirate for the ruine of *France*) might be commanded to withdraw from the Camp.

Prince of  
Conde made  
Generall.  
The Admirall made  
Lieutenant-  
General.

P. of Condes  
facility.

The Q. Mothers  
perfidiousness.  
P. of Conde  
prisoner.  
The Admirall  
releases  
him.

His eldest  
Son dieth.

The *Guises*  
call in for-  
raign Help.

And so do  
the Prote-  
stants.

The Admirall  
taketh  
their Am-  
munition.

When these things were done, the Queen Mother and the *Guises* put a garrison into the Town of *Boience*, fortifie it strongly, and keep the Prince of Conde prisoner.

The Admirall being justly incensed by this perfidiousnesse, and resolving not to be wanting in his aid to the Prince of Conde, he presently with all his Cavalry sets upon the enemies Camp, which brought such a terrour amongst them, that thereupon the Queen Mother commanded the Prince of Conde to be set at liberty. And a few days after the Admirall assaulted *Boience*, and at the last took the Town, though with some losse of his men.

About this very time the Admirals eldest Son, called *Gaspar*, being a youth of nine years old, but of Admirable towardnesse, fell sick, and died at *Orleance*, which was an exceeding great grief to his Father.

In the mean time the *Guises* perceiving that they were forsaken by the greatest part of *France*, which now adheared to, and assisted Conde, they resolved to call in forraign helps, and thereupon, sending much Money into *Swisserland* and *Germany*, they hired from the former Foot, and from the latter Horse, to come in to their aid, which the Admirall used often to say, was a plain demonstration of their treacherous and hostile minds against *France*: And therefore that he might not be wanting to himself and Friends, who had committed so great a trust to him, he resolved to oppose Forraign by Forraign forces: And for this end he sent his Brother *Andelot* to the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, of whose good will to the *French* Churches he had good assurance, requesting aid from them, who accordingly within three moneths space sent him three Thousand Horse, and six Thousand Foot into *France*.

Whilst these things were transacting, intelligence was given to the Admirall that some Cannons, and a great quantity of Gunpowder was carrying to the Duke of *Guise*, who now besieged *Biturg*, guarded with six Troops of Horse and some Foot. Hereupon the Admirall taking some Horse with him, by long journeys hastened to meet the Convoy, and coming up to them, they scarce stood the first shock, but throwing away their Arms, fled, and left



left the Booty to the Admirall, who wanting Horses to draw them away, by over-charging the Guns brake them, and blew up the Gunpowder, and so returned to his Camp.

*Andelot* returning out of *Germany*, brought with him three Thousand Horse and six Thousand Foot; So that the Prince of *Conde* having a good Army of *French* and *Germans*, hasted to *Paris*; Which the *Guises* hearing of, intended to meet him, having gotten a Regiment of *Swissers*, in whom they put most confidence, and so the two Armies meeting, a Battell was fought, but with a doubtfull event: For on the one side the Constable was taken prisoner by one *William Steward* a valiant *Scots* man; And on the other side the Prince of *Conde* was taken prisoner, which made many of his Foot to throw away their Arms, and fly: But the Admirall rallying the Horse, and encouraging them to prefer their Religion, Country and Honour, before their lives, he valiantly charged the *Guissians*, in which medly he slew Marshall Saint *Andrew*, a potent man at Court, and *Prossaus*, Collonel to the Duke of *Guise*, and divers other Noble men: The fight being ended, the Admirall carried the Constable to *Orleance*, where he made his abode for a while: But shortly after came the Duke of *Guise* to besiege the City, whereupon the Admirall leaving his Brother *Andelot* for the defence of it, flies into *Normandy*, and there besieged the Castle of *Cadonius*, where the Marquesse of *Elbave*, one of the D. of *Lorrains* Brothers was, and within a few days had it, with all the Arms and Ammunition surrendered to him.

A Battell.

*Conde* taken prisoner.  
The Admirals valour.

About this time there was one *John Poltrot*, a young man of a Noble Family, in the Army of the Duke of *Guise*, who having embraced the Reformed Religion, and served for some moneths under the Prince of *Conde*, took up privately with himself a resolution to kill the Duke of *Guise*, as a publique enemy to his Countrey, and a cause of all the present calamities: And, said he, *If I had been bound to him by any Oaths, I must not have been perfidious; but being free, why should I not venture, as Scævola did, for my Countries safety?* With this resolution he went to the Duke of *Guises* Camp, and watching his opportunity, shot him into the shoulder, of which wound he died within a few days after.

*John Poltrot* slew the D. of *Guise*.

The very same day in the morning the Duke of *Guise* being ready to give an assault to *Orleance*, wrote to the Queen Mother, that within twenty four hours he would send her word of the taking of that City, and that he would make the day very memorable by sparing neither sex nor age; and that after he had kept his *shrove-tide* there, he would extinguish the memory of the Town, by utter subverting of it. But man knows not his destiny, nor what shall happen to him; for that the same evening he was slain, as you heard before.

A wicked brag.

Presently after a Peace was concluded, and the Edi<sup>c</sup>t renewed for the free exercise of the Reformed Religion through all *France*, as formerly.

A Peace concluded.

Not many moneths after, the Admirall being sent for to Court by the Queen Mother, the Widow of the Duke of *Guise* comes in, and falls down at the Kings feet, crying out with many tears for revenge for her Husbands death, charging the Admirall as the contriver and author of it. The Admirall apprehending that this was but the device of others, which set her on to seek his destruction by fraud, which they could not effect by War, before the King and all the Councel he clears himself, shewing that *Poltrot* had at his death professed that he was set on by none but God; neither did he doubt but that he had done God good service in it, and freed his Countrey from a Tyrant that raged and thirsted after Christian Blood, and therefore he was not sorry for what he had done, &c.

The Admirall accused. He clears himself.

K k k z

He

He also desired, that if they questioned the death of the Duke of *Guise*, he might have leave also to put in a Charge against him, for that he doubted not but that he could easily prove the Duke of *Guise*, guilty of murdering wickedly the Kings Subjects, and of violating all the sacred Laws and Decrees of the King; of taking up Arms of his own head without Authority, and thereby making himself guilty of Treason, and of kindling those flames in *France*, which had continued about thirteen moneths.

The contro-  
versie de-  
termined  
by the King

Notwithstanding this resolute speech of the Admirall, his enemies ceased not for some years still to call upon the King for justice against him; Whereupon the King at last appointed a Convention of all the Peers of the Kingdom, at the City of *Molineux*, whither also he called his chiefeft Senators and Counsellours, commanding the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and the Widow of the Duke of *Guise*, to produce what proofs they could, and the Admirall to defend himself against them. When both parties had pleaded their Cause, the King told them that he had referred the judgement to his Counsellors, and therefore asked them if they had any exceptions against any of them: they answered, No. Then he asked them if they would refer the determination of their Cause to him, and would stand to his judgment: They answered that they would willingly so do.

The Admi-  
ral cleared.

Whereupon *Jan. 29. Anno Christi 1566.* the King passed this sentence, That having heard both parties, and consulted with his Nobles and Counsellours, who were all unanimously agreed in the same sentence, he pronounced the Admirall clear and innocent from the murder of the Duke of *Guise*, and therefore absolved him from that crime, commanding this *Proctor* and all others, that they should never dare hereafter to accuse him for the same. He commanded also, that neither his present accusers, nor any other of his Subjects, should dare hereafter to make any mention of it. Nor that any of his Judges or Parliaments should ever admit any plea against him for it. He declared also, that seeing both parties had freely referred themselves to him, his will was, that they should live lovingly and peaceably together, never contriving any thing against each other; and that if any of them, their Friends, Kindreds or Partakers, should violate this Decree, that they should be held contemners of the Kings Majesty, as guilty of Treason, as disturbers of the publique peace: and lastly, that this his definitive sentence should be recorded in all the Parliaments of his Kingdome.

Treachery  
against the  
Admiral.

But to return to something that hapned before this, the Admirall had in his Family one *Hambervilleries*, born of a Noble house, whom he made use of in his most weighty and honest affairs; and it pleased God, that some Letters of his being intercepted, came to the Admirals hands, wherein he wrote to some great Courtiers, that he was ready to obey their commands in giving the Admirall a *Soporiferous* Potion. Our Admirall having read these Letters, called the man to him, Commanding him to write some verses in a paper that lay by, which when he had done, comparing both the writings together, he asked him whether he would acknowledge his hand in those Letters; which he looking upon, being stricken with guilt for his wickednesse, he presently fell upon the ground, and begged his Masters pardon. The Admirall told him that he was willing to pardon him, but upon condition that he should presently depart out of his house, nor should ever come into his sight again.

He forgives  
the Traytor

The Q. Mo-  
thers mis-  
chievous  
counsels.

Not long after the aforementioned *Edict* of Peace was published, the Queen Mother took counsel to go to *Baion* to meet her Son-in-law the King of *Spain*, and to take her Children with her: This afterwards proved the cause of many Tragical events, though for the present things were kept very secret: And first she ordered her journey to *Lyons*, which hitherto had been in possession of those of the Religion, because of the great number of them



them there: and as soon as she came thither, she presently set her *Italian* Artificers to work, to build a Citadell upon a neighbouring Hill, which commanded all the City. Her subtilty

A little before this, the plague began to be very hor, and now it had seized upon the Court it self, yet could not the *Queen Mother* be perswaded to remove her self and Children from the danger, till she had seen the foundations of the Castle laid. At last, making *Loffius* Governour of that City, a cruel and Barbarous man, and an implacable enemy to those of the Religion, and adjoyning to him some insolent Souldiers that might daily vex the godly Inhabitants, she departed. But this is very remarkable, that whithersoever she removed the Court, in Cities, Towns, Castles, &c. the plague still followed her, so that for three moneths together the King was in continuall danger, and was still forced to remove from place to place by reason of the infection. At last they came to *Baion*, where the *Queen Mother* met her Daughter the *Queen of Spain*, and Embassadors from the King, with whom she communicated her counsels. God follows her with the plague.

In the mean time the Marshall *Monmorancy*, whom the King had made Governour of *Paris* in his absence, had certain intelligence brought him that the *Guises* had imployed their Agents to the common people of *Paris*, to stir them up against those of the Religion in that City; He heard also that the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, intended suddainly to be there with a great number of armed attendants, though the King by several *Edicts* had commanded that none in their journeys should carry Harquebushes or Pistols about them. Therefore so soon as Monsieur *Monmorancy* heard that the Cardinall was entred *Paris* with his followers thus armed, he presently, taking his guard, went to them, commanding them to deliver up their Arms: This the Cardinall and his Nephew the young Duke of *Guises*, took as an intollerable affront to them; and were often heard to say, that that fact should cost *Monmorancy* his life. The Cardinall was very potent in this City, and could easily have raised sixty Thousand armed men to have slain the Governour; whereupon he resolved to call in some of his Friends to his aid, and in the first place he wrote to the Admirall to hasten to him who accompanied with three Hundred Horse, entred *Paris*, Jan. 22. which did so terrifie the multitude, especially the *Priests*, *Monks* and *Canons* of the great Church, that they began to think of flying thence. The *Guises* attempts against the Protestants.

The day after Monsieur *Monmorancy* sent for the Presidents of the Parliament, and the chief Magistrates of the City to come to his house, to whom he complained before the Admirall, of the audaciousnesse and factious counsels of the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, as also of the seditious speeches cast abroad in the City, as if the Admirall, taking advantage of the Kings absence at so great a distance, consulted about plundering that rich City; and therefore he thought fit to call the Admirall before them, that so he might clear himself from that aspersiion. Then said the Admirall, I have long since found out what my malicious and implacable Adversaries have aspersed me withall, as if I intended to seize upon this City, which is the Bullwark and Eye of *France*. But such counsels as these are fit for those that claim an interest (I know not how it comes in) the succession of the Kingdom, and contend to have certain Dukedomes and Countries restored to them. For my own part, I neither challenge any right to the Kingdom, nor to any part of it; which yet if I should do, I think there hath not been a Noble man in *France* these five Hundred years, which had the like opportunity to disturb the publique Peace as I. Ye remember after the Duke of *Guise* was slain, that I had the Constable Prisoner in *Orleans* and what a great occasion I had thereby of doing greater things if I would have embraced it: But on the contrary, I was never more earnest with the King and *Queen Mother* for peace, then at that time when our affairs prospered best. Who can be ignorant how solicitous and importunate

Lies raised of him.

His speech to the *Pharisiens*.

fortunate I was for peace at that very time when many potent and flourishing Cities had delivered up themselves into my Hands: and divers other great Cities, both of *Normandy* and *Britany* sought my favour and protection? Who knows not that after Peace was concluded, instead of begging Honours and Offices ambitiously of the King, which happily I might have obtained, I retired my self to my own house, and there even to this time have lived a quiet and private life? But omitting these things, and speaking to the present occasion; Being sent for by *Monmorancy*, I am come hither, not to disturb the peace of the City, or to innovate any thing, but rather to preserve peace against the audaciousness of some that would disturb it. It is not unknown unto you how much confidence those of the Religion do put in me. These being stirred up with new rumours, and terrified with the counsels and factions of the *Guises*, do daily flock to me; bring me intercepted Letters of the meetings of certain Captains, who command their old Souldiers to be ready in arms, that when they have occasion to use them they may be at hand. What needs more words? Letters are intercepted written into *Normandy*, the Originall whereof is sent to the Queen Mother, and I will shew you a copy of them; wherein amongst others there is this passage: *There is no readier means of restoring the Crown of France to those to whom it doth belong of old, than by rooting out the house of Valois, and by massacring all the Hugonots which are the chief upholders of it; for this end their woods are to be sold, that with the price thereof we may arm our selves and get money; and if the Hugonots sue for them, the businesse being once adjudged against them, they will never move for their charges of the suit.*

Now also what should I speak of the daily plunderings and murders? It's sufficiently known, that after the peace was published, more then five hundred of those of the Religion were basely murdered in severall places, and yet not one of the Murtherers were ever punished by the Magistrates; and they which have complained of these things to the King or Queen Mother; have carried away either only words, or some empty paper or parchment instead of satisfaction. Who knows not that in the City of *Turon* lately and openly, many of the Religion were cruelly Massacred, even under the Ensign, and by the Souldiers of him who was sent thither by the Duke of *Montpensier* to settle the peace? These things being so, yet I hear that there are many of your *Priests* who are so terrified by my coming hither, that they consult about leaving the City, and yet there is no place in all *France*, no City, Town or Castle where the *Priests* live, and attend their services with more freedom and safety, then in my Town of *Castelon*.

His speech  
to the Parli-  
ament.

The Admirall having ended his speech, the company was dismissed; and two daies after there came to *Monmorancy* about thirty Delegates from the *Parisian* Merchants, and with them the Bishop and divers *Priests*, to all whom the Admirall spake very Friendly, bidding them be of good cheer, and fear nothing: and within few daies after, going to the Court of Parliament, he made a speech to them, and told them, That nothing was more desirable to him than the Peace and welfare of the City, neither did he come to them with any other mind then to advance it; and therefore he exhorted them that they also would do their endeavours that the Citizens might behave themselves peaceably and quietly: and so shortly after he returned home.

New trea-  
chery a-  
gainst him.

At his return he was informed that there was one *Mainus*, who lived not far from him, a famous thief that was hired by the Duke of *Aumale*, the Brother of *Guise*, to lie in wait for him when he should ride forth on hunting; for which end he had given him an Hundred pieces of gold, and an excellent Horse: many also complained to the Admirall against him for his Thefts and Robberies; whereupon having gotten sufficient witnesses, he complained of



of him to the Parliament at *Paris*, and a few daies after having apprehended him, he caused him to be carried to *Paris*. But when he came before the Parliament, this villain accused the Admirall as if he had dealt with him about killing the Queen Mother, and had promised him a great reward for the same: The Parliament after examination, finding this to be but a Calumny and proving him guilty of many thefts, condemned him to be broken upon the wheel, which accordingly was effected.

The Tray-  
tor execu-  
ted.

Shortly after the Prince of *Conde* had a Son born, to whom the King would be God-father, but because he could not himself be present by reason of his Religion, he substituted the Admiral to supply his room, which business was celebrated with very great pomp; For at the Feast a Table was prepared as if it had been for the King himself, at which the Admirall sat alone, and was attended like a Viceroy, which every one interpreted as a pledge of the Kings singular love and favour to him.

The young  
Prince of  
*Conde* born  
and Christe-  
ned.  
The Admi-  
rall honou-  
red.

Not many daies after, news was brought that the Duke *de Alva* had, by the command of the King of *Spain* brought a great Army into the *Low-Coun-tries* to suppress and root out the Protestants, and this Army being to passe by the borders of *France*, the Admirall moved in the Kings Councel that *Burgundy* might be looked to; and lest any tumults might arise about the difference in Religion, he advised that a guard might rather be appointed of the *Swissers* then of the *French* men; and it was commonly reported that six Thousand *Swissers* should be ready to oppose the Duke *de Alva*, in case he attempted any thing against *Burgundy*. But a few daies after, the Prince of *Rupisurias*\*, of the Royall Blood, wrote to the Admirall to send him some trusty Person to whom he might communicate a secret which would much conduce to his safety: He also being a Friend to the Prince of *Conde*, by reason of their propinquity in Blood, told him that there was secret counsell taken at *Baion*, for the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion, and all the Professors of it, and for that end those six thousand *Swissers* were hired and brought into *France*, under pretence of opposing the Duke *de Alva*: The Admiral also was informed of the same by many Letters and Messengers from severall of his Friends.

New designs  
against the  
Protestants.  
\* *Rach-sur-  
yon*.

These things coming forth, first the Prince of *Conde*, and presently after him the Admirall went to the Court, and told the King, the Queen Mother and all the Councel, that they saw no sufficient reason why so many *Swissers* should be brought into *France*, except it were to oppress them, and many other honest Families which embraced the Reformed Religion: But they should find more that had devored themselves to that Religion than commonly was thought of, an experience whereof they had in the late Wars. They told them also, that if their Adversaries attempted any innovations, they would not be wanting to themselves, nor like sheep, would suffer their throats to be cut by Murtherers. They therefore earnestly intreat and beseech the Kings Majesty, that he would be moved to pity so many honest Families, and the afflicted condition of his Countrey, and of the common people who suffer most in such Warrs. But they could get nothing at Court but scoffs and scorns, whereby they perceived their lives to be in great danger, which caused them to withdraw, and to consult about the preservation of themselves and the Reformed Churches: And hereunto they were earnestly solicited by many of the Nobility, and by multitudes of honest Citizens, who complained that they could no longer bear the manifold injuries wherewith they were daily oppressed by the Magistrates in every place.

The Prince  
of *Conde* &  
Admiral  
complain to  
the King.

They are  
answered  
with scoffs

The second  
Civil VVar

These things being so, the Prince of *Conde* and the Admirall, knowing of how great Authority the Kings Name was through all *France*, which caused the *Guises* in the former Warres to get him into their power, communicating their counsels but with a few, they resolved to go privately to the Court, to see if by any means they could get the King away from the

Queen

Queen Mother, that so by removing him from his evil Counsellours, they might the better establish peace; But being betrayed by one of their Society, this design was wholly frustrated, whereby they were forced openly to prepare for War.

The Prince with five Hundred Horse went to *St. Denis*, where some others arriving, in few daies made up the number of two Thousand Horse, and four Thousand Shor, and the Prince, considering that the *Parisians* were not accustomed to fast, hoped that if he could take their victuals from them, he should either force them to fight, or draw his enemies to a more assured peace: Whereupon he sent *Andelot* with five Hundred Horse to *Poissy* and *Pontois*, to seize upon the passages of the *Seine* beneath *Paris*, and other Troops to seize upon such passages as were above the Town. Some others he sent to joyn with the Forces that were coming out of *Guienne*, himself and the Admirall with about eight Hundred Horse, and a Thousand two Hundred Harquebushiers, kept *St. Denis*, to curb *Paris* on that side. But the Constable, who was the Kings Lieutenant Generall, hearing that the Prince had thus divided his Forces, issued out of *Paris* with about a Thousand six hundred Foot, and two Thousand Lances, and well furnished with Artillery, and having chosen a commodious place for the Battell, the next day he gives the Prince Battell, wherein the Constable was wounded, of which he died within a few daies after.

A Battell.

The Admirall wonderfully preferred.

In this Battell the Admirall had wonderfull experience of Gods goodnesse in his preservation: For riding upon a very fierce and head strong Horse, the curb of his Bridle being broken, his Horse ran away with him, and carried him twice through his enemies Army, yet did not the Admirall receive any one wound, though many Pistols were discharged at him; But when as his Horse had one Bullet shot into him, he suffered himself to be easily reduced into his own Troop.

The Royalists routed.

In this Battell many fell on both sides, especially on the Prince of *Conde's*, yet was the Kings Army routed and driven into *Paris*, whereupon, the Prince and Admirall thought best to retreat into *Lorraine*, to meet those Horse which were sent for their assistance from divers of the *Germane* Princes: For they again thought fit to oppose Forreigners against Forreigners.

They joyn with the Germans.

In their march thitherwards they were eagerly pursued by their Adversaries, especially by *Henry Duke of Anjou*, the Kings Brother, afterwards King, first of *Poland*, then of *France*, who taking all advantages to presse upon their rear, put them to many inconveniencies.

The Admirals prudence.

When they came into *Lorraine* and met the *Germans*, who were commanded by Duke *Cassimire*, the Son of the Elector *Palatine*, they met with new troubles, for the *Germans* began to mutiny for their Arrears, and to cry *Gelt, gelt*, according to their usuall custom; But how to satisfie them, or to raise the least part of that Money, the Prince and Admirall knew not: Yet in this strait our Admirall found out this remedy: He advised that a certain Tax should be imposed upon every man in their own Army, according to the rank and place which he held: and for example, himself disbursed five Hundred Crowns; and the Treasurers going through all the Regiments, collected the Tribute: Besides whatsoever Monies the Prince, Admirall, *Andelot*, or others had, was all put into the Treasurers Hands: so that in all, they collected eighty Thousand pounds, which was given to the *Lanceknets*, by which prudent advice, of our Admirall they were extricated out of that great strait.

These Forces being thus united, their Adversaries hastily retired, and by long journeys returned to *Paris*, which the Duke of *Anjou* looked upon as a great dishonour to him.

Caen besieged by the Prince.

But the Prince of *Conde's* Army being much encouraged hereby, went presently and besieged *Caen*: and having battered the Walls, and made a sufficient breach, just as Monsieur *Andelot*, was ready with his Brigade to have



have given the assault, the Kings Trumpeters came upon the spur and proclaimed, that Peace was concluded, for the effecting whereof, Commissioners had been sent from both parties a few daies before to *Paris*, whereupon the siege was raised, and the Prince of *Conde* dismissed his Army. Peace concluded.

But some daies before this, word was brought to the Admirall, that his Wife, who together with her Children in the beginning of the War had betaken themselves to *Orleanse*, was taken with a violent disease; whereupon he presently posted to *Orleanse*, and sending for the best Physicians he could get, he performed the Office of a dear and loving Husband to her; yet it pleased God that she died. This was a very great affliction to him, and when many of his Friends came to comfort him, being overwhelmed with sighs and tears, he said, *Oh my God, wherein have I sinned and offended thee, that thou correctest me so bitterly, and loadest me with so many calamities! O that I could live more holily, and be more exemplary in my life then I have been! Most holy Father, look upon me with the eyes of tender mercy, and ease me of these pressures.* The Admirals Wife dieth.

Then being comforted by his Friends, he commanded his Children to be called to him, and told them, that by this loss of their dear Mother, they might see the instability of all earthly comforts, and that there was nothing here below which they could confide in; and that Houses and Castles, though never so strong, were not given them for habitations, but as Inns; and that therefore they ought not to trust in any of these frail and fading things, but only in the mercy, and goodnesse of God, and then they need not doubt but that they should find him alwaies ready at hand for their comfort; and so two daies after, calling Monsieur *Grelleus* his Sons Tutor, he told him, that he must needs return back to the Camp, where he knew not what might befall him, and therefore he required him to have a special care of his Sons, and as he had often requested him, to be carefull to bring them up in true Religion and the fear of God, as well as to instruct them in other Arts and Learning. His Wife had been alwaies very studious of the Reformed Religion, of an admirable courage and constancy in bearing the manifold afflictions which befell both her self and Husband; and amongst her other excellent qualities and vertues, she was alwaies very pitifull towards poor people and sick persons, to whom she was very liberall in relieving and assisting of them: and whereas many sick and wounded Souldiers were daily sent from the Camp to *Orleanse*, she frequently visited them, so that the Physicians judged her disease to proceed from the stench of them. His counsell to his Children.

Peace being proclaimed (as is before specified) in many places by the Kings Trumpeters, the Admirall had scarce been three daies at his own house before Letters and Messengers came to him from many of his Friends, signifying, that instead of peace, his enemies made great preparations for a more dangerous Warre; For they observed, that in every place such provision of War was made, that if the Prince of *Conde* himself, and the other associates did not timely prevent it, they would be circumvented by their cruel enemies, before they were aware; and this they gathered from the Garrisons put into *Orleanse*, *Alstifodore*, *Blesà*, and other Cities surrendered to them, as also by the Adversaries possessing themselves of all the Bridges and Passes over the Rivers, keeping the Horse together in the heart of *France*, and continuing two Regiments neer *Paris*, under a pretence of a guard for the King. His charge to Grelleus.

Our Admirall finding these things to be true, thought it most for his safety to retire into *Tantellian* to his Brother *Andelos*, and from thence he shortly after removed to *Nuceria*, a strong City under the Prince of *Conde's* Government, whither formerly upon the like occasion he had carried his Wife and Family. His VVives character.

A remarkable Providence.

In his passage thither there fell out this Memorable accident: Near to the Town of *Molinus* there is a great Lake in the passage to *Aliffodore*; when our Admirall came near it, there was in his company an old man called *Gripperius*, that had been a great traveller by sea, and one that loved the Admirall very dearly; This man observing a black cloud coming towards them carried with a violent wind, he called to the Admirall, desiring him to gallop to the next Town so fast as he could, lest he should be oppressed with the violence of the storm approaching; The Admirall hearkening to his counsell, spurred on his Horse, but before he had passed the narrow passages of the Lake, there suddainly came such a violent tempest, accompanied with a Whirlwind, that many Horses and men were quite overthrown, many were wounded with the great hailstones, and almost quite slain: The wind took off the Admirals hat, which afterwards could never be found, and one of his followers lent him his hat: But herein the great mercy of God did appear, that the Admirall scaped unhurt by the hail, only one hailstone hit and hurt him about the ankle; and had this storm taken him and his company a little sooner, whilst they were upon the Lakes Bank, in all probability it had made an utter end of them.

A Prediction.

The tempest being over, our Admirall comforted his attendants, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he said, *O Almighty God, I thank thee, from whom I know this storm proceeds, to warn us of the tempest of danger that is approaching, by which we shall be sorely pressed, but not oppressed.*

They send to the King

When they were met together at *Nuceria*, they sent divers Messengers with Letters to the King, signifying, that they had daily intelligence of the snares that were laid for their lives, and therefore they beseeched his Majesty to pity his Kingdom wasted already with two Civil Warres; and that he would not ruine his Kingdome, but rather by his clemency and wisdom quench that fire that is kindled by the *Guises*.

The third Civil War.

Our Admirall also wrote to *Margaret*, Daughter of King *Francis*, and now Dutchesse of *Savoy*, whom he believed to have great power with the Queen Mother, intreating her to improve all her Authority and interest for the diverting of the storm that was approaching to the ruine of her Native Countrey. But when he perceived that no arguments nor intreaty could prevail for peace, and understood that *Tavannius*, who was a little after made Marshall of the Kingdom, was secretly drawing his Forces towards *Nuceria*, there to compasse them in, he advised the Prince of *Conde* that they should presently depart from thence, and make all the hast that possibly they could to *Rochel*, which City by reason of their ancient priviledges, had never hitherto admitted of any Garrison. By the way, they were to passe over the River *Liger*, and in the train there was the Prince of *Conde's* Wife, and six little Children, whereof one was but a year old; and two daies after followed the Admiralls, and Monsieur *Andelots* Children, whom the Admirall had sent for to come to them: At which time this strange Providence fell out; When the Prince of *Conde* thought to transport his company in two or three little Ships privately over the River neer unto *Sancerra*, it pleased God that a Foard was found, whereby fifty Horsemen that were of the Princes train rode over, and in the mean time the Ladies, Women and Children were ferried over in Boats, and no sooner were they gotten all over, but, though the day was fair, the River suddainly rose so high, that the Inhabitants of *Sancerra* took notice of the wonderfull Providence of God, praying heartily for the safety and welfare of those little ones who had escaped such a danger.

A special providence.

The King hearing of this their going to *Rochel*, by the advice of his Courtiers, presently commanded all his Horse, especially those that were in the Countries of *Xantone* and *Poitiers*, to hasten to *Rochel*. He sent also his Brother *Henry*, the Duke of *Anjou*, to raise all the Forces he could, and presently



sently to march thitherwards. In the mean time those of the Religion, who relying upon the Kings promise and Proclamation of peace, staid in their own Cities, were every where basely murdered.

The Protestants basely murdered.

About this time *Joane* Queen of *Navarr*, who in the former troubles had kept her own house, abhorring such abominable treachery and perfidiousnesse after peace so often renewed, getting what Forces she could together, advanced with them to *Rochel*, carrying with her, her Son *Henry*, who after her death was King of *Navarr*, and her only Daughter.

The Queen of Navarr assists them.

These things being thus settled, the Admirall drew some great Guns out of *Rochel*, intending to besiege *Niort*, and within a few daies had it surrendered to him. Then he led his Forces to *Engolisme*, which stands upon an high and steep hill, having only one passage to it, and therefore the enemies had a little before strongly fortified it, but the Admirall planting his Ordinance on that side where it was futable, within a few daies space had it surrendered to him.

Niort taken. Engolisme besieged.

Presently after the Van of each Army met at *Fasenullius*, and fought together, the Admirall commanded that of the Protestants, who charged the enemy so Gallantly, that they were presently broken, and scattered, flying to *Lusignan* for safety, leaving all their bag and baggage behind them, so that the Booty which the Admirall gat, was estimated to be more worth then fifty Thousand Crowns. Two daies after they intercepted Letters from *Fizius*, the Kings Secretary, to the Queen Mother, much bewailing that losse.

A Battell. The Royalists beaten.

Presently after the Admirall going to the Town of *Jarnac*, fell into great danger, and without a speciall providence had become a prey to his enemies. For the enemy understanding that he purposed to transport his Forces over the River in that place by a Bridge of Boats, they secretly laid an Ambush on the other side, and observing the Admirall where he was, they let fly all their Harquebushes at him, and others endeavoured to break the Bridge; of the Admirals side there was one Harquebushier that had often shot at the enemies, and at last was by a bullet slain, whereupon twelve more ran to his aid, so that a tumult arising, the Admirall ran with his naked Sword, not having time to put on his arms, and endeavoured to cut in sunder the cords wherewith the Boats were fastened; all which time the enemies ceased not continually to shoot at him, yet God wonderfully preserved him; and from that time forwards he resolved never to be without a Life-guard for his assistance in such suddain accidents.

A special providence.

The Admirals danger.

Two days after, the enemies having passed over the River *Charenton*, the Prince of *Conde* feared lest they would compass him about; having lately joyned to them three Thousand German horse, and six Thousand *Swissers*, yet being of a very resolute and couragious mind, he resolved to stop their course; yet withall, if possible, to avoid a set Battell. In the mean time word was brought to the Admirall, that some of his Forces which were quartered in a neighbour village, were circumvented by their enemies, and yet valiantly defended themselves; our Admirall hastened therefore upon the spur to their succour with some Horse, whom as soon as the enemies espied, they compassed round about, which being told to the Prince of *Conde*, being more valiant then advised, he brake into the midst of them, where being oppressed with the multitude, and his Horse killed under him, which also fell upon him, he lifting up his Bbeaver, rendred himself to some of the Kings Captains, who gave him their faith for his safety; But presently after came *Montisquius*, Captain of the Duke of *Guise* his guard, not without the secret command of his Master (as it was believed) and setting upon *Conde* behinde his back, as he was talking with the Captains, dispatched him with a dagg shot into his neck. He was a Prince inferiour to none that lived in that age for courage and courtesie; He was eloquent in speech, liberall, affable to all; and a most excellent Commander in Warre. After his death his Body was basely abused, and at the last in scorn laid upon a Shee-Asse, and carried to *Jernac*.

His valour.

Prince of Conde basely slain.

His Character.

The Admirall being exceeding grieved with this great losse, and suspecting the issue, made a retreat, together with his Brother *Andelot*, into the Town of *St. Jan de Angeli*; and whereas he might have revenged the indignities done to the Body of the Prince, by shewing the like to the Bodies of many of his great Adversaries whom he had slain, yet he would not do it, but afforded them decent buriall, which thing he also did during all the time of the Warres.

The Prince  
of *Navarr*  
in his room.

The Admirals  
piety.

His Authority  
to take  
up Arms.

The Queen of *Navarr* being at *Rochell*, and hearing of this great losse, hastened to the Camp, comforted the Captains, and exhorted all the Souldiers not to be disheartned, nor to forget their former valour, telling them that she had brought her only Son *Henry*, that was to succeed her in the Kingdom, to be their General, professing that she preferred the safety of the Army before the life of her Son. To him was also *Henry* Prince of *Conde*, Brother to *Lewis* that was lately slain, adjoynd in this honour; But the whole care for managing the Warre, by the joynt consent of all the Commanders and Officers, was wholly divolved upon the Admirall, none having the like credit or authority amongst those of the Religion as he: For it was well known, that, besides his singular skill in military affairs, his justice and temperance, there was none amongst all the Peers of *France* that had so openly embraced and professed the Religion as he. He was the first that reformed his Family according to the Rule of Gods Word: He was the man that presumed to prefer their Petition to King *Francis* the second, that was nearly allied to the *Guises* by affinity. He gave the first example to the Nobility of *France* of Piety, who were grown extream loose by reason of the dissolutenesse of the Court: And after he had once embraced the Reformed Religion, he never gave the least occasion of scandall to the Churches. And whereas many Delegates repaired often to him from the Churches, he always gave them wholsome and prudent counsel. He first took up Arms, not to fight against the King, as some misreported, but at the request and Prayers of the Queen Mother: Neither yet did he it, either by his own private counsell, or of the Queen Mother, but by the Authority of the Parliament of *Orleanse*, the King being not yet twelve years old: As also after the Kings *Edit* for Peace, established and promulgated by the advice and consent of all the States of *France*, because it was so notoriously violated by the *Guises*, to the utter undoing of many honest Families, and almost the ruine of many flourishing Cities, and to the losse of the lives of many famous Captains, to the great prejudice of the whole Kingdom, and to the oppression of many flourishing Churches dispersed almost in every Town of *France*. By all which that poor Kingdom was laid open to be a prey to any forreign Prince that should invade it.

*Andelot's*  
death.

After these things a grievous affliction befell the Admirall by the death of his Brother *Andelot*, who in the City of *Xantone* died of a violent disease suddainly, not without suspicion of poison; and the rather, because it was a usuall saying of *Biraguus*, shortly after made Chancellour, That the War was not to be finished with so much hazard by Armed men, but rather by Cooks and Kitchen Boyes.

Upon his occasion the Admirall wrote a Letter to his own and his Brother *Andelot's* sons, who were with their Tutor at *Rochel*, for comforting of them, the tenour whereof was this:

The Admirals  
Letter  
to his Sons  
and Ne-  
phews.

*Although I believe that the death of my Brother Andelot is very grievous unto you, yet I thought fit to admonish you that you have great cause to rejoyce that you had so good a Father and Uncle, of whom I dare affirm that he was truly Religious and eminent for his valour and skill in military affairs, the remembrance of which vertues ought to be dear unto you, that as much as may be, you may be imitators of them; yea I believe I may boldly affirm this of him, that there is none in all France more skilfull in warlike affairs then was he; and I doubt*



not but even forraign Nations will subscribe to the truth hercof, especially those which have had experience of his vertues; and this credit he got to himself, not by idleness and sluggishness, but by undergoing the greatest labours for his Countries sake. Truly I knew no man that was more devout to God-ward, nor more just to men than he. Neither am I ignorant that it were unfit for me thus to boast of him to strangers; but I mention them more freely to you, because I would have you to be imitators of his vertues; For I even propose him for my own imitation; and I pray God from my heart, that when I come to dye, I may with the like piety and assurance resign up my spirit to God, as I saw him to do. And that my grief for him may be the more extenuated, I earnestly desire that I may see his graces and vertues to live in you: Which that it may be so, I exhort you with all your hearts to embrace Piety and true Religion, and wholly to apply your selves to your Books, that thereby you may (through Gods grace) be led the way of vertue: and though I willingly allow you to recreate your selves in those houres which your Master allots you, yet I charge you take heed that in your play you neither speak nor do any thing whereby you may offend God: Be very carefull to reverence your Master, and obey him no otherwise than you would obey me; for I am perswaded that he will give you no other counsel than what may be for your honour and profit. In short, see that you love me, or rather that you love your selves, so that I may hear nothing of you but what I may rejoyce in; and as you grow in years and body, so you may grow in Piety and Vertue. The Lord bleß you all, and the holy Spirit preserve you for ever. From Xantone, May 18. 1569: Castellonius.

The courage and magnanimity of our Admirall did exceedingly appear in this; For that, though he had lost such a Brother as was second to none in Piety, Justice, Vertue, and the glory of his military actions, insomuch that the Admirall called him his right arm; and yet he told his Friends often, that he wholly relied upon the divine providence, and knew assuredly that the Church of God was not administred by humane counsels, nor this Christian Army, led by the providence and valour of its Commanders, but by God: Ade speaking concerning his Brother to his Friends, he brake out into this expression, *O blessed Anselot, who hast finished the course of thy life so holily and happily!*

His faith.

About this time news was brought him that *Wolfgang*, Duke of *Bipant*, had brought a strong Army out of *Germany* into *France*, for the aid of the Protestants, and that he had already passed the *Loir*, and had taken *Charisy*, where was a Bridge over that River; and when he understood that they were advanced as farre as *Chalons*, he intended to joyn his Forces with them, and that very day on which he came to them, Duke *Wolfgang* died of a violent disease; whereupon the German Army unanimously chose *Wolradus*, Count *Mansfield*, to be their Generall. This conjunction of theirs, exceedingly troubled their Adversaries, and every one deemed that the Kings Army would not be able to stand before them, but that the Courtiers would hereby be brought to stoop to them. Yea all good Patriots that studied the publique Peace, did abominate the perfidious Authors of these Wars, publicly saying, that God never suffered such perjury to escape long unpunished; and it was verily believed, that if the Admirall had led this gallant Army strait to *Paris*, many great Cities would willingly have yielded and put themselves into the Admiralls protection: Which opinion was much confirmed hereby, for that the Duke of *Anjou* pitching his tents near to them, and adventuring a Battell, he was easily overthrown, most of his foot being either strain or taken, together with their Commander in chief, *Strossius*, cosen German to the Queen Mother.

The Germans Ade the Protestants.

The Admirall having so prave an Army, hoping that now at last the Kings heart would be inclined to Peace, he sent an humble supplication to him (the Duke

The Royals beaten.

The Admirall sends to the King for peace.

Duke of *Anjou* not suffering him to send Ambassadors) in his own and the Armies name, intreating and beseeching him no longer to harden his heart, but to pity the afflicted condition of the common people, and also to consider, that if the Warre should be protracted, it would turn to the great prejudice of all the States of *France*; there being twenty Thousand Auxiliary Souldiers of both parts; and that things were brought to this passe, that by these Civil Warres mens minds were so farre from union and love to their Countrey, that every one sought the Blood, ruine and destruction each of other. They therefore humbly intreated, that he would spare his poor Subjects that had so long groaned under these heavy pressures, and that he would no longer be led away by the Cardinals and *Italians*, who had too much power over him, and could not have the like fellow-feeling of the miseries of *France* as the *French* men themselves. They suggested also, that this was the fittest time for a Treaty, when both parties were so confident of their own strength; and that the conditions which he and his Army would propose were very easie, viz. That they might enjoy that Peace and Liberty for the exercise of their Religion, which was often confirmed to them by the Decrees of all the States, and by the Kings own Proclamations; That it was extream madnesse in those *Italians* and strangers; to think that those of the Religion, whereof they were at least two hundred thousand men, could so easily be rooted out, the truth whereof the experience of the former Warres might easily demonstrate.

The Duke of *Anjou* having received that disgrace which we spake of before, by the advice of his Council dismissed a great part of his Army, especially of his Horse, for a moneth or two, bidding them go home and refresh their Bodys.

Things standing thus, the Admirall called a Council, wherein it was determined, That seeing *Rochel* and divers other Maritime Cities and places were wholly in the power of the Protestants, That therefore they should take care for the fortifying of them, and then should attempt the taking in of the City of *Poitiers*, which would be as a Bulwark to all that Countrey; But to this there seemed a main impediment, which was, the taking in of the Castle of *Lusiniac*, the strongest piece in all *France*: yet after they had besieged it a few daies, it was surrendered to them; and so also was *Castelherant* about the same time. Then they proceeded to besiege and batter *Poitiers*, but within a few daies, the Admirall being quite tired with watchings and labours, fell sick of a Flux, which held him so violently for thirty daies together, that he could neither assist them with his Counsels nor presence; so that by this means the City was relieved with much provision, and three Hundred fresh Souldiers, which encouraged them to make divers sallies: The King also wrote to them to hold out, promising speedy aid, which animated them valiantly to defend themselves. But it was evident, that if the Lord had not laid that affliction upon the Admirall, the City had been theirs.

About this time there was one of the Admirals Servants called *Dominicus Albio*, who having been taken prisoner by the Kings party, and stayed some moneths with them, returned to his Master, where after a while he was suspected by reason of some words that fell from him, and therefore being strictly examined, he brought forth a box of poyson which one *Riverius*, a chief man about the Duke of *Anjou*, had given him; together with one of his Secretaries, both of them promising him two Thousand Crowns if he would poyson his Master. Upon this his confession he was condemned to death; and though some would have had him tormented, yet the Admirall caused him only to be hanged, for the terrour of others.

*Lusiniac*  
surrendered.

*Poitiers* be-  
sieged.

The Admi-  
rals sickness

Treachery  
against the  
Admiral.

The Traitor  
executed.

The



The Admirall being not yet fully recovered of his Disease, news was brought him that *Castelheraut*, being about seven miles off, was besieged by the enemies; whereupon in his Horselitter, he presently advanced thitherward, and having relieved the place with fresh men he easily raised the siege, and drave away his enemies, killed many, especially of the *Italians*, neither gave he over the pursuit till they had passed the River, which for the depth of it is called *Creusa*. In the mean time the young Duke of *Guise*, who was Governour of *Poitiers*, in the night time removed out of the City with a great company, putting a fresh Garrison into it, and the Duke of *Anjou* having recruited his Army with many *French*, *Germans* and *Swissers*, came to *Chinon*; whereas the Admiralls Army was tired out with the long siege of *Poitiers*, and much wasted with want of provision, and with great tempests; and of those which remained there were very many sick, especially of the *Germans*; and most of those of *Xantone* were gone home to refresh themselves. Many also were gone to *La Charity*, and *Sancerre*, which were in the Protestants hands: For which causes the Admirall judging it best to protract time, restrained the eager mindes of his Souldiers from fighting; yet both Captains and common Souldiers would not be satisfied, threatening to go home and provide for their own safety if he would not fight. They also judged it farre more fit to fight there in their own Countrey, where they might be supplied with necessaries, than in their enemies; especially considering that they had divers strong Towns in *Aquitaine*, the *Delphinat* and *Leige*, into which they might retreat, and from whence they might make excursions for the depopulating of their enemies Countreys. The *Germans* also cried out, that having wanted their pay for divers moneths, it were better for them to fight, then to be so long from their own Countrey and relations.

The Royallists beaten.

Thus it being resolved that they should come to a Battell, both Armies advanced to *Monconture*, striving which should possesse the place; and the Van being led by the Admirall, was suddainly set upon by the enemy; The Admirall seeking for his Armour-bearer, could not find him, yet unarmed as he was, he rushed into the midst of his enemies; Count *Mansfelt* seconded him, so that they forced them to give ground: Hard by, there was a rivolet which the enemies contended earnestly to passe over; whereupon the Admirall taking some Harquebushiers with him, hastened to the Rivers-bank to oppose them, where he continued all that evening; in the mean time, the enemy continually shot at him both with great and small shot, who if they could have gotten the passage, might have brought great detriment to the Army; For the enemies exceeded the Protestant Army by a third part, besides they were fresh and in good plight, the other were weary and harrassed out; But this help them only for two daies space, for on the third day, six Hundred *Germans* set upon the Admirall, who had only two Hundred *French* horse with him, and in the fight, the Admirall being often shot at, at last received a wound on his face by the right side of his nose, the bullet piercing into his mouth, which wound bled so fast that he could not spit out the Blood: His sword also by many blows fell out of his hand, and the buckles of his Breast-plate were so broken that it hung by very little: But in this extremity, by the assistance and faithfull help of one *Florinerius* a young *Norman*, whom he had brought up from a Child in his Family, he was rescued and conveyed out of the crowd, and his Forces being overthrown, he was by his Friends conveyed to *Parthenay*. Here we might wonder at his constancy and Magnanimity: For whereas in this great calamity most men gave way to despondency, he laboured to comfort and confirm each of them; He also caused his Secretaries presently to write into all the parts of *France* to the Protestants that were in arms, not to be discouraged, or to think that he had received so great a blow which might not be repaired within a few daies.

The Admirall forced to fight.

His policy.

A special providence.

He is wounded.

His Army overthrown.

His courage.

The

He is condemned by the Parliament of Paris.

His house plundered.

His contentation.

His justice.

His Letter to his Sons and Nephew.

The very next day he removed to *Niort*, where, having settled his affairs, he went into *Xantone*, and there stayed seven daies for the cure of his wound, which could not be perfectly healed in lesse then twenty five daies space. Being thus tossed up and down with various afflictions, word was brought him that the Parliament of *Paris*, September 13. 1569. had made a Decree, wherein they had declared him guilty of Treason, and had proposed a reward of fifty Thousand Crowns to any one that would bring him alive to the King. At the same time he had intelligence that one *Martinegus*, an *Italian*, banished his own Countrey for treason, being made by the King, Commander of some Troops of Horse, had begun at *Castellion*, and surprized his Castle, and plundered it of all his rich Furniture which for divers ages had remained there, the value whereof was not lesse worth then one Hundred Thousand Crowns, besides he had so burned the whole Town adjoyning to the Castle, that there was scarce any footsteps remaining of it; which sad tidings were so farre from causing any dejectednesse in him, or disfitting him for his employments, that he did not so much as shew the least change in his countenance: And when as his Friends and kindred flocked to him to comfort him, he told them, *That through Gods grace, he had this frame of spirit given him, that for those things which are usually called Goods, he possessed them, and not they him; and that his Fortunes were subjected to him, not he to them.* And whereas in those Civil Warres, Princes, Peers, Nobles, Knights, Horsemen and Footmen had large allowances from the King, whereby they maintained themselves, he on the contrary was alwaies carefull to discharge his quarters, both for himself and Family, whereby he contracted great debts, taking up money upon use to enable him to it; yea he pawned his very Wives Jewels, Bracelets, Rings, and other rich furniture, thereby to furnish himself with money; by which means he did so weaken his estate, that in the end of this third Civil Warre, he was forced in a Council of the Princes; to move for some allowance wherewith to sustain his Family.

About this time he wrote another Letter to his Sons, and the Sons of his Brother *Andelot*, who were still at *Rochel*, under the same Tutor, the tenour whereof was this:

*Truly it would be very gratefull unto me if I had opportunity to see you, and to speak face to face: but seeing I am deprived of that happiness, I thought fit by this Epistle to admonish you alwaies to set Piety and the fear of God before your faces, especially at this time, when you find by experience that there is no trusting to those things which are called Goods. Our hope must be placed elsewhere then in this world, and other things must be sought after then those which we see with our eyes, and handle with our hands: but because to do that is not in our own powers, we must earnestly pray unto God that he would lead us in that way which is most sure and safe; neither yet must you expect that that way will prove pleasant and delicate, and abounding with worldly felicity: For Christ himself, who hath gone before us, and is our Captain and Ensign-bearer, must be imitated by us. Men indeed have dispoiled us of those things which are fading and transitory, but if we be willing and carefull to submit to the will of God, we shall be happy, and it shall be well with us at the last; for those men have wronged you, not for any injury you ever did them, but out of a hatred against me, which also proceeds from hence, because the Lord is pleased to honour me by being an Instrument of assisting his afflicted Church; and therefore if for this cause we suffer losse and inconveniences, we have no reason to grieve for it, but rather to assure our selves that he will give us such a reward as men shall not be able to take from us. I have many other things to write to you of if I had leasure; but for the present I have said enough, if I may admonish and request you for Gods sake, that you go on valiantly in the study of vertue, and that in all your words and actions you shew an abhorrency of*  
all



all vices; be obedient to your Master, and your other Governours, that though I seldom see you, yet I may hear that you increase in Piety and good Manners: To conclude, I pray, if it be the will of God, that whatsoever further befalls us, either in our estates or persons, we may have it sanctified to us for our spiritual good; and I heartily pray to God that he will be a refuge and help unto you, and a defence in this your minority; Fare you well. From Xantone, Octob. 16. 1568. Castellonius.

The Admirall and all the Commanders of his Army having often consulted about their future proceedings, resolved to strengthen all their Garrisons, and so with their light Horse to go into *Tholouse*, where they of the Religion held *Montalban*, a place very strong both by Nature and Art, who also had gotten together a good sum of money for paying the German Auxiliaries: Besides, they hoped by passing over the two Rivers of *Garone* and *Lotter*, to joyn to themselves those forces which were under the command of *Mongomry*, a man of great authority by reason of his skill and experience in military affairs, who also had lately by the assistance of his forces quieted *Berne*, that belonged to the Prince of *Navary*.

This journey, by reason of the roughnesse of the way proved very difficult and painful, especially considering that the enemies had Garrisoned all the Cities, and broken down all the Bridges where they were to passe; yet at length with much difficulty they came to *Montalban*, from whence the Admirall sent to the King and Queen-mother in his own, and in the names of all that were with him, humbly intreating them, that they would not suffer so many valiant and gallant men as were in both Armies, mutually to shed the Blood each of other; but that rather out of their Clemency they would put an end to those mischiefs; that the contrary was the counsell of some Cardinals and Bishops that never came into the field to try the miseries of Warre; or else of certain *Italians* that rejoyced in the ruines of *France*; and that it was extream madnesse to suppose that two Hundred Thousand Protestants, to whom so many of the Nobility had joyned themselves, could so easily be suppressed and destroyed. Besides also, it could not be but in those Warres many *Papists* must be great sufferers as well as the Protestants; some in their persons, and others in their estates and Families. That the speeches of the Courtiers were unworthy the Kings Majesty, who used commonly to say, That the King would not spare his *Popish* Subjects, so he might destroy his Adversaries: For it was the voice of a Tyrant, not of a King, to say, *Pereant amici, dum una inimici intercidant*; Let my Friends perish whilst mine enemies fall together with them: That the conditions of Peace were easie, viz. That the Decrees made by the States of *Orleanse*, and the *Edicts* of *Paris* might be renewed and established, whereby the Protestants were allowed certain places for publique Worship.

These Messengers being dispatched away, they presently resolved to passe the River *Oaronna*, which was between theirs and *Mongomries* forces, but the passage seemed very difficult by reason of the breadth, depth, and swiftnesse of the River; whereupon the Admirall resolved to take in the Town of *Marian*, which stands upon the Rivers bank, which he also did, and *Mongomry* coming to the other bank, the Admirall intended to make a Bridge, which also with admirable art and industry he effected, and so in two daies space passed the German horse over it: But the night after, a Ship coming swiftly along the stream, brake down the Bridge, so that they were forced to make a new one of Boats, whereby *Mongomries* Army came over safe to them, and the German Horse also which brought up his rear, and so having stayed there two daies for the refreshing of his men, he led his Army to *Tholouse*, and took in all the neighbouring Towns, either by storm or surrender, though he had only two great Guns in his Train, which he brought with him from *Montal-*

They send  
to the King  
for Peace.

A Tyranni-  
cal speech.

*ban.* And the Protestant Army was the more incensed against them of *Tboloufe*, because (say they) they have been violent to burn them of our Religion: They beheaded Captain *Rapin* who carried them the *Edict* of Peace from the King; They have also committed many other insolencies which now cry for vengeance, and God hath put an opportunity into our hands, which we must not neglect, &c.

Having dispatched these things, he resolved to march to *Vivaret*, and to the bank of *Rhodanus*, and understanding that some were up in Arms for him in the *Delphinat*, who also had taking some Towns, he sent part of his forces to them, to assist them in taking in some Cities of greater consequence, committing the government of them to Count *Lodwick* of *Nassaw*, who arriving in the *Delphinat*, struck such a terrour into the Inhabitants as caused them to fly into the Cities; But he having no Guns for battery, only wasted the enemies Countrey, and so with honour returned within few daies to the Admirall.

The Admirall falls sick

Shortly after the Admirall, worn out with cares, watchings, and incessant labours, fell sick; and though he was greatly afflicted with his disease, yet conceiving that was of great concernment for him to get to the River *Liger*, he made no stay, but in his Horse-litter marched with his Army thitherward; For he was informed that about *La Charity* and *Sancerra*, there were about two hundred risen in Arms for him, whom he thought to be of great concernment to adjoyn to his Army, the rather because *Cosseus*, Marshall of the Kingdome, after the Battell in *Xantone*, by the King made Generall of the Army in the room of the Duke of *Anjou*, as he understood, advanced with his Army that way, and began to approach near him: And whereas there came a Trumpet from him to the Admirall about exchange of Prisoners, the Admirall sent him word by his Trumpet, that he should not need to be at so much pains to seek him, for that he himself was hastening towards him, so fast as he could.

Ambassadors from the King.

When he was advanced so far as the Forrest, behold new Ambassadors met him from the King about a Peace; For when the Courtiers heard that the Admirall, whom they thought to be utterly broken by his former overthrow, had in so short a time gotten so gallant an Army together again, they were extremely terrified, lest he should march directly towards *Paris*, and there should plunder and destroy the brave Countrey Houses of the Courtiers, Senators, and rich Citizens of *Paris*, the like whereunto they had heard that the Senators and Citizens of *Tboloufe* had already felt.

The great esteem of the Admirall.

The Admirall by his march (though in his Horse-litter) had his disease much increased upon him, and the Physicians gave their judgement, that if he continued still to be pressed with so great cares, and multiplicity of businesses, he could not hold out long; whereupon the Treaty with the Kings Ambassadors brake off for a time: but some Nobles that were aweary of the Warres, complained that there was no reason that the Treaty should cease, because the Admirall could not be present at it, affirming, that though he should die, yet there were men enough of honour and interest that could carry on the Treaty, to the establishing of Peace. The Ambassadors answered them, *We wonder that you do not consider of how great authority the Admirall is amongst you, who if he should die to day, we would not offer to any of you to morrow, so much as a cup of cold water. What? do you not yet know that the only name of the Admirall can prevail more for you, than a great Army without him?*

The Treaty goes on.

Within a few daies the Admirall being refreshed, and in a good measure recovered, the Treaty began again, and at last it was concluded, That certain Commissioners should go along with the Kings Ambassadors, to signify to his Majesty in the name of them all, That they of the Religion desired nothing



thing more then Peace, neither was any thing more grievous to them then Warre, yet was there none of them but would undergo greater miseries, yea and death it self, rather then to deny the truth which they had embraced: That if the King pleased to grant them Peace, and the exercise of their Religion upon the former conditions, and to put some cautionary Towns into their power for their security, they would willingly, and for ever lay down their Arms.

These Messengers being dispatched, the Admirall advanced forward, and in his way took in the Town of *Reneducium*, to which some of the *Vancurrers* of *Cossaw* were come, and from that day forwards there was no day passed without some skirmishes between the two Armies, and one day the minds of the Souldiers on both parts were so far inflamed, that it had near come to a generall Battell, there being only a little Brook between the two Armies, Monsieur *Mongomry* having already broken the first Battell of the Adversaries, wherein were *Valetius* and *Vasco*, men of great authority amongst the Royalists. But presently came new Messengers from the King, desiring a Cessation from Armstill the Treaty was finished; And after great debate an *Edict* was sent from the King, by which certain places were allotted to the Protestants for the exercise of their Religion in, for the performance whereof they had for two years four cautionary Towns put into their hands, viz. *Rochel*, *Montalban*, *Cognac*, and *Charity*: and the Kings Proclamations hereof were sent all over the Kingdome; and so an end was put to the third Civil Warres.

Peace concluded.

The Admirall bringing the *German* Forces to the borders of their Countrey, dismissed them courteously, and so taking the two young Princes of *Navarr* and *Conde*, he went with them to *Rochel*, where the Queen of *Navarr* was, purposing to stay there till the Peace was fully settled in every place: and after a few Moneths, trusting to the Kings promises, and to the oaths of the Kings Brethren, and Parliaments, having been tired out with so many and great labours, he betook himself to rest; and at the intreaties and perswasions of his Friends, inclined to dispose of himself again in Marriage, the rather because he was earnestly solicited thereto by the kindred of *Jacoba Monbella*, the widow of the Lord *Anthony Monbell*, who was Daughter of Count *Intermontanus*, of whose modesty, piety, and holy life he had heard much formerly. She therefore being brought honourably to him to *Rochel*, he solemnly married her; and not long after he disposed his own Daughter [*Ludovica*] in Marriage to Monsieur *Teligni*, a young man of great Nobility and vertue. Of all the Nobility of *France* none seemed more acceptable and dearer to the King then this *Teligni*, by reason of his Admirall ingenuity; and therefore being much about the King, it was he that did afterwards perswade the Admirall of the great esteem and hearty good will of the King towards him.

The Admirals second marriage. He marries his Daughter to Teligni.

But God quickly mixed sorrow with the joy of these Marriages, news being brought about that time, of the death of *Odet Coligni* Cardinall of *Chastillon*, who had been some time in the Court of *England*, as the Procurator for the cause of the Protestants with Queen *Elizabeth*, who much favoured him for the amplitude of his Family, and the opinion of his vertue and integrity. But the Protestants affairs being composd in *France*, his Brother *Gasper* sent for him: Whereupon, coming to Queen *Elizabeth*, he obtained leave for his departure; but being taken with a suddain disease, he died Feb. 14. 1571. not without the suspicion of poyson, and was buried at *Canterbury*, being about fifty years old. He was a man of rare courage, candor and faithfulness, of a sharp judgement, so that few were to be compared with him in managing great affairs. *Guillin* his Chamberlain poysoned him with an Apple, at the instigation of the Queen-Mother, as he confessed at the time of his death, when afterwards he was taken as a Spy at *Rochel*, for which he was hanged.

Odet Coligni's death in England.

The marriage of the Duke of Guise.

His character.

Popish cruelties.

The Kings dissimulation.

The Kings dissimulation with the Admirall.

Royal dissimulation.

The Admirals entertainment at Court.

The malice of the Duke of Guise.

But all this while the Duke of *Anjou* was a great enemy to the Protestants, and boasted every where of his Victories against them, yet the King did what he could to perswade the Queen of *Navarr* and the Admirall of his great good will towards them, that they might be induced the more to confide in him. Notwithstanding which the *Papists* in some places made slaughters of the Protestants. As in *Orange*, whither all the Inhabitants returned, who had been driven away in the time of the late Warres, the *Popish* Souldiers made an assault upon them, and slew them without regard of age or sex. Also in *Roan*, and other places they were slain in great numbers by the *Popish* Rabble. Whereupon the Queen of *Navarr*, the Princes and other Protestant Nobles sent to the King to complain of the violation of the *Edict*, and to require satisfaction for the same. The King entertained them kindly, protested that these things were done to his great grief, and that he would so punish the Authors of these mischiefs, as should be for the terrour of others.

Not long after, viz. *Anno Christi* 1571. the King wrote very flattering Letters to the Admirall, giving him very honourable tearmes, inviting him to his Court at *Bles*, intreating him, that he would be an instrument of concluding a Marriage between *Henry* Prince of *Navarr*, and his Sister *Margaret*; and to prevail the more with him, he sent him word by his Messengers, that no surer way could be found out for establishing the publique Peace of the Kingdome, and for uniting all sorts of persons, than by this Marriage.

And the better to delude him, the *Guises* seemed to be every day to lesse welcome to him, than other, and *Monmorency* (the Admiralls Sisters Son) was used very familiarly by the King, who often protested to him his good will towards the Admirall, communicated to him the counsels of his greatest affairs, for the managing whereof he told him, that he had need of the Admirall for to be his Captain and Minister. The Queen-Mother also, according to her manner, protested that she liked nothing better than that a certain Peace should be confirmed upon equal conditions, the Memory of former matters being blotted out.

By these means the Admirall was drawn to the Court, where he was entertained extraordinary lovingly, even beyond expectation; so that when he fell down on his knees to do Reverence, the King took him up, calling him his Father, saying often and openly, that a more desired day never shone unto him than that, wherein he saw an end put to the Warre, and a firm Peace settled in the whole Kingdome by his presence; adding, with a smiling countenance, *Now we have you with us, you shall never depart from our side hereafter.* He was intertained with the same serenity of countenance by the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, but especially by the Duke of *Alanson*, who much favoured him. The King also seconded his words with deeds, causing one Hundred Thousand Crowns to be paid him out of his Treasury for his private losses in the last Warres; He gave him also the Revenues of the Cardinall his Brother, which were very great, for one year, and also the furniture and household stuff of the said Cardinall.

A few days after the Admirals return from the Court, the young Duke of *Guise*, by the instigation of the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, his Uncle, would have put in a new complaint against the Admiral for the death of his Father, but the King interposing his Authority, drew up a form of agreement which he made both of them to set their Seals to, and to take their Oaths for the keeping of it; notwithstanding which, the Duke of *Guise* shortly after entered *Paris*, accompanied with many armed men, which the Admiral hearing of, being then at his House at *Castellion*, he moved the King by his Son-in-law Monsieur *Teligni*, that he might have leave to keep a small Guard for his own safety: Whereupon the King wrote to him with his own hand, and sent



sent his Letter by *Bricmald*, a man of great esteem for his Vertue; the Tenour whereof was this.

"That it was most acceptable to him that the Admirall should be exceeding cautious and carefull of his own safety, and therefore he gave him power to fortifie his Castle, and to raise as great a Guard as he pleased, desiring him to be confident without doubting of his good will towards him; and that he would be as carefull of his safety, as a Father of his Childes. These Letters with many such like expressions of love being written with the Kings own hand, many read with great delight, and were now thoroughly perswaded that they ought no longer to doubt of the Kings good will and sincere affections to the Admirall.

The Kings  
dissembling  
Letter.

Hereupon Count *Lodwick* of *Nassaw* (whom we mentioned before) thinking this a fit time (and being secretly invited to the Court) moved the King in the name of his Brother the Prince of *Orenge*, for assistance; telling him that there were many Cities in the *Low Countries*, that being oppressed and tired out with the lust, covetousnesse, and cruelty of the *Spaniards*, would willingly surrender themselves into his hands; And after a few daies spent in debate about this business, the King faithfully promised Count *Lodwick*, that very shortly he would send a great Army under the command of the Admirall thither; and it was further agreed upon betwixt them, that if they succeeded in that War, the King of *France* should have all the Countrey from *Antwerp* to *Picardy*, and that the Prince of *Orenge* should have *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frisland*.

The King  
dissembles  
with C. Lod-  
wick,

About this very time Letters were intercepted and sent to the Admirall, written from the Cardinall *Pelex* to the Cardinall of *Lorraine* to this purpose: That the King was never better affected than now; and therefore because of his good affections, together with the Q. Mothers, and the Duke of *Anjou's*, he hoped there would be a good issue of those affairs which were resolved on in the common Council: That the King at the Admirals coming to Court, had carried himself more politickly then they could have expected; whereupon the King believed that he had taken away all suspicion from the Admirall, and had left him no occasion of doubting of his love and good will towards him, which *Lorraine* knew to be the *Basis*, by their joynt consent, upon which their future proceedings did depend. That some speech was indeed raised about warring upon the King of *Spain*, which the King made such use of, that the Admirall thence collected arguments of his greater good will towards him. That they must use such artifices whilst they expected an opportunity to effect what was resolved on. That the King of *Spain* was thoroughly acquainted with all these proceedings, that so he might suspect nothing by reason of those great preparations which were made for Warre; for he was assured that this was done upon good grounds, as subservient to the principal end. That therefore he desired the Cardinall that whatsoever he had heard, or should hear hereafter, yet he should assure himself that the King would never depart from his first purpose, and that whatsoever he did, did but conduce to hasten the end of their Counsels, and that both the King, Queen-Mother, and Duke of *Anjou*, were all very solicitous for this thing, and that as soon as ever the business should be effected, they would instantly send away Messengers to acquaint *Lorraine* with it. And as for the business of the Prince of *Navarre's* Marriage, they hoped that it would quickly be effected, for this was to begin all their future designs, &c.

Intercepted  
Letters  
which shew-  
ed the dissi-  
mulations.

He that sent these Letters to the Admirall, hoped that he would have been warned by them to look to himself and his affairs, but he had such a strong confidence of the Kings love and good will towards him, which also was daily nourished in him by his Son-in-law *Teligny*, that he which was most provident and sharp-sighted in all others businesses, was fatally blind in this.

The Admir-  
als security

The Queen  
of Navarr's  
death.

In the beginning of *May* 1571. the King desired the Queen of *Navarr* to go to *Paris*, to provide all things necessary for the marriage, where she arrived the fifteenth day of the same moneth; and the fourth day of *June* she fell sick of a feavour, whereof she died five daies after, to the extreame grief and sorrow of all her Servants and Friends. Two daies before her death, being in perfect memory, she made a most Christian *Testament* and last *Will*, finishing her course with singular piety and joy in God.

Her cha-  
racter.

She was a Princeesse of great experience by reason of her manifold adversities; in all which she shewed an invincible constancy, and heroically greatnesse of courage, most affectionate to her Religion, very carefull of the education of her children, training them up in the fear of God. In her words most grave and full of Motherly affections to them. She had a ready and well advised wit, was pitifull and easie to be intreated, constantly maintained that which she judged to be good, and agreeable to the will and good pleasure of God. She had a great vivacity of spirit, whereby she was able to comprehend all her affairs, and had a lively grace in representing them, either by word or writing. She died *June* 9. 1572. and of her age 44.

It was believed that she was poysoned by the smell of certain perfumes; The Doctors and Chyrurgions which opened her, were commanded not to open her Brain where the mischief lay, and therefore could not determine about the cause of her death.

The King  
sends for the  
Admirall.

The Admirall in this time was at his house at *Castillon*, where he received many Letters and Messages from the King to come to him; and because he stirred not, the King sent *Cavagnes* and *Briquemaud* to fetch him, that they might come to a conclusion about the Warres in *Flanders*; and special commandment was given to the Provost of Merchants, and other chief men, that at the Admirals coming to *Paris*, there should be no affronts done him.

His friends  
advertise-  
ments.

About the same time the Admirall had many advertisements from his Friends, both within and without the Realm; that though he could not conceive any sinister opinion of the King, his Mother, or Brother, that yet at least he would consider into what place he was about to thrust himself, amongst so many implacable enemies.

His security

But he, resting upon the testimony of a good conscience, and the providence of God, rejected all those counsels as proceeding from mens covetousnesse, or desire of new troubles, which he abhorred worse then death; and therefore taking a small train with him, he went to *Paris*, and was very honourably entertained by the King, Queen-Mother, the Kings Brethren and others, to the great astonishment of the whole City.

He went to  
*Paris*.

Warnings  
to the Ad-  
mirall.

At the Admirals coming to *Paris*, amongst other Letters that were brought to him, there was one that gave him these warnings. Remember the *Papish Maxime*, confirmed by the Authority of Councils, *That faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, in which number the Protestants are accounted. Remember the implacable spirits of the *Papists* at this time, irritated by the last Warres. There is no doubt but it is the fixed purpose of the Queen-Mother to destroy the Protestants by any means whatsoever. Consider that she is an *Italian*, of a most crafty wit, born of the Progeny of *Popes*, who contrives all extreame things against her enemies. Remember in what School the King hath been brought up from his childhood: how he hath been taught to swear and forswear: To pollute himself with whoredomes and Adulteries: To compose his countenance: To counterfeit Faith and Religion: How he hath been accustomed to cruelty and Blood-shed: How he hath been taught not to suffer above one Religion in his Kingdome: How it hath been whispered into his ears, That the Protestants seek to dispoil him of his life and Kingdom: That he is not bound to keep Covenants made with armed Subjects: That he is taught the Mysteries of State Policy. Remember that

*Commodus*



*Commodus* caused *Julianus* to be slain, whom he pretended to honour and imbrace as a Father. That *Antoninus Caracalla*, under the pretence of a Muster, caused all the chief youths of the City to be slain. That *Lysander*, under the pretence of friendship, commanded the throats of four hundred *Allesians* to be cut. That lately *Antonius Spinola* invited all the chief men of *Corfica* to a Banquet, where they were all slain. That *Christian*, King of *Denmark*, used the same art to commit that horrid Massacre at *Stock-holme*, &c. That the Kings speech to his Mother at *Blow* was no secret, when swearing fearfully, he asked her whether he had not carried himself well at the coming of the Queen of *Navarr*? To whom she answered, That he had begun well, but that would profit little, unlesse he went on: But I (quoth he swearing often) will bring them all into the net. Wherefore if you be wise, haste both out of the Court and City with all speed, as out of a most impure sink.

The Admirall having read this Letter, though he were offended, yet left he should seem to neglect the prayers, and warnings of his Friends, he returned this answer; That there was no place left any longer for these suspitions: That he was verily perswaded, that so great perfidioufnesse could not enter into the heart of so good a King: That indeed the Duke of *Anjou* was more estranged from the Protestants; but that hatred would by degrees cease by reverence of the affinity contracted with the King of *Navarr*: That the King had entred into a league with the Queen of *England*, and endeavoured to do the same with the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, which sufficiently shews how he stands affected to the Protestants. Moreover, that Faith was given to the Prince of *Orenge*, and to the E. of *Nassaw* his Brother to aid them against the *Spaniards*. That the Kings Ambassadors did daily search into the Counsels of the Duke *De Alva*, and acquainted the King therewith, as the King daily informed him: That the Navy under *Strossius* at *Broag* is rigged for no other end but to disturb the *Spanish* Fleet, and to assist the Prince of *Orenge*. That for himself they need not fear, the King having made Friendship betwixt the *Guises* and him, faith being mutually given that neither should injure other. To conclude, That the King doth all he can to have Peace at home, and Warre abroad; and to translate it into the *Low Countries* against the *Spaniards*; wherefore he prayeth his Friends not to trouble his mind any more with suspitions, which is now busied with weightier matters, and to joyn with him in prayer to God, that he would bring those things to a good issue, which are well begun for his glory, and the good both of Church and Kingdom.

A little before Count *Lodwick* with some others had Commissions from the King to surprize some Frontier Town in *Flanders*. On the other side the Duke *De Alva* had intelligence of every step that Count *Lodwick* took, yet such was his diligence that he surpriz'd *Monts* in *Flanders*, wherewith the Duke *de Alva* was so nettled, that he said, The Queen Mother had sent him the flowers of *Florence*, but he would for them return her *Spanish* thistles; but upon further intelligence he was soon pacified.

Many Lords and Gentlemen of the Religion accompanied the King of *Navarr* and Prince of *Conde* to *Paris*, and the King drew many more of them thither, who otherwise would have kept their houses, under pretence of his Warres in *Flanders*.

Count *Lodwick* was presently besieged in *Monts* by *de Alva*, whereupon the King gave Commission to Monsieur *Fenlis* to raise Horse and Foot for his succour: But *de Alva* being acquainted with all his proceedings, surprized him, which the King seemed to be much grieved at, and presently wrote to his Ambassadors in the *Low Countries* to procure the deliverance of the prisoners. He also encouraged the Admirall to send all the help he could to the *Rutters*, whom the Prince of *Orenge* had levied for the relief of his Brother, causing monies to be delivered to him for their pay.

His confident Answer.

Royal treachery.

The Protestants flock to Paris.

Deep dissimulation.

The

The Ambassadors of Spain also seemed to be very *male-content*, because the King began Warre in *Flanders*: and the Kings Mother played her part in this *Tragedy*, pretending that she knew nothing of the Kings proceedings, and now she did know them, she would leave the Court. These juggling were carried so handfomly, that the Admirall, *Teligni* his Son-in-law, and other Lords were confidently perswaded, that the King was wholly guided by the Admirals advice.

*Rochel*  
blocked up

The Admirall  
deluded.

July the last, The *Rochelers* wrote to the Admirall that the Kings Army approached near them, that from *Xantone* and *Gastone* it daily wasted the Countrey about them, using terrible threatnings against their Town, and menacing to plunder it; Whereupon they intreated his advice, especially about receiving eight hundred men, which they sought to put as a Garrison into the Town. The Admirall made them an honourable answer, Aug. 7. assuring them of the care he had over them, adding, that he found the King so well disposed for Peace, that all men had cause to commend him. Yet the *Rochelers* neglected not to look to themselves and to fortifie their Town. In other Towns many were the threats of the *Papists* against the Protestants, which much terrified some: others relied upon the Admirals presence and favour at Court; and to such as suggested doubts to him, he said, that the King had reconciled the differences betwixt the *Guises* and him, causing both Parties to swear friendship: That the King gave his Sister in marriage, not so much to the King of *Navarr* as to the whole Church of the Protestants, to joyn with them thereby in an inviolable Union, and therefore he besought all them, that either by writing or words advised him of the hatred of the King, Queen-Mother; the Duke of *Anjou*, or the house of *Guise*, no more to trouble him with those things, but rather to commend all in their daily prayers to God, and to give him thanks who of his infinite mercy had brought things to so good an end.

The King  
of *Navarr*  
married.

August 17. *Henry* King of *Navarr*, and the Lady *Margaret* of *France*, Sister to the King, in the evening were conducted to the *Louvre*, and the next day were married by the Cardinall of *Bourbon* in the sight of all the people upon a great Scaffold made before the gate of the great Church in *Paris*, which day was passed over in Banquets, Dances and Masks; and that very day the Admirall wrote a Letter to his Wife great with child in this tenour.

The Admirals  
Letter  
to his Wife

*Most dear and desired Wife, This day was celebrated the Marriage between the King of Navarr and the Kings Sister, and these three or four ensuing daies will be spent in Feastings, Maskings and Dancings. The King hath promised me, that after a few daies he will set a time apart to hear the complaints which are brought from several parts of the Kingdom for violating the Edict of Peace; for the prosecution whereof, it's very necessary, that I should improve all my interest with the King: For, though I have an earnest desire to see thee, yet it would be grievous to me, and I suppose to thee also, if I should be any way deficient in a business of so great concernment; neither will my stay here about it be such, but that I hope to come to thee this next week. If I should only respect my own content, it would be much more pleasing to me to be with thee, than to stay any longer at Court, for sundry reasons which I may hereafter impart to thee; but I must have more respect to the publique good, then either to my own pleasure or profit. I have some other things to impart to thee, so soon as God shall bring us together, which I much long for both day and night. All that I have for the present to write to thee is only thus much; at four a clock this afternoon was celebrated the Masse for the Marriage, during which time the King of Navarr walked without the Church with some other Noble-men of our Religion. Some other matters of smaller concernment I shall reserve till we have an opportunity to speak together; in the mean time (most dear and loving Wife) I pray for thee that God will protect and keep thee; Farewell. Paris Aug. 18. 1572.*



Three days since I was much tormented with the Stone and Cholicke, but through Gods mercy, they held me not above eight or ten hours, and now by the same mercy I am wholly freed from them. I promise thee that in these great Feasts and Pastimes I will trouble none. Once again Farewell.

Thy most loving Husband, Chatillion.

About the same time, their Counsels for the Massacre being not yet ripened, the King with the greatest demonstrations of good will that might be, thus accosts the Admirall; "My Father, Remember what you have undertaken to me, that you will be injurious to none of the *Guises* whilst you are in the Court, they also have interchangeably given their faith, that they will carry themselves honourably and modestly towards you. And truly I put as great trust as may be in your words, but I have not the same confidence in their promises. For besides that, I know that the *Guises* seek occasion of revenge, I know their disposition to be bold and haughty, and with what great favour and affection the people of *Paris* do follow them: It would be a great grief to me if they who have brought into the City many men of Warre notably furnished with Arms, under colour of coming to the marriage solemnity, should go about any thing for your destruction, which would extreemly reflect upon me; and therefore I think it fit, if you be of the same minde, to bring a Regiment of *Prætorian* Souldiers into the City, under the command of such men (meaning some that were least suspected) who may not only be ready for the publique security, but upon all emergencies, if turbulent spirits should attempt any thing against you. This friendly speech so prevailed with the Admirall that he gave his consent, and so a Regiment was brought in without the suspicion of the Protestants, which afterwards helped to cut their throats.

The Kings  
disimulation.

Five days after, as the Admirall came from the Court, where he had been all that morning, accompanied with twelve or fifteen Gentleman, being on foot about a Hundred paces from the *Louvre*, walking softly, and reading a Petition, just over-against the house of one *Villemuré*, a Canon, and Tutor to the young Duke of *Guise*, one shot with an *Harquebush* at him through a lattice window, the Gun was laden with three brasse Bullets, one whereof brake the fore-finger of his right Hand, the other two pierced his left Arm: He that shot it had a Horse ready at the back door, whereon being mounted, he escaped through Sr. *Anthones* gate, where, finding a *Spanish* Jennet held ready for him, he posted away to the place appointed for his retreat: The door of the House being burst open, the *Harquebush* was found with a Lacquey, and another servant who belonged to *Challey*, Steward of the Kings house, and a great dealer in the Duke of *Guises* affairs, who also the day before had brought this *Harquebushier* to that house, desiring that he might be well entertained: The Lacquey also was sent that morning by this *Harquebushier* whose name was *Maurevel*, to the Duke of *Guises* Groom of his Stable, requiring that the Horse should be ready that was promised him.

The Admirall  
wounded.

The Admirall being brought to his lodging, shewed singular piety and patience; *Chyrurgions* were sent for, and amongst the rest, *Ambrose Parent*, the Kings *Chyrurgion*, who began first with his finger, which he cut off, but his pincers not being keen, he opened and pressed them three times before he could cut it off. Then he lanced both those places in his arm which the bullets had pierced; all which the Admirall bore, not only with a courageous heart, but with a constant countenance, insomuch as seeing his Friends to weep which held his arm whilst the incisions were made, he said unto them, *My Friends, why do you weep? I judge my self happy that bear these wounds.*

His admirable  
patience

N n q

And Christ  
an courage.

for the cause of my God. And with all looking upon Monsieur Merlin his Minister, he said, *These wounds, my Friends, are Gods blessings, the smart indeed of them is troublesome, but I acknowledge the will of my Lord God therein, and I bless his Majesty who hath been pleased thus to honour me, and to lay any pain upon me for his holy name sake; let us beg of him that he will enable me to persevere unto the end.* And seeing Monsieur Merlin to weep and lament, he said to him, *My Merlin, you should rather comfort me: To whom he answered, Indeed there can be no greater comfort than to think upon the honour which God hath done you, in judging you worthy for his Name and Religions sake to suffer these pains. My Merlin, answered the Admirall, if God should have dealt with me according to my deserts, or have used his power over me, he must have dealt far more severely with me; but blessed be his Name, who hath dealt so mildly and lovingly with me his unworthy Servant.*

His charity.

Then said another that stood by, *Go on with this your piety, for God ought to be praised by you who hath left the greatest part safe and untouched, for which cause you have greater reason to admire his mercy in these wounds, than to complain of his justice, especially considering that neither your head nor your mind are wounded.* Then said *Merlin*, *You do very well, Sir, that you turn your thoughts from these murderers to God, for truly it was his hand that inflicted these wounds, neither ought you at all to think upon the bloody mindedness of your Adversaries. Truly, said the Admirall, I freely and from my heart forgive both him that shot at me, and those also that set him on. For I know assuredly that it is not in their power to hurt me, no though they should kill me, for my death is a most certain passage to eternal life.* The same words he shortly after spake to Marshall Danwill when he came to visit him.

His Prayer.

And whereas Monsieur *Merlin* told him, that the afflictions and calamities which happen to Gods Children use to quicken them more in Prayer: The Admirall thereupon with an audible voice and fervent soul poured out this Prayer unto God, *O Lord God, and my heavenly Father, have mercy upon me for thy tender mercies sake; Remember not against me my former iniquities, neither charge me with the sins of my youth. If thou Lord shouldst strictly mark what is done amiss, or shouldst impute to us our breach of Covenant, what flesh could stand before thee, or endure thine anger? As for me, disclaiming all false gods and worship, I only call upon thee the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and worship thee alone: For Christ his sake, I beseech thee to bestow thy holy Spirit upon me, and give me the grace of patience. I only trust in thy mercies, all my hope and confidence is placed on that alone, whether thou pleasest to inflict present death upon me, or to spare my life to do thee further service. Behold Lord, I am prepared to submit to thy will in either, nothing doubting, but if thou pleasest to inflict death upon me, thou wilt presently admit me into thine everlasting Kingdom. But if, Lord, thou suffereest me to live longer here, grant, O most heavenly Father, that I may spend all the remainder of my days in advancing thy glory, and in observing and sticking close to thy true Religion. Amen.*

His comfort.

His Prayer being ended, Monsieur *Merlin* asked him if he pleased that they also should go to Prayer with him: Yea, said he, with all my heart; and whilst *Merlin* was praying, the Admirall with his eyes fixed upon Heaven joyned with very great devotion. And after Prayer, when *Merlin* minded him of the examples of the ancient Martyrs, telling him that there was never any man from the beginning of the world, that laid out all his labour and interest for God, and his true Religion, but that he met with manifold afflictions; the Admirall interrupted him, saying, *I am refreshed and comforted with this speech, and the examples of the holy Fathers and Martyrs do much comfort me, and mitigate my pain.*

Pre-



Presently after the two Marshalls of the Kingdom, Monsieur *de Cousse* and *Danvill* came to visit him, telling him that they were extreemly grieved for his mishap, and that nothing could have happened more bitter to them; yet withall, say they, we judge it equal and agreeable to your former valour, to recollect and shew your self a man, for your vertue hath given you far more than this ill chance can take from you. Then the Admirall turning to *de Cousse*, said, Do you not remember, Sir, what I told you of late? Truly so much attends you also. "But, said *Danvill*, My Admirall, I purpose neither to comfort you, nor to exhort you to courage and constancy; for your self is the man from whom such Consolations and Exhortations use to proceed; only I request you to consider wherein I may be serviceable unto you: I wonder from whence this mischief did proceed! Then said the Admirall, Truly I can suspect none but the Duke of *Guise*, yet dare I not affirm that it was he: However; through Gods mercy, I have learned neither to fear mine enemies, nor death it self, which I am sure can do me no hurt; but may forward my eternal peace and happinesse: For I know that my God in whom I have put all my confidence can neither deceive nor lye unto me. Only herein I am sorrowfull, for that by this accident I am disabled to shew the King how much I would have done for his service (meaning in the Warre of *Flanders*;) Would to God I had an opportunity to speak with his Majesty, for I have some things to impart to him, which much concern his interest, and I believe there is none that dare tell it him but my self.

In the mean time the King of *Navarr*, and the Prince of *Conde* complained grievously of this vile and treacherous fact to the King; To whom the King, cursing and swearing grievously, called God to witnesse, that he would so severely punish this wickednesse towards the Admirall, that he would leave the example to all future ages to take heed of such villany; and thereupon the Lacquy and Woman that were found in the house, were apprehended and cast into prison.

The Kings  
prophane  
diffimulation.

At two a clock in the afternoon, the King hearing of the Admirals desire to speak with him, went to him, accompanied with the Queen-Mother, his two Brethren, the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, Marshall *Danvill*, *Tavenet*, *de Cousse*, &c. When the King came first into the Admirals chamber he caused all his servants to go forth, except Monsieur *Telligni*, his Wife, and *Merlin*; then going to the beds side, the Admirall said to him, I humbly thank you, Sir, that you have been pleased to put your self to so much trouble for my sake. Then did the King with flattering words Congratulate his valiant mind, and bid him be of good courage; and hope well of the issue. To whom the Admirall replied;

The King  
visits the  
Admirall.

Sir, There are three things wherewith I was desirous to acquaint your Majesty; First, To professe my fidelity and observance to your Majesty; and I pray God so to be mercifull unto me, before whose Throne I may be brought shortly to appear by these my wounds, as I was alwaies studious and carefull of your honour and dignity. Neither yet am I ignorant how often mine Adversaries have calumniated me to your Majesty, and accused me for a disturber of the publique Peace; but through Gods mercy, though I should hold my peace, yet my actions will sufficiently clear me from this charge. Indeed this hath been the fountain of all these calamities, because I resisted their fury, and impudency: and because I asserted the authority of your *Edicts* against their turbulent and violent proceedings; neither could I endure to suffer them so often to violate the faith confirmed by your oathes to your Subjects. God is witnesse of the sincerity of my mind herein, who also fully knows the difference between me and my Adversaries, and will righteously judge the same. Furthermore, also considering the great Honours and Offices conferred upon me by your Father, and Grandfather, and confirmed by your

His speech  
to the King

self, I should be ungratefull and unfaithfull if I should not humbly request your Majesty to provide a remedy against all those maladies and perturbations which already disturb the peace of your Kingdom. And now to proceed to the businesse of *Flanders*, Never any of your Predecessors had the like opportunity of getting Honour as your self. You know that many Cities in the *Low Countries* desire your favour, and to throw themselves into your protection. This occasion I perceive is in your Court laugh't and scoff't at, and through the default of some few men, the opportunity is like to be overslipt. Those Forces which were lately led by *Genlis* thitherward, were circumvented, and destroyed by *de Alva*; you know what a great number of Catholics were in that Army; Of what Religion then I pray you are those who make a jest at the slaughter of so many of their Countrey-men, and of their own Religion? There is scarce any secret word spoken in your Privy-Councell, but presently the Duke *de Alva* knows of it. I pray you, Sir, What good can we expect when those that sit in your Privy-Councell, and should assist your Majesty and your Brethren, do betray your most secret Counsels to your publique and professed enemies? I beseech you, Sir, that you take care of a businesse of such concernment as this is, yea, again and again I intreat it of you. And lastly, I beg with the like earnestnesse, that you will not suffer your *Edict* of *Pacification* to be so ordinarily broken: You know how often you have sworn to keep it: You know that forreign Nations, and all your neighbour Princes have taken notice of it. What an unworthy thing is it, Sir, that an Oath so solemnly sworn, should be so much slighted and neglected? Do you think that forreign Princes will hereafter make any account of your Oath? But the other day in *Champaigne*, as the Nurse carried a child home from *Baptism*, and from a Sermon which was held in a place allowed by your authority, certain seditious persons lying in wait by the way, basely murdered the Nurse, Infant, and some other of the company with it. Consider I pray you, how great the wickednesse was, and how Honourable, yea, how Glorious it will be to your name not to suffer such cruelty to escape with impunity.

The Kings  
answer.

Unto this Speech of the Admirall the King returned this answer; That he had never called his Loyalty into question; That he reputed him a good Common-wealths man, and a valiant and excellent Captain, before whom he preferred no man in his Kingdom. And (said he) if I had had any other opinion of you, I had never done as I have heretofore. About the *Flemish* businesse he answered never a word. But for the third thing he answered, that he liked nothing better then that his *Edicts* for *Pacification* should be holily and inviolably observed, for which end he had sent his Deputies into all the Provinces of his Kingdom, for the confirmation whereof he called the Queen-Mother to witnesse, who turning to the Admirall, said, My Admirall, there is nothing more true, Commissaries and Deputies are sent into all parts. *Iea forsooth* (said the Admirall) *of those men who have imposed Fifty Thousand Crowns as the price of my Head.*

Deep diffi-  
cultation.

"Then said the King, My Admirall, there is danger lest your earnestnesse  
"may hinder your health, it is better that you take your rest; the harm hath  
"befallen you, but the dishonour reflects upon me; but I swear by Gods  
"death, that I will so severely punish this wicked deed, that the Memory  
"thereof shall continue to all posterities: The Woman and Lacquy that were  
"found in the house we have committed to safe custody, Whom further do  
"you require to be examined, or whom would you have to exercise judg-  
"ment? To this the Admirall answered, I leave this businesse to your Wis-  
"dom and Fidelity, yet because you ask my judgement, I humbly desire that  
*Cavanneus* and *Masparrot* may be employed therein, for I think that the au-  
"thor of this deed is not farre off. The King and Queen Mother com-  
"ing nearer to the Admirals pillow, spake a while softly, and at last the  
Queen



Queen-Mother said, Although I am but a woman, yet I perceive we must provide betimes.

The King at his departure advised the Admirall to be transported into the Kings Castle, and the Earle *Rhetus* pressed the same divers times, saying, that he feared lest such a commotion should be raised amongst the common people of *Paris*, as the King with all his authority should not be able to quell. To this it was answered, That the *Physicians* and *Chyrurgons* would not allow of his removall, lest the stirring of his body should inflame his wounds: That if the King pleased to manifest his love and favour to the Admirall, there was no more fear of the people of *Paris*, then of a company of women: That the authority of the Kings name was so great in *France*, especially in *Paris*, that were the common people never so mad and furious, yet the mention of that alone would easily suppress them.

Then did the King call for the brazen bullet wherewith the Admirall was wounded, and asked him if he felt not very great pain when his finger and arm where cut? To which receiving an answer, he replied, that there could not be a more constant and valiant man found this day in the world, and so restoring the Bullet, the Queen-Mother looking on it said, I am glad that the Bullet is got out, for I remember, that when the Duke of *Guise* was shot in his Camp, the *Physicians* often told me, that though it were poysoned, yet there was no danger when the Bullet was out: But, said a by-stander, Madam, we rested not upon that, but we gave the Admirall Physick to prevent the danger if there were any poyson.

After the Kings departure came in *John Ferrers*, *Vidam* of *Chartres*, who comforted the Admirall with many words, concluding, that the enemies had betrayed their great Cowardliness, in that they durst not encounter the Admirall but through a grated window, but that the Admirall was an happy man, who had Lengthened out the praise of his vertue, to so great an age. Yea, said the Admirall, in this I account my self happy, that the Lord hath been pleased to shew me mercy, for they are truly blessed whose sins are forgiven, and whose transgressions are covered.

*Psal. 32. 1.*

The King of *Navarr*, Prince of *Conde*, and some other Chieftains of the Protestants being present, they resolved to go down into a lower Chamber, to consult what course to take for their present security. At this debate, *Ferrers* was very earnest that they should with all speed depart out of *Paris*, assuring them, that this was but the first act of a more dangerous Tragedy that would suddainly ensue. Others on the contrary argued, That it was enough for the present to require justice of the King, desiring, that judgement might be speedily executed: In this opinion *Teligni* stood stiff, affirming, that he knew the Kings mind throughly, and that they ought not to suspect his faith and good will. Yet it was alleadged again, that many seditious reports were scattered about: That many *Papists* on the Wedding-day, when the Protestants came out of the Church, that they might not be present at *Mass*, spake publicly, That within a few daies they should hear *Mass*. Also some of the chief Citizens said, that there should be more Blood then wine shed at that Marriage. Also, the President of the Senate advised a Noble man of the Protestants to go into the Countrey with his Family for a few daies. Also *John Monluc*, Bishop of *Valentia*, when he was going Ambassadour into *Polland*, advised the Barl of *Rochefaucand*, not to suffer himself to be blinded with the smock of the Court and its unusuall favours, which are deservedly suspected by wise and wary men; Therefore, said he, be not to secure, cast not your self into dangers, but withdraw your self and other Noble men betimes out of the Court. But these things could not be heard by reason of Monsieur *Teligni's* confidence.

A Council held by the Protestants.

Prefaces of the Massacre.

Monluc's advice.

In the mean time the Woman and Lacquy who were found in the house of *Villemur*, were examined by the President of the Parliament. The Wo-

man

man confessed that a few daies before, *Villerius Challins*, a retainer to the *Guises*, brought a Souldier to that house, commending him to her as if he had been the Master of the house, but his name was concealed. The Boy confessed that he had served this man a few daies, who called himself one while *Bolland*, and another while *Bondol*, and that he was sent that morning to *Challins* to intreat him that the Horse might be ready as he had promised. Hereupon *Challins* was sent for, the more to delude the Protestants.

The Kings  
Diffimulation.

The King also wrote to the Governours of the Provinces, wherein he detected the wrong done to the Admirall, and required them to do their endeavour that all might understand how greatly it grieved him, and that he would most severely punish it to the terrour of all others.

Deep Diffi-  
mulation.

The day after, some of the Admirals Friends being certified, that many things were done tumultuously in the City, and that weapons were brought together in many places, they thought fit that counsell should be taken betimes, for that no good could be expected from those proceedings: Hereupon, one was sent to the King to certifie him of the Commotion of the people, and of their carrying of Arms, and therefore to request him to charge certain of his guard to stand before the Admirals door for his better security: The King seeming to be moved with this news, began to demand of the Messenger who had told it him? and whether the Admirall knew of it? and withall he sent for the Queen-Mother, who was scarce entered, when the King with a disquiet mind (as he seemed) said, What a mischief? What is the matter? He tells me that the common people are in a tumult, and take Arms. She answered, They are not in any tumult, neither do they take Arms; but you know that early in the morning you commanded that all should contain themselves in their own quarters, lest any tumult might arise. That is true, said the King, but I forbad them to take Arms.

An ill omen

Then the Messenger again requested that he would send some of his Guard to the Admiralls Lodging. The Duke of *Anjou* being by, said, Take *Cossen* to you with fifty Harquibushiers: The other answered, We desire only six of the Kings Guard, for their Authority will more prevail with the people than many armed men. Yea (quoth the King and the Duke of *Anjou*) take *Cossen* to you, for you cannot have a fitter man: which words were pronounced very imperiously. The Messenger knowing *Cossen* to be a great enemy to the Admirall, yet held his peace; and not far from the Kings Chamber he met with Monsieur *Thoree*, Brother to Marshall *Monmorency*, who whispering in his ear, said, No greater enemy could be given us for our Keeper; to whom the other answered, Did you not observe how Imperiously the King decreed it? but pray you remember what I answered to the King when he first commanded it.

Popish sub-  
tilty.

A few hours after came *Cossen* with his fifty Harquibushiers to the Admirals house, and chose two shops by, to place his Guard in. A little after *Rambulet*, the Kings Camp-Master followed, who by the advice of the Duke of *Anjou*, commanded all the *Popish* Nobility that lodged in that street to remove their quarters elsewhere, that he might dispose of their lodgings to the friends and familiars of the Admirall; then which no more crafty counsell could be devised for those matters which afterwards fell out.

Towards evening this hapned, which gave to many no small occasion of suspicion: A Boy by the command of *Teligni* brought two hunting poles to the Admirals house; but *Cossen* put him back, and would not suffer them to be carried in: This being told to the King of *Navarre*, who was now with the Admirall, he went down, and asked *Cossen* upon what confidence he did it? *Cossen* answered, that he had done it at the command of the King; but, said he, since you will have it so, let them be brought in. That day the King sent to all the Admirals familiar Friends, admonishing them to go near to the Admirals house, and take up all those quarters.

But



But upon the former occurrences another Council was called under the Admirals lodging, wherein the *Vidam* of *Chartres* again urged his former opinion, that the Admirall should presently be carried out of *Paris*, and that his Friends should go along with him: That every hour they observed many things that justly increased their suspicion; But most were of the contrary opinion, *viz.* That they were only to require justice of the King, and to desire that the *Guises* and their Faction might be commanded out of the City, as being too powerfull with the people of *Paris*; and of this opinion was the King of *Navarr*, the Prince of *Conde*, and many others; and the rather because *Teligni* urged that it would be a great injury to the King, if any should call his faith and sincerity into question, and that it would be sufficient if justice were meekly required of him. At this debate there was one *Bucavannius*, a *Picard*, who never spake word; he was a professor indeed of the true Religion, but very gracious with the Queen-Mother, and very frequent with her familiars, which probably betrayed all to her.

Counsell  
that the  
Protestants  
should leave  
*Paris*.

A Judas

About three a clock in the night there fell out another thing which increased the suspicion; For one carrying to the Admirals house the Coats of Male of *Teligni* and *Guercius*, *Cossen* turned him back again, which man complaining to *Guercius* (who was a stout and gallant man) he went to *Cossen*, and sharply taxed him for it, so that they had well near fallen to blows, but *Teligni*, who was of a meek and quiet spirit, with gentle words pacified them, himself being so deluded with the fair and flattering words of the King, that he never thought that he spake enough in his commendation.

In the mean time a Councell was held at Court, where were present the King, Queen-Mother, Duke of *Anjou*, Duke of *Nevers*, the Bastard of *Angolisme*, *Biragè*, *Tavannius*, and *Radesianus*; and it was concluded, That seeing by the death of one the mischief diffused amongst so many could not be extinguished, therefore all should be destroyed: And that the wrath which God would not have fulfilled with the blood of *Coligni* alone, should be poured out against all the *Selfaries*; Therefore, say they, the bridle is to be let loose to the common people, who are stirred up enough of themselves, and when the businesse is accomplished, reasons will not be wanting whereby the deed may be excused, the blame being laid upon the *Guises*, who will willingly undergo the same. So they all concluded that all the Protestants were to be destroyed, even every Mothers child of them. Concerning the King of *Navarr*, and the Prince of *Conde*, it was debated, Whether they were to be exempted from the number of the rest: and it was alledged that the King of *Navarr* was to be spared, because of his royall Dignity, and his affinity newly contracted; for it would be without all excuse, if so great a Prince, next to the King in Blood, conjoynd in fresh affinity, should be slain in the Kings Castle, between the arms, as it were, of the King his Brother-in law, and his Wives embraces. Concerning the Prince of *Conde* the contention was greater, he was much envied for his Fathers sake, yet the dignity of his person, and the authority of the Duke of *Nevers*, who became surety for him, prevailed that he should be spared.

The Massacre projected.

After this the King calling the King of *Navarr*, told him that by reason of the violence and boldnesse of the *Guises*, and the common people inclining to them, he would advise him to command those of his household whom he knew most faithfull to him, to come to him to the Louvre, to be at hand upon all occasions: This the King of *Navarr* took in very good part, sending for those that were stout of hand to lodge about him.

The Kings  
dissemblati-  
on with  
the King  
of *Navarr*.

Now

Now it was observed that armed men rambled up and down in the City every where, and about the *Louvre* also: That the common people grumbled and gave forth threatening speeches. The Admirall being informed of these things, sent one to the King to tell him of it. The King answered, that there was no cause why *Coligni* should be affraid, for that these things were done by his command to repress the motions of the people, who were stirred up by the *Guises*, and therefore bad him to rest assured. It was also told *Teligni* that Porters were seen carrying Arms into the *Louvre*; but he slighted it, saying that these were unnecessary suspicions, the Arms being carried in for the winning of a Castle in the *Louvre*, that was built for sport.

The Duke of *Guise* executes to the Massacre.

Presently the Duke of *Guise*, to whom the charge was chiefly committed to see the businesse executed, calling together the Captains of the *Papish* *Swissers*, and the Tribunes of the *French* bands, late in the night he discovered to them what the will of the King was, that the hour was come wherein, by the Kings commandement, punishments should be inflicted on the Head, and by consequence upon the whole faction of the Rebels; That the beast was caught and entangled in the net, and therefore they must do their endeavour that he might not escape: Be not therefore (said he) wanting to so fit an occasion of carrying home a most glorious triumph over the enemies of the Kingdom; the victory is easie, the spoils will be rich and great, which you may obtain as the rewards of your good service, without shedding your own Blood.

Then were the *Swissers* placed about the *Louvre*, unto whom certain bands of *French*-men were added, and charge was given them that they should suffer none of the King of *Navarris*, nor of the Prince of *Conde's* men to come forth, *Cossen* also was charged with his Harquibushiers to suffer none to come out of the Admirals House.

Fatal security.

That evening *Guercius* with some others, had profered *Teligni* to keep guard in the Admirals house, suspecting danger; but he told them that there was no need for them so to trouble themselves, and so with gracious words dismissed them; by which means it came to passe that none lodged in the Admirals house but *Cornaton*, *Labonnius*, *Tolett* the Master of his Horse, *Merlin* his Chaplain, *Parvus* the Kings Chyrurgeon, and some four or five Servants: *Teligni* was gone to the next house, where he lay with his Wife. In the Admirals Court were the five *Swissers* whom the King of *Navarr* had sent him.

Then did the Duke of *Guise* send for *John Caronius*, lately made Provost of Merchants, whom he commanded to signifie to the Aldermen, that they should bid those in their severall Wards, to appear in Arms at the Townhouse about midnight to understand the Kings pleasure: He commanded also *Macellus*, who was very gracious with the people, to signifie to them, that liberty was given them from the King to take arms to destroy *Coligni*, and all the other Rebels, that therefore they should see diligently that they spared none, nor suffered them any where to be concealed: That order should be taken to do the like in all other Cities of the Kingdom, who would follow the example of *Paris*: That the sign for the beginning the assault should be, the ringing of the little Bell in the Palace: That the sign whereby they should know one another, should be a white handkerchief about their left arm, or a white crosse in their hats: That therefore they should come armed in good numbers, and with good courages, taking care to have candles lighted in their windows, that no tumult might arise before the sign was given. And thus the Duke of *Guise*, and the bastard of *Engolisme*, did all they could that things might be Effected according to the agreement.

The Queen-Mothers mischievous mind.

At midnight the Queen-Mother fearing the Kings wavering, who was somewhat



what startled at the horridness of the Fact, reproved him for it, saying, that by his delays he would overslip so fair an occasion offered by God for the utter vanquishing of his Enemies. The King being nettled with this, which seemed to charge him with cowardliness, commanded the matter to be put in Execution; which word the Queen - Mother speedily taking hold of, caused the litle Bell to be rung in St. *Germanes* Church about an hour before day, Aug. 24. being St. *Bartholomews* day, and on a Sabbath.

The Queen Mothers mischievous mind.

The sign of the Massacre

Presently the Duke of *Guise*, with *Engolisme* and *d'Aumal*, went to the Admirals House, where *Cossen* watched; and a noise being raised, the Admiral was awakned with it, and heard of a sedition, yet rested secure, relying upon the Kings Word and Favour: But the tumult growing greater, when he perceived a Gun to be discharged in his Court, he then conjectured, though too late, that which was the Truth; and so rising out of his Bed and putting on his night-gown, he stood and prayed against the Wall. Then came a servant to *Labonnius*, and told him, that there was one at the door who by the command of the King desired to be brought to the Admiral; *Labonnius* therefore taking the Keys, ran down and opened the door; then did *Cossen* catch at him, and stabbed him with his Dagger, and so with his Harquebushiers he set upon the rest, killing some, and chasing away others: Thus all things were filled with Noise, and another door at the stair foot was easily broken open, and one of the five *Swissers* (sent by the King of *Navarr*) was slain; yet were the stairs so barricado'd with Chests that he could not presently enter. In the mean time Monsieur *Merlin* went to Prayer with the Admiral and the rest; and at the end thereof a servant coming in, said to the Admiral, Master, It is God who calleth us to himself, they have broken into the House, neither is there any ability to resist. Then said the Admiral, *I have prepared my self for Death a good while ago; shife you for your selves if possibly you can, for your endeavour to help me would be in vain: I commend my soul into Gods Hands.* It was observed that the Admirals Countenance was no more troubled than if no danger were at hand.

The Admirals house assaulted.

The Admirals speech.

*Thuanus* relates his words thus: *I perceive what is in doing, I was never afraid of Death, and I am ready to undergo it patiently, for which I have long since prepared my self; I blesse God that I shall die in the Lord, through whose Grace I am Electd to an hope of everlasting Life. I now need no longer any help of Man. You therefore, my Friends, get ye hence so soon as ye can, lest ye be involved in my calamity, and your Wives hereafter say, that I was the cause of your destruction. The presence of God, to whose goodness I commend my Soul, which will presently fly out of my Body, is abundantly sufficient for me.* Then all his company gat up into an upper Room, and crept out at a Window upon the Tiles, and by the benefit of Night some escaped.

By this time *Cossen* with some *Swissers* of the Duke of *Anjou's* Guard had removed the Chests, and were come up the stairs: One *Bebeme* [a German] was the first that entred the Chamber, who seeing the Admiral sitting there, said, Are not you the Admiral? *I am* (quoth he) *but you young man should have regard to my hoary Head and old Age.* But *Bebeme* exchanging no more Words struck him with his Sword, and first embrued himself in the Admirals blood; Then *Cossen*, *Atinius* and the rest followed, and slew him with many Wounds. This *Atinius* reported afterwards that he never saw a man in so present a danger, to have born out Death with so great a Constancy.

The Admirall slain.

Then did the Duke of *Guise* from below ask if the business were done? Answer was made, that it was: But, said he, the Duke of *Engolisme* will not believe it, except he see him himself, therefore cast down his body out at the Window; with that they hurled it down headlong into the Court all defiled with

His body  
basely abu-  
sed. with gore Blood; whereupon the Bastard of *Engolisme*, wiping the Blood from his Face with his Handkerchief, and thereby knowing him, kicked him in a scornful manner: Some say, it was the Duke of *Guise* that did it. Then one of the Duke of *Nevers* Servants cut off his Head, and carried it to the King and Queen-Mother, who caused it to be embalmed, and sent it as a Present to the Pope and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, to assure them of the death of their Capital Enemy.

Yet buried. The people fell upon his Corps as mad men, one cuts off his Hands, another his Feet, another his privy Members, and for three daies space drag his poor Carcasse about the streets with all indignity. Then some boyes would have thrown it into the River *Seine*, but others dragged it to the Gallows at *Mountfaucou*, where they hung it up by the Thighs, and the shoulders downwards; but within few days *Francis Monmorency*, who had seasonably withdrawn himself from the Danger, caused some trusty persons to take it down by Night, and bury it in the Chappel at *Contilia*.

His character. This was the end of this brave Man, who was the very first Noble man in all *France* that durst profess himself a Protestant, and a helper of them.

His piety and zeal. He was marvellous Zealous in performance of the exercises of Religion: He used to rise very early, and then putting on his Night-Gown, and calling his Servants about him, he went to Prayer with them: Then he set time apart to hear the Deputies of the Churches which were sent to him, or for such like publike busineses. Each other day in the forenoon he had a Sermon preached before him, after which he returned to his business till Dinner; which being ready, his Servants came in, and there the Admiral standing by the Table, and his Wife by his side, one of *David's Psalms* were sung, and a blessing craved upon the meat, which course he did not only observe at his own House, but every day in his Camp without intermission. When the Cloath was taken away, he presently arose, and standing, with his Wife by him, either himself or his Chaplain returned thanks. At Supper-time the same was done, both with Prayers and Psalms: And because he found it difficult to get all his Servants together at bed-time in regard of their various employments, he caused them all to come in presently after Supper, where, after a Psalm, he went to prayer with them.

Examples prevalent. By this his excellent Example, very many of the *French Nobility* were enduced and encouraged to use the same Discipline in their Families; The Admiral often admonishing them, that if they would embrace godliness in the Life and Power of it, it was not enough for the Master of the Family to hear Sermons, and to order his life in an holy and religious manner, unless by his Authority and Example he brought all his Household to joyn with him in the same.

His manner of preparing for the Lords Supper. When the time for receiving the *Lords Supper* approached, he used to call his Friends and all his Family to him, and shewed them, that he must render an Account to God for them as well as for himself: If any discord was between them, he reconciled it; If any were Ignorant, he took care that they should be better instructed; If any were Obstinate, he plainly gave them notice, that it was better for them to remain at their own homes, than for him to maintain such ungodly persons in his retinue.

His care for education of children. He always esteemed the careful Education of Children in good Schools a singular benefit of God, and he called it the *Seminary* of the Church, saying, that Ignorance of good Letters was the cause of Errour both in Church and State; and that *Papery* crept in, and was kept in by that meanes. Hereupon he Erected a fair School at *Chattillon* under his Castle, in a pleasant and wholesome Place, and bestowed great Cost on it, where he maintained Learned Interpreters of the *Hebrew, Greek and Latine Tongues*; He maintained also many poor Boys. and young men in that School.

He



He was modest and moderate in his desires after the VWorld; For though he had great Honours and Offices conferred upon him, whereby he might much have enriched himself; yet he added not so much as one Lord-ship or plow-land to the Inheritance left him by his Fathers. He husbanded his Estate and household affairs frugally; yet having very many Noblemen and Gentlemen that resorted to him upon publike business; he gave them fire and hearty Entertainment, whereby he spent all that he saved at other times by his frugality. Yea his extraordinary expences were so great, that he left his Heir in debt no less than forty thousand Crowns, paying to his Creditors yearly use-money no less than six thousand Crowns.

His contempt of the world.

There was such incredible Love and Concord betwixt him and his two Brethren, that all three seemed but to have one mind betwixt them. He lived fifty three years six moneths, and eight daies, was Slain Aug. 24. 1572.

Brotherly love.

His age.

He was of a middle Stature, of a ruddy Colour, his Members equal and well compacted; of a mild and a cheerful Countenance, of a small and pleasant Voice, yet somewhat slow and gentle, of a healthy Constitution, of a comely Gait and Gesture; abstemious in the use of Wine; of a moderate Diet and Sleep, For he never used to sleep above seven hours at the most: After the *Edict for Pacification* he suffered no day to pass, but before he went to bed, he set down the things in his journal which fell out in the Civil Wars, and were of any moment; which being found after his Death, was carried to the King, and Admired by his very Adversaries, who thereby saw his quiet, constant and composed Mind, in the midst of his greatest businesses.

His Character.

His abstinence.

When the War was finished, and he was retired to *Roche*, no day passed over his Head, wherein he did not, Morning and Evening read over one of *Calvin's Sermons upon Job*, which History he used to call his *Pancreasum* or *Physick* for all diseases, which greatly comforted his heart in all his Afflictions.

His daily exercise.

By his first Wife he had five Children: He left alive *Lewis* his eldest Daughter, married to Monsieur *Teligni*, who was murdered the same night with his Father-in-law; Then *Francis*, *Odet*, and *Charles*, the two elder survived that furious Massacre; The third, being not eight years old, in whom he took much delight for his prettiness, was taken by his Enemies, and taught to bear the Cross of *Christ* in his tender years.

Teligni murdered, and his young Son.

He left his second Wife great with Child; who was brought to bed four moneths after of a Girl; and returning to her native Countrey in the Borders of *Savoy*, was not long after committed to Prison by the command of *Prince Philibert Duke of Savoy*, for marrying against his consent.

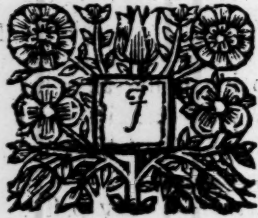
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THE



*The Life of Joane, Queen of Navarr, who was Poisoned at Paris a few days before the bloody Massacre, Anno Christi 1572.*

Her Parentage.



*Joane* of *Albert* was daughter to *Henry* the second King of *Navarr*, and to *Margaeret* of *Orleanse*, Sister to *Francis* the first of that name, King of *France*; and by her Parents was carefully trained up in the Protestant Religion from her childhood, which she constantly adhered to all the days of her life. She was married to *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, Son to *Charles* Duke of *Vendosme*, by whom she had *Henry* the fourth of that name, King of *France* by his Fathers right, and the second of that name, King of *Navarr* by his Mothers.

Her marriage.

Popish policy.

King of *Navarr* turns Papist.

The Queens constancy.

Popish policy.

This *Anthony*, King of *Navarr*, in the minority of *Charles* the ninth, being the first Prince of the Blood, was to be his Protector, but the Queen-Mother and the *Guises*, seeking to draw all the power and management of affairs into their own hands, laboured by all means to withdraw the King of *Navarr* from the Protestants, that so by weakening them thereby, they might rule the roost as they listed: For which end they employed the Ambassadour of *Spain*, the Cardinall of *Tournon*, *Escars*, and some other household flatterers to him, who perswaded him, that carrying himself a *Neuter*, and causing the Prince his Son to go once to the Masse, the King of *Spain* would give him the Realm of *Sardinia* in recompence for that of *Navarr* which he had lately taken from him. The *Pope* likewise confirms him in this hope, which indeed was but to take from him all means of recovering his Kingdom of *Navarr* when he should attempt it. Yet he being drawn by those *Spanish* and *Lorrain* practises, estrangeth himself by little and little from the Protestants, solicited the Queen his Wife to return into the bosome of the *Romish* Church, and to draw her children thereunto: But she being better grounded in the truth then so easily to forsake it, refuseth, whereupon a breach grew betwixt them, and the King her Husband falls in love with one of the Queen-Mothers Maids.

The forenamed *Guilian* instruments seeing this, perswade him that *Heretic* is a sufficient cause of dissolving marriage, and that therefore he might be divorced from *Joane Albert* his Wife, as being infected with the poison of *Heretic*. They tell him also that notwithstanding his divorce, he should retain to himself the possession of, and interest in all the Dominions and Kingdoms belonging to her, of which she should be deprived as unworthy of them by reason of her *Heretic*: And instead of her, he should marry *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, whose Dowry (say they) is the Kingdom of *England*; and as soon



as the Marriage is Contracted, the Pope would strip *Elizabeth* of it, as unworthy thereof for the same cause, and settle it upon them, &c.

But the King of *Navarr* abhorring to be Divorced from his Wife, it remained that he should accept the Conditions about the Kingdome of *Sardinia*; for the effecting whereof they left no means unassayed, and at last prevailed so far, that they gulled the King of *Navarr*, and set him at odds with his Brother the Prince of *Conde*, *Coligni* the Admiral, and the other Protestants. The Queen his Wife distasting his change of Religion, and his adhering to the *Papish* Party, retired into *Podium* in the Countrey of *Bearne*, where she kept her Court.

But it pleased God that shortly after, in the Siege of *Orleanse*, the King of *Navarr* was shot into the shoulder, whereof he died about three weeks after.

The King of *Navarr* slain.

The next design was to seize upon the Queen, together with her Son *Henry* and her Daughter *Katherine*, and to bring them before the judgment Seat of the Inquisition of *Spain*, and the Conspirators doubted not but that *Philip* King of *Spain* would more willingly hearken to this Counsel, for that this exploit would make for the advantage of his Religion, the rescuer whereof he proudly boasted himself to be: As also the business about the Kingdom of *Navarr*, which he unjustly detained, would be hereby dispatched, by the taking away of the lawful Heirs thereof. They conceived also that the business might easily be effected by the means of the King of *Spain's* Souldiers that lay at *Bacilona*, ready to be transported into *Africk*; who, by the ways of the Mountains, might come upon, and surprize the Queen of *Navarr* and her Children at *Podium* before they were aware. One *Dominick*, a Captain born in the Territories of *Bearne*, was singled out to go to the Court of *Spain* to communicate these Counsels with the King, and to receive further Instructions from him. But it pleased God that this *Dominick* falling sick by the way, *Annas Hespins*, an honest man that tended on him, smelt out the occasion of his journey, and by giving timely notice, prevented the effecting of it; by which deliverance God shewed his watchful Providence over his Handmaid, this Religious Queen of *Navarr*.

Treason against the Queen.

Gods Providence over her.

Not long after, in the time of the third Civil War for Religion, this Queen, having raised great Troops, led them to *Rochel*, together with her Son *Henry*, and her Daughter *Katherine*, from whence she wrote Letters to the King, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. To the King she wrote, That in the common Cause of Religion, in regard of the Duty which she owed to the King, and the necessity of Blood whereby she was joyned to the Prince of *Conde*, she could not be wanting to him upon such an occasion, having alwayes rejected the bloody counsels of the *Guisan* faction, and especially the Ambition of the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, from whose friendship she earnestly dehorted the Duke of *Anjou*, beseeching him that he would not yield up himself a minister of his wicked will, in cutting up the Royal stock by the roots. In her Letter to the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, she sharply chideth him for not being warned by his former danger: For how long (saith she) will you be the *Suffragan* of the Cardinall of *Lorraine*? Have you forgotten the treacherous plots that were laid by him for your Head? And are you so credulous as to believe his oaths, when he sweareth that he minded no treachery? &c. But these Letters prevailing nothing, the Warre went on, and in the Battell of *Rassac* the Protestants were worsted, and the Prince of *Conde* slain. Which news being carried to *Rochel*, the Queen of *Navarr* posted to the Protestant Army, where, before a great Assembly of Nobles and Souldiers, she made an Oration to confirm their minds, praising the vertue and constancy of the Prince of *Conde*, who had employed his faithfull endeavours even unto death, in defence of so just a Cause, and thereupon she exhorted the rest to imitate his example, and to persevere

Her going to *Rochel*.

Her Letters to the King &c.

Prince of *Conde*.

She came to the Army.

in maintaining the Truth of *Christ*, and the Liberty of their Countrey: For (saith he) the good Cause is not dead with the Prince of *Conde*, neither ought godly men to give way to despondency in such cases, God having so provided for his Cause, that he gave *Conde* Companions whilst he lived that may succeed him now he is dead. I have brought with me mine only Son *Henry*, and *Conde*'s own Son; who, as he is Heir of his Name, so is he of his *Vertues*: These with other Nobles besides, I trust, will never be wanting to so good a Cause. And having thus spoken to the Nobles and Army, and many things privately to her Son, whetting his youthful Spirit, she returned again to *Rochel* to provide new succours.

In the mean time a Commission was granted to *Terride*, Governour of *Quercie*, to summon the Queen of *Navarr*, and the Prince her Son to leave the party of the Protestants; and in case of refusal, to invade the Countries of *Berne*, *Foix* and *Navarr*, in which he so prevailed, that he reduced all to the Kings obedience, but only *Navarren*, which he besieged, as the only strong place that remained to the Queen.

Hereupon the Queen and the Princes sent the Earl of *Montgomery* to encounter him, who with a small Army of five Hundred Horse, and four Thousand Foot, forced *Terride* to raise his siege, and retire himself to *Ortheze*. His men were dispersed, and to prevent his gathering them together again, the Earl besieged him, forced the Town, and to beat *Terride* with his own weapons, he turned his Cannons which he found in the Town against the Castle, whereupon it was surrendered to him; after which all other places were suddainly reduced to the obedience of the Queen, and the Earl having garrisoned the Towns of his new conquest, speedily returned to the Princes.

Not long after, Peace being concluded betwixt the King and the Protestants, the King published an Edict, wherein amongst other things he hath this passage.

The Kings Edict. "Let it be lawfull for the Queen of *Navarr* the Kings Aunt, besides the benefit which is common to all those which have the highest jurisdiction, to enjoy the free exercise of her Religion in the Dukedom of *Alberty*, in the Earldoms of *Armigniac*, *Foix* and *Bigorre*, in one place of all those Dominions which she holdeth in her own possession, or which may be consigned to her by the King; so that all that will come to that place (though she her self be absent) may enjoy it without danger. Moreover lest any doubt should arise concerning the right meaning of the Queen of *Navarr* the Kings Aunt, as also of the Princes of *Conde*, both Father and Son; the King doth declare, That he acknowledgeth them all for his faithfull Cosens and Subjects; and that they and all that have managed the Warres under them shall be free, and not bound to render an account for monies received or taken, &c.

Popish subtilty.

The match propounded.

The Peace being concluded, the malice of the *Popish* party was no whit abated; whereupon they sought by Policy to effect that which they could not by power; and for this end *Biron* was sent to *Rochel* in the Kings name to treat with the Queen of *Navarr* about the marriage between her Son *Henry*, and the Kings Sister, the Lady *Margaret*; for which end he invited them to come to the Court, where businesses might be fully debated and concluded: He added also, that hereby a fair occasion was offered from God to settle their affairs in peace, &c.

The Queen of *Navarr* having returned thanks in a set Oration, answered, that the matter was of that importance that she would take time to her self in deliberating of it; and albeit she did professe and acknowledge that that affinity would be a great Ornament and profit to her, yet she was



for the present doubtfull what to do in regard of the near kindred betwixt her Son and the Lady, and the difference in their Religions: Wherefore (saith she) I will consult with my Divines, and what I shall find to make for Gods glory, and the good of the Kingdom, and that may stand with a good conscience, that I will readily and willingly imbrace, being desirous in all that I may, to satisfie the pleasure of the King and Queen, to whom I owe all due observance.

Her pious  
care about  
it.

Yet there remained two scruples which troubled the King and the Queen of Navarr in respect of the place and manner of celebrating the marriage: For the Queen would not have it done at *Paris*, which City being extreemly addicted to the *Popish* Religion, she feared was long since an enemy to the Family of Navarr, and therefore she judged it not safe to have it celebrated there. The King on the contrary said, That it would make for a certain sign of sure Peace to have the celebrity of the marriage seen in the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom, as it were on a publique *Theater*. The other doubt was about the manner of the celebration. For the Queen of Navarr being most addicted to the Reformed Religion, would never endure that it should be contracted after the *Popish* manner, nor the Queen-Mother after the fashion of the Protestants. But the King prayed the Queen of Navarr to pardon him in that matter, for that it would tend to his great dishonour if he should suffer the marriage of his Sister to be solemnized in any other form than according to that ancient Religion which he had received from his forefathers; therefore to resolve this doubt, there was time taken on both sides.

In the mean time the Queen of Navarr consulted with the Ministers of the Reformed Religion what might be done in this matter. Some of them insisting upon the simplicity of Gods Word, said, that it was utterly unlawfull for such marriages to be contracted, especially by illustrious Personages, in whom it is more dangerous because of more publique concernment. Others judging that this marriage would be a sure, and as it were, an everlasting foundation of a most happy Peace, assented to it.

Ministers  
dissent a-  
bout it.

The Queen of Navarr and the Protestant Nobles striving to find out remedies, both for the Kingdom which was grievously afflicted, and for their own bruised estates, liked these mens judgments best; and so the business proceeded, and the conditions of marriage were agreed upon between the parties. The King was to give his Sister for her Dowry three Hundred Thousand Crowns, each Crown being valued at four and fifty Shillings.

About this time the Queen of Navarr, being zealously carefull to propagate the Protestant Religion in *Cantabria* (a Province of the Jurisdiction of Navarr) she sent Pastors who had learned the Countrey language, which is understood by almost none of the neighbours, and was before believed that it could not be written. She took care also that the *New Testament*, the *Catechism*, and the Prayers used in the Church of *Geneva*, should be translated into the *Gascoine* or *Cantabrian* tongue; which she caused to be printed at *Rochel* in a most fine letter, and sent to them. And so upon the earnest solicitation of the King, she went the *March* following, *Anno Christi* 1572. from *Rochel* to the Court, which was then at *Blas*, with great attendance, where it is incredible to think what welcome she had on all sides; especially from the King and his Brethren; who yet when all was done, could boastingly say to his Mother, *Now Madam, have not I quit my self well? Let me alone, and I will bring them all into the net.*

Her zeal to  
propagate  
the Gospel.

She goes  
to the Court.

The King  
dissimulat-  
on.

In *April* following were the *Articles* concluded concerning the marriage of the Prince of Navarr with the Kings Sister. And in the beginning of *May* the King wooed the Queen of Navarr again to come to *Paris*, for pre-

pre-

She goes to  
Paris.

preparing things fitting for the Marriage, which she at last consented to; and so May the sixth she took her journey from *Blois* and came to *Paris*, May the fifteenth. After which she went from place to place in the City into sundry Houses and Shops, to find out such things as might tend to the Adorning of the Day of so great a Solemnity.

She is poy-  
soned.

The Queen-Mother in the mean time, who could not endure this good Queen, and yet not finding with what colour she could dispatch her with the rest; though she feared the greatness of her Spirit in case she should survive them, and judged it impossible to work upon the flexibility of the young Prince her Son whilst she lived. She therefore consulted with one *Rene* an *Italian*, whose Practice was to imploy things; by whose devilish help she brought her accursed purpose to pass. This *Rene* told the Queen of *Navarr* certain Perfumes, whereby he found out the way to poyson her therewith; and afterwards he was heard to make brags of it, saying also, that he had the like in store for two or three more, who suspected no such matter.

Her sick-  
nesse, and  
Religious  
carriage  
therein.  
Her charge  
to her Son.

By this means, *June* the 4. this good Queen fell sick of a continued Feavour, and (though others sleighted it; yet) she perceiving by the strength of her disease that she should not long continue, prepared her self to receive from the hand of God her merciful Father, that which he had appointed concerning her: And calling her Son *Henry*, she commanded him above all things carefully to serve God, according to the Confession of Faith wherein he had been Educated, and not to suffer himself to be plucked or diverted from the same by the smoaky pleasures and delights of the world, and other incentives unto Vices; and that he should take care that the *Constitutions* concerning the same, which she had published in the Principality of *Berne*, and the lower *Navarr* be inviolably kept: That he should thoroughly purge his Family, and cause all bad Councellors to be gone from thence, which thought ill concerning God: As also, all flatterers, the abusers of Princes, and all other vicious Persons: That he should retain with him all good Men, as *Bellovarius*, *Francutius*, and *Betulus*, who were men of an unblameable life: That he should have a special care of his Sister *Katherine*, using her gently and lovingly without bitterness, causing her to be brought up in the Town of *Berne*, in the same School of godlinesse which himself had been trained up in; and when she should grow marriagable, that he should marry her to a Prince of equall dignity; professing the same Religion: That he should love *Henry Bourbon* his Coten German, as his Brother; and also *Francis* Marquesse of *Contum*, taking care that as great concord as may be, be cherished betwixt them and the Admirall *Coligni*, for the advancement and propagation of Gods glory. Lastly, she makes her Son her Heir; intreating the King, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Duke of *Alemon*, the Kings Brethren, to undertake the Protection of the Prince her Son, and of *Katherine* his Sister, and to permit them the free exercise of their Religion.

James 5.14.

Then she requested, that she might have such nigh about her as might comfort her in her sickness out of the Word of God; as also to pray with her and for her, according to that of Saint *James*, *Is any sick amongst you? let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, knowing that the Prayers of a righteous man prevail much with God.*

Her confe-  
rence with  
the Minister

According to her desire, a Minister resorted to her, shewing out of the Scriptures, that Christians ought in all things to submit to the will of God, as to the *Father of spirits*; that they may live; and albeit by reason of the severity of his chastisements, sometimes it may seem to our flesh, as if they were sent for no other end but for our destruction; yet ought we to consider that the just God can do nothing but justly, and being withall a mercifull Father, he cannot but therein seek the welfare of his afflicted Children.



To this she replied, I take all this as sent from the hand of God my most mercifull Father. Nor have I, during this extremity, feared to die, much lesse murmured against God for inflicting this chastisement upon me, knowing that what-so-ever he doth, he doth so order the same, as that in the end it shall turn to my everlasting good.

Then said the Minister, The causes of sicknesses and diseases must be sought beyond the course of *Physick*, which always looks to the corruption of the humours, or of the distemper in the more noble parts of the Body. And though it be not amisse to have respect to these things as to secondary causes, yet ought we to ascend higher, namely to the first, even to God himself, who disposeth of all his creatures, even as best pleaseth him. *He it is that makes the wound, and heals; that kills, and makes alive, Deut. 32. 39.* and therefore to him we ought to direct our Prayers for our comfort in all our griefs and sufferings, and in the end to expect full deliverance, seeing it's easie with him to restore our health, if it stand with his good pleasure.

To this she answered, That she depended wholly upon Gods Providence, knowing that all things are wisely disposed by him, and therefore she besought him to furnish her with all such graces as he saw to be necessary for her salvation. As for this life (said she) I am in a good measure weaned from it, in regard of the afflictions which have followed me from my youth hitherto, but especially because I cannot live without offending my God, with whom I desire to be with all my heart.

Then said the Minister, Yet long life, how full of troubles soever it be, is to be esteemed amongst the blessings of God, seeing his promise implies so much; and not only so, but because our lives may many ways serve to his Glory; and long Life is not only an honour, but a Pledge of his Favour: Even as it is to him whom a Prince long employs in his Service, having had Experience of his fidelity many years together. Hereupon he earnestly requested her to pray, that if it was the will of God he would employ her yet longer in his Service, for the further enlargement of his Gospel, and that he would grant unto her such recovery of health, and such a good disposition of body, that with renewed strength she might be enabled to finish her course much more nobly than ever heretofore.

Long Life a  
Blessing.

To this she replied, That in regard of her own particular, her life was not dear unto her, seeing so long as she lived in this frail flesh, she was still prone and apt to sin against God; only she said, her care was somewhat for her Children which God had given her, in respect that they should be deprived of her in their young years; yet (saith she) I doubt not, but though he should please to take me from them, himself will become a Father to them, and a Protector over them, as he hath ever been to me in my greatest afflictions, and therefore I commit them wholly to his government and fatherly care.

Then the Minister blessed God for working in her Majesty this assistance of Faith, and ability to cast her care upon the Providence of God, intreating her still to Persevere therein, which would sufficiently seal unto her the truth of her Faith. And thus (saith she) did the Patriarchs in times past, commit the care of their posterity into the hands of God, as may appear by the severall blessings of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*. But yet he told her that it was very requisite that she should make choice of such, who for their sincerity both in life and Doctrine, might continue to water in these young Princely Plants, the seeds of Piety that had been sown in them by her so great Pains, and Industry. Seeing, not without hope, that the Example of her Faith and Constancy in the Service of God, wherein she had gone before them, all would serve as a Perpetuall inducement to them to follow her Noble Vertues.

And whereas she had declared that Death was not terrible to her, because it was the way by which she was to passe to her eternal rest, he told her that Christians had little cause to fear Death, in regard that they should not die at all, according to that of our Saviour, *He that lives and Believes in me, shall never Die*, Joh. 8. 51. For, (saith he,) to speak properly, Death is no Death to them; but a sweet sleep, being often so called in the Scriptures: And therefore *Christ* for their sakes hath overcome and triumphed over it in his own person; so as now we may cry out with Saint Paul, *O Death, where is thy Sting? O grave, where is thy Victory?*

1 Cor. 15.  
55.

After this he admonished her to make confession of her sinnes before God, shewing that bodily diseases tend to the dissolution of nature, and that Death was the wages of sinne: Further declaring, that by this her Chastisement she might discern what she had deserved if God should enter into Judgment with her, not only in regard of the fall of our first Parents, in which guilt she was enwrapped as well as others; but also by her own personall sins, seeing the best in the world are in themselves but poor, miserable and wretched Sinners; yea if the Lord should punish us according to our demerits, we could expect nothing at his hands but Eternal Death and Damnation.

At these words she began with her eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven, to acknowledge that the sins which she had committed against the Lord were innumerable, and therefore more than she was able to reckon up; but yet she hoped that God for *Christ's* sake, in whom she put her whole trust, would be mercifull to her.

From hence the Minister took occasion to declare at large upon what ground she was to expect the fruit of this mercy of God in *Christ*: Adding, *The whole have no need of a Physician, but the sick. And Christ saith, He came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.* And, that he is ready to fill the hungry with good things, whereas in the mean while, he sends the rich empty away. Of these things (saith he) you ought so much the rather to be perswaded in your conscience, by how much the more the holy Spirit of God witnesseth to your Spirit that you are the Child of God, and enables you to cry *Abba, Father*: For what is Faith else but a firm trust and assurance of the good will of God manifested towards us in his blessed Son.

But the Minister fearing lest by his long discourse he might be troublesome, or cause her too much to spend her Spirits, would have given over; which she taking notice of, earnestly requested him not to forbear speaking to her about these matters of life and eternal salvation; adding, that now she felt the want of it, in regard that since her coming to Paris she had been somewhat remisse in hearing such exhortations out of the Word of God: And therefore I am the more glad (saith she) to receive comfort out of it in this my great extremity.

Then did the Minister endeavour to set before her the happinesse of Heaven, and what those joys were that the faithfull possesse in the presence of God, which the Scriptures intending to discover, tell us, that *Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, what those things are, which God hath prepared for them that love him.* For, (saith he,) it is as if a King minding greatly to honour some Noble Personage, should bring him to his Court, and there shew him his state and attendance, his Treasures, with all his most precious Jewels: Even so will the Lord one day reveal to all his Elect and faithfull people, his magnificence and glory; with all the Treasures of his Kingdom, after he hath gathered them home to himself, decking and adorning them with light, incorruption, and immortality. Therefore (saith he) since this happinesse is so great, your Highnesse ought to be the lesse solicitous about leaving this transitory life; and know that you are to change this earthly Kingdom for an heavenly Inheritance, These temporall good things which vanish and come



to nothing in the using, to enjoy for ever those things which are Eternal, and Everlasting. For your Faith, being now firmly set upon our Lord *Jesus Christ*, you may be assured to obtain Eternal Salvation by Him. Then did he proceed to propose to her this Question; Madam, Do you verily believe, that *Jesus Christ* came into the World to save you? And do you expect the full forgiveness of all your Sins, by the shedding of His Blood for you.

Yea (said she) I do, believing that he is my only Saviour, and Mediator, and I look for Salvation from none other, knowing that he hath abundantly satisfied for the sins of all his People; and therefore I am assured, that God for his sake (according to his gracious Promise in Him) will have mercy upon me.

During all the time of her Sickness, she ceased not to continue in such fruitful and comfortable Communications; sometimes intermixing them with most affectionate Sighs to God, as a Testimony of that Hope and Desire she had of enjoying his Presence: often uttering these words; *O my God, in thy good time, deliver me from this Body of Death, and from the Miseries of this present Life, that I may no more offend thee; and that I may attain to the Felicity which thou (in thy Word) hast promised to bestow upon me.* Neither did she manifest her Pious Affection by words only, but by her constant and cheerful Countenance, so far forth as the vehemency of her Disease would suffer; thereby giving a clear Testimony of all that beheld her, that the fear of Death could not drive her from the steadfastness of her Faith. The Minister also went often to Prayer with her; the usual Tenor whereof was this which follows;

Her Prayer

*O Lord our God, We confesse here before thy Divine Majesty, that we are altogether unworthy of thine infinite Mercies; by reason of our manifold Iniquities; and that we are so far from deserving to be heard of thee in our Requests, that we are rather worthy that thou shouldst reject both our Persons, and our Prayers: But seeing it hath pleased thee to make us a gracious Promise of hearing and granting our Requests, we humbly beseech thee freely to forgive all our Offences, and to take them under the Obedience and Righteousness of thy dear Son, that through him our Selves, and our Services, may be well pleasing unto thee. For, Lord, we acknowledge, that all our Afflictions are measured out to us by thine hand, who art a most just Judge, in regard that we have every way provoked thee to Wrath by our infinite Sinning against thee; yea, by our Rebellions which now testify against us. For, alas Lord, our Life hath been no way answerable to that perfect Obedience which thou (by thy holy Law) dost justly require at our Hands, which we from day to day do transgress; and therefore do here cast down our selves at this time before thy glorious Presence, unfeignedly acknowledging our Misery and Wretchedness from the very bottom of our Hearts. Yet, Lord, Mercy is with thee; and because thou art our Father, therefore thou desirest not the Death of Sinners, but rather that they should convert and live. For this cause we now fall down before the Throne of thy Grace, with confidence of obtaining thy wonted Mercy which thou hast promised to such as call upon thee in Truth; beseeching thee who art the Father of Mercies, to have Compassion on all such as thou hast humbled under thy mighty Hand; but more especially on this thy Servant, the Queen, who lyeth here before thee sick of a dangerous Disease; that as thou hast righteously afflicted her for her sins (which she also doth with us acknowledge), so it would please thee in pardoning them all to her for thy beloved Son's sake, to grant that she may profit by this thy correcting Hand for the time to come: Above all, O Lord, give her a sweet sense, yea, full assurance of thy Eternal Joys, that so she may with the greater Patience take down this bitter potion ministred unto her from thy hand, and that the sole desire of enjoying thy presence may cause her to forget all worldly greatness and magnificence, knowing that they are nothing in respect of the glory which is now set before her. Endue her also with*

A Prayer.

meekness of minde to bear the tediousnesse of her affliction, for though the Spirit be willing the Flesh is weak, yea, full of resisting and unbelief; that so receiving all things from thee as from a Father, she may the more willingly submit her will to thine. And because, O good God, thou hast made her hitherto an happy Instrument for the advancement of thy glory, and defence of thy poor afflicted people, we pray thee, if it may stand with thy good pleasure, restore her to health again, that so the excellent work that thou hast by her means begun, may not be left unperfected; but by vertue of this her deliverance, she may with renewed strength undertake the same in better sort than ever heretofore, especially for the well Educating and training up the Children that thou hast given her. But, Lord, if thou hast a purpose now to call her home to thy self, who are we that we should contradict thy holy will? Only we pray thee that thou wouldst confirm her more and more in the knowledge of thy blessed Gospel, and thereby also in the certainty of her salvation, which thou hast given her by Faith in thy Son Jesus Christ, that thus she may not cease to sanctifie and call upon thy holy Name to her last breath. And as touching our selves, who are here by thy good providence gathered together about her, being in bodily health, give us to know the uncertainty and brevity of our life, that so according to our duty, we may behold the same in this mirror that thou hast set before us, as knowing that even the greatest in the world are subject to the same calamities as well as the small, that so our chief care may be to employ the remainder of our time to thine honour and service. All which we crave of thee in the Name of Jesus Christ thy Son, our only Mediator and Advocate, Amen.

During the time of prayer, she ceased not with hands and eyes lift up to Heaven, to fetch many deep sighs, especially when mention was made of the mercy of God in *Christ*, which he extendeth to poor sinners; so that all present might evidently see, that her heart and affections were joyned to the Prayer that was made by, and for her. And whilst she thus lay, she still continued in her holy desires to depart hence that she might be with *Christ*, taking great delight in the holy and Christian exhortations which were made to her by many godly and learned men, who came to visit her, to whom also she manifested no small testimonies of that faith and hope which she had in God, touching the salvation of her soul, by her holy and savory speeches, which for brevity sake are omitted.

Her Patience.

Yea, although the Lord exercised her much with the sense of her inward disease, yet could you not at any time discern any speech, favouring of discontentment or impatience to proceed out of her mouth, nay scarcely so much as a groan.

But if at any time she found any refreshings from the violence of her disease (there being no malady so vehement which hath not some intermissions and breathing times) she declared her willingness to obtain the recovery of her former health, and for that end she refused no good means prescribed for her by her learned *Physicians*. Again, when she perceived her sickness to increase upon her, and that she grew worse and worse, she was no whit appaled thereat, but shewed her self to be armed with an invincible constancy to undergo the utmost that death could do against her, preparing her self willingly for that last conflict.

And when she saw her Ladies and Gentlewomen weeping about her bed, she blamed them for it, saying, Weep not for me I pray you, for as much as God doth by this sickness, call me hence to enjoy a better life, and now I may enter into the desired Haven, towards which this frail vessel of mine hath been a long time steering: Yet she shewed her self grieved that she wanted opportunity to reward them, and many more of her Family and Train which had done her Faithfull Service, as she could have wished, excusing her self to them, and professing that it was not want of good will, but her being prevented by this her suddain sickness: But (said she)



I will not fail to give order about the same to the utmost of my ability.

In the end, perceiving her strength to decay more and more, she gave order to have her last *Will and Testament* made, and thereby settled her outward estate. And the Eighth of *June*, which was the day before she Died, she called for a Minister, and finding that she was drawing nigh unto her end, she desired him to speak some-what largely of the temptations which Satan is wont to assail Gods Elect withall in their last conflict.

To this the Minister answered, Indeed that is the hour wherein the sworn Enemy of all the faithful doth most busily bestirre himself, if possible to deprive them of the Comfort of their Salvation, not sparing especially at that time, to set upon them with might and sleight, but yet even then the Lord is not, nor will be wanting to his, filling their Hearts with such joy and Comfort of the Holy Ghost, as shall make them in the end more than Conquerours. His first Engine wherewith he would drive to them Despair, is by presenting before their Eyes the innumerable Heaps of their Sins and Pollutions, wherewith they have been any way Defiled in their whole Life: And then he presents to them Gods justice, before which no flesh can be able to subsist, unless it were pure and spotless; whence he infers, that such miserable sinners can expect and look for nothing but utter Death and Condemnation. But against these Assaults we must as *David*, *Psalm* 51. set the infinite Multitudes of Gods Compassions, which do infinitely surpass the Multitudes of our Sins. And as for the justice of God, we confess that no Creature that is defiled by Sin can abide to be strictly Examined by it, if God should call us to a severe Account: But we know that God will never enter into judgment with those that believe in his Son, but imputes unto them that Righteousness and Obedience which was accomplished by him, which is sufficient to oppose against the justice of God; Therefore in it alone we must expect to stand before his Face, and not by our own Dignity and Worthiness. Indeed, if we were to appear before the Seat of Justice to Receive there what we have deserved, we had good Reason to be overwhelmed in utter Despair, but turning our Eyes upon Him, who being the Eternal Son of God, hath Cloathed himself with our Humane Nature, to bear on Him the same punishment that was due to our Sins, and thereby hath acquitted us, then Gods justice doth no whit affright us, but rather yields us assured Comfort, because God being just, cannot require the same debt twice. Having therefore received full and perfect satisfaction from *Christ*, whom he hath ordained to be our surety, and who hath paid our Debts for us, thence we gather assurance that he will no more require it at our hands. To which purpose these Sentences are to be well observed. It is *Christ* who hath borne our Grief, and carried our Sorrowes. The chastisement of our Peace was upon him, and by his stripes we are healed. That we all like Sheep have gone astray, and have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid upon him the Iniquity of us all. *Christ* is our Peace, and the propitiation for our Sins. The Lamb of God which taketh away the Sins of the World. Upon these considerations Gods justice need not terrifie such as believe in *Christ*, of whose Righteousness and Redemption they are made partakers, seeing that *Jesus Christ*, who knew no Sin, was made Sin (that is an Oblation for Sin) for us, that we might be made the Righteousness of God in him.

I grant (said he) that these things belong not to all indifferently, but only unto such as, believing in the Son of God, do wholly cast themselves upon the Merit of his Death and Passion, which as *St. Peter* saith, is sufficient for their Salvation, *Act*. 4. 12.

Then did he ask her, whether she placed her whole trust and confidence on *Christ* Crucified, who died for her sins, and Rose again for her justification.

To

To this the godly Queen answered, that she neither expected Salvation, Righteousnesse, nor life from any else, but only from her Saviour *Jesus Christ*, being assured that his merit alone did abundantly suffice for the full satisfaction for all her sins; albeit they were innumerable.

This being your faith, Madam, (quoth the Minister) you cannot come into condemnation, but *are passed from Death to Life*, neither need you fear Gods Seat of Justice, since it is turned into a Throne of mercy and grace unto you, and therefore the Hour of Death will be exceeding welcome to you, being but a sweet passage into a far better life; as also the time in which all tears shall be wiped from your eyes; therefore I beseech you, Madam, think often of that sweet Text, *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours and their works follow them*. Now the time approaches wherein you shall enjoy the beatificall vision, the society of your Husband *Christ*, the fellowship of the blessed Angels and celestial Spirits with the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs of *Christ*, partaking with them in the same felicity and glory. He also further said, Madam, If it should please God by this your sicknesse to put an end to this weary *Pilgrimage* of yours, and to call you home to himself, as by some evident signs it appears that he will, Are you willing to go unto him? To this she answered with much Christian courage, *Yea with all my Heart*.

Then said he, Good Madam, Open the eyes of your Faith, and behold *Jesus* your great Redeemer sitting at the right hand of his Father, reaching out his hand to receive you to himself. Are you, Madam, willing to go unto him? Yes I assure you (saith she) most willing, and much more willing than to linger here below in this world, where I see nothing but vanity. Then he asked her, if they should go to prayer with her: which she desiring, they performed it by her, whilst this pious Lady manifested her ardent affection in calling upon God.

The Minister  
ab-  
solves her

Prayer being ended, the Minister discerning in her the undoubted testimonies of unfeigned Repentance, and of the sorrow that she conceived for the offences which she had committed against God, together with the assured confidence which she had in his mercies, as a Minister of the Gospel, and *Ambassador* of the Son of God, by the authority given to him, having the word of reconciliation committed to him; he assured her in the Name of *Christ*, that all her sinnes were forgiven by God, and that they should never come in account against her at his judgment seat; yea, that she should no more doubt thereof, then if the Son of God from Heaven should say unto her, *Daughter, be of good comfort, thy sins are forgiven thee*. And to the end that troubled consciences might the better be quieted, *Christ* hath used these words speaking to his Ministers, saying, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted, &c.* And the reason is, because the Word which they pronounce is not the word of a mortall man, but of the immortall God, being of no lesse weight than if himself uttered the same. Then he asked her Majesty if she accepted of so gracious a message which assured her of the free pardon of all her sins: Yes (saith she) with all my heart, and make no doubt thereof.

The Admiral  
came to  
her.

Not long after came in the Admiral *Colligni*, and with him another Minister, to whom she gave ear a good space together, his Speech tending to prepare her for Death; and when he had finished his Speech, he also prayed with her, which she attended to with great affection. Then she requested that those two Ministers might stay all night with her in her Chamber, and that they would in no wise leave her.

The greatest part of this Night was spent in holy Admonitions: which these Ministers gave to this gracious Lady one after another; besides which she required them to read to her some Chapters of the holy Scriptures which were pertinent to her Condition, and so they read out of *St. Johns* Gospel; from the fourteenth, to the end of the seventeenth Chapter. After which they



they went to prayer with her, which being ended, the Queen desired to take some rest; but it was not long ere she commanded them to read again: Whereupon one of them made choice of certain of *David's* Psalms, full of ardent and affectionate prayers, suting to this Princesse present condition by reason of her affliction; and for a conclusion read *Psal. 31.* wherein the Prophet, amongst other things, doth commend his Spirit into the hands of God, *Because, saith he, thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.*

Then the Queen willed them to pray with her again; and thus was the most part of that night spent in such holy exercises; during all which time the Ministers never discerned in her the least sign of impatience, notwithstanding the violence of her affliction. Yea whereas immediately before her sickness she had shewed how affectionately she was bent to provide things most magnificent for the day of her Sons Marriage, according as the State of so great an alliance required; yet it was admirable to observe, that after this sickness had seized on her, God wrought in her such a neglect and forgetfulness of all such matters, that she never shewed to have so much as a thought thereof.

This night being thus spent, and past, by this Noble Queen, she persevering in the expressions of such like affections, and ardency of faith, the next morning between eight and nine of the clock, she departed this life to take possession of a far better, sweetly yielding up her Spirit into the hands of God, *June. 9. Anno Christi 1572.* being the sixth day after she fell sick, and of her age 44.

Her Death

She had her perfect speech and memory, even to the hour of her Death, shewing not only that staidnesse and soundnesse of Judgement (which ever in times past she had) in the care about the salvation of her soul, but also in the well settlement of her worldly affairs.

The King made as if he had conceived great grief for her Death, putting on mourning attire, wherein also the whole Court followed his example, lest by this suddain accident their Counsels and future desperate designs might be prevented.

Also to avoid all Jealousies and suspicions of her being poisoned by reason of her suddain Sicknesse and Death, her body was opened by sundry expert and learned Doctors of *Physick* and *Chyrurgery*, who found her Heart and Liver very sound, only some scirrousnesse on one side of her Lungs; but her Head they might not open, where the malady lay, by which means the discovery of it was prevented. *Anonymus.*

*Soli Deo Gloria.*

FINIS.

THE CITY OF BOSTON

of the City of Boston, in the County of Suffolk, State of Massachusetts, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears in the records of the City of Boston, in the County of Suffolk, State of Massachusetts, to wit:

That the following is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears in the records of the City of Boston, in the County of Suffolk, State of Massachusetts, to wit:

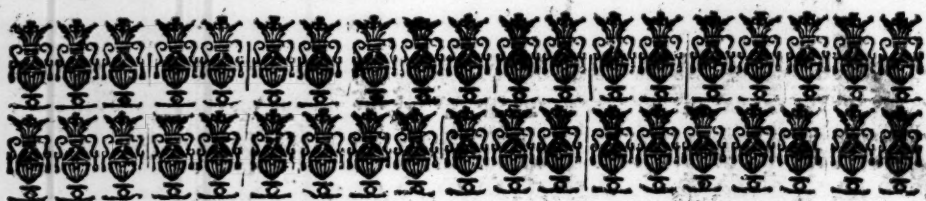
ATTEST

CLERK



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## ERRATA'S in the LIVES.

Page 21 line 15 read *soft* for *fore*. p. 29 l. 1 r. *bindeth* f. *bind* ther. *Lighted* f. *lighten*.  
 l. 43 r. *which* f. *and*. p. 32 l. 8 put out *take*. p. 48 l. 17. r. *for some* f. *from*. 651. 23 r. *universe* f. *nature*.  
 p. 112 l. 20 r. *re* f. *pre*. p. 172 l. 6, 7 r. *first* f. *first*, four times in those twines. p. 210 l. 30 r. *might*.  
 p. 275 l. 20 r. *Ears* f. *Tears*; *dwell* f. *well*. p. 296 l. 24 put in *can*. p. 447, 14 r. *suitable* f. *surable*.  
 p. 454 l. 10, r. *taken* f. *taking*.







The skilfull Physiognomers who scan  
 Each line and wrinkle in the face of man,  
 Can tell no more what Soul dwell's there, then we  
 By seing Starrs can tell what Angels be:  
 Then aske not at the doore who 'tis: If so  
 This Shadow can not tell thee. Reade and know.

John Dunstall sculpsit.

J. C. A. M. fecit.



A  
General Martyrologie,  
CONTAINING  
A COLLECTION  
PE Of All the Greatest  
PERSECUTIONS  
VVhich have Befallen the

**Church of CHRIST,**  
From the CREATION, to our Present Times; wherein  
is given an exact Account of the Protestants Sufferings in  
**Queen Maries Reign.**

Wherunto is Added  
The LIVES of **Thirty Two** English Divines, Famous in their  
Generations for Learning and Piety; and most of their Sufferers in the Cause  
of CHRIST.

Together, With the **Lives** of *Gustavus Ericson*, KING of Sweden;  
*Faspar Coligni*, Admiral of France (who was Slain in the Massacre of Paris), and  
*Joan Queen of Navarre* (who Died of Poison a few dayes before that  
Bloody Massacre). Likewise, of divers other Christians who were Eminent for  
Prudence and Piety.

You have also, Lively Represented, The divers manners of those  
Cruel, Horrid, and Inhumane Sufferings, that the People of GOD have un-  
dergone in all Ages and Nations; and the Effigies of some of the Eminent  
Divines, in Copper-Plates.

---

The Third Edition, Corrected, and Enlarged.

---

By **Samuel Clarke**, late Pastor of St. Bennet - Fink, London.

---

*Viti sunt* { Gentiles } & Idololatria eorum, non à repugnantibus, sed à morientibus Christianis.  
{ Papiste } August. Epist. 42.

*Quò malis presentibus durius deprimor eò de futuris gaudiis certius praesumo.* Gregor.  
In nothing be terrified by your Adversaries, which is to them an evident token of Perdition;  
But to you of Salvation, and that of God, *Phil. i. 28.*

---

**L O N D O N :**

Printed for *William Birch*, at the *Peacock* at the Lower-end of *Cheap-side*, 1677.

England ex-  
hausted of  
Men by the  
Roman War.  
The Britains  
send to Rome  
for help.

A Wall built  
between us  
and the Scots.

They send a-  
gain for help.

A Stone-Wall  
built.

A cruel Perse-  
cution.

Divisions de-  
structive.

They send a-  
gain to Rome.

Repentance  
obtains mercy.

scourge to them and this Kingdom, which had been often exhausted of the flower of all her youth, upon several occasions led away by the *Roman* Emperors in all their Wars, was now unable to defend her self against their violent irruptions: For which cause, for divers years together, the *Britains* were miserably oppressed, and wasted by those Two Nations; This occasioned them to send their Embassadors to *Rome* with lamentable complaints, requesting, and begging aid, and assistance of them against these their cruel Enemies: The *Romans* at last, moved with pity, sent them a Legion of Soldiers, who encountering with the *Picts* and *Scots*, overthrew them, slew many, and drove the rest out of the confines of the *Britains*, and withal advised them to build a Wall from Sea to Sea cross the Land, which might keep out these evil Neighbors: This was assented to, and the Wall being finished, the *Roman* Soldiers returned home again.

As soon as the *Picts* and *Scots* heard thereof, they presently in a number of Boats landed on this side the Wall, invaded the borders, over-ran the Country, and bare down all before them.

Then did the *Britains* send new Embassadors to *Rome*, who made grievous moan, imploring their aid, beseeching them not to suffer their miserable Country utterly to be wasted, and destroyed by these barbarous Heathens, &c. Hereupon there is a Legion of Soldiers again sent into *Britain*, who in harvest time coming suddenly upon these destroyers, made a great slaughter of them, and such as escaped, they chased by Sea into their own Country; which being done, they told the *Britains* plainly, that it was not for their ease to take such long, and tedious journeys for their sakes, that they should expect no more assistance from them, and therefore they exhorted them to arm, and exercise themselves, that of themselves they might be able to resist these their Enemies; and for their further encouragement they assisted them in building a Wall of Stone Eight foot broad, and Twelve foot high, from the East to the West Sea, just where the Emperor *Severus* had formerly cast up a Trench, all which was done upon the publick and private charges of the *Britains*. Also by the Sea-side Southwards at the place where their Ships lay at harbor, lest their Enemies should land thereabouts, they built up Bulworks at a competent distance each from other, all which being finished the *Romans* bade them farewell, intending to return no more.

But God yet intended a further scourge to the *Britains*; wherefore as soon as the *Picts*, and *Scots* understood that the *Romans* had taken their final farewell, they came in great multitudes to assault the Wall, which for a while was defended with faint Hands, and trembling Hearts by the *Britains*: But the *Scots*, with certain grapples that they had devised, pulled some part of it to the ground, and in other parts so assaulted the *Britains*, that they put them to flight, and in a barbarous manner followed, killed, and destroyed them more cruelly than ever they had done before: whereupon the *Britains*, being driven out of their Habitations and possessions, fell to robbing and spoiling one another, increasing their outward miseries by their intestine discords, so that the whole Country was brought to that extream poverty that they had no sustenance but what they got by hunting, and killing of wild Beasts.

In the Eighth year of the Reign of *Theodosius junior*, the *Britains* sent to *Rome* again, setting forth their piteous Estate, complaining that the barbarous Enemy drove them upon the Sea, the Sea again upon the Enemy, so that death and destruction attended them on all hands: But the *Romans* having their Hands full at that time, being scarce able to defend themselves against the barbarous *Huns* under *Attala*, refused to send them any succor, returning the Embassadors without relief:

The *Britains* being thus frustrated of their hopes from *Rome*, and being forced thereto by Famine, they took courage to themselves, and began to seek unto God; and when all Earthly hope failed, so much the more to put their whole trust



trust and confidence in God, who useth not to fail those that trust in him; and so from the Hills and Brakes where they lurked, they many times invaded their Enemies, first resisting, and afterwards overthrowing them, which for many years before had lived upon the spoil of their Countrey. The *Picts* hereupon began to keep themselves quiet at home; save only that now and then they would make inroads into the land, so that shortly after the land enjoyed great peace and quietness, and the *Britains* falling to Husbandry, through Gods blessing, the Earth yielded such abundance, that there was never the like plenty of grain seen before: But behold the wickedness of Mans heart! The *Britains* enjoyed Peace and Plenty, they fell into all manner of loose and licentious living, whereof all sorts of lewd and abominable practices folled, especially cruelty, hatred of the truth, and loving of lies, insomuch that if any Men were more humble and faithful embracers of the truth then others, the other would work them all the despite and mischief that could be, as the common Enemies of their Countrey: And these sins abounded, not only amongst the Laity but Clergy also, and the chiefest of all sorts gave themselves over to drunkenness, pride, contention, envy, and such other wickedness, utterly casting from them the sweet and easie yoke of *Christ*. Then did the Lord send a terrible Pestilence amongst them, whereof such multitudes died, that the living were not able to bury the dead, yet for all this they remained so hardned in their sins, that neither their Friends death, nor their own danger could mollifie their obdurate hearts, or work them to a Reformation of their wicked lives, whereupon a more grievous stroke of Gods vengeance fell upon the whole sinful Nation; as in the sequel will be made to appear.

Peace ensues  
Plenty.

Sin the fore-  
runner of  
judgment.

A great Pestilence.

## CHAP. II.

*The Persecution of the British Church under the Heathen Saxons and English.*

**T**He *Britains* being again infested with their old ill neighbors, they consulted what was best for them to do in such a strait, and instead of turning to God with all their Hearts, and reforming their wicked lives, they, with their King *Vortigern*, resolved to demand aid of the *Saxons*, to repel the fury of these Northern Nations, by which foolish counsel the Lord intended to plague this wicked People, as the story following will evidently shew.

Anno 429. The *English* and *Saxons* being sent for by the said King into *Britain*, they landed in Three long Ships, and by the Kings appointment, encountering with the *Picts* and *Scots*, they got the Victory, whereof they sent home word to their Countrymen, withal informing them of the fertility of *Britain*, and of the Cowardliness of the Inhabitants: Hereupon a far greater number of the *Saxons*, and better furnished for the War, arrived in *Britain*; and joyning with the former Band, they formed a stronger Army then all the power of the *Britains* was able to overcome: These therefore by the *Britains* had a place allowed them to dwell in, upon condition that they should fight for them against their Enemies, receiving wages of the *Britains* for their pains: The chief Captains of these *Saxons* were *Hengist*, and *Horsus*, and greater companies of those people daily resorting hither, they suddenly enter'd into league with the *Picts*, whom they had now driven further off, and began to turn their Forces upon the *Britains*. And first they required more store of Victuals of them, seeking thereby to pick a quarrel with them, and threatning that if they did not presently send them in more store, they would break their amity with them, and spoil the Country about them, and no sooner was it said but they performed it indeed: And thus by the hands of these Pagans, God avenged the quarrel of his Covenant upon

A great Persecution.

They quarrel  
with the *Britains*.

upon his wicked people: And this fire of Gods wrath being once kindled, he imployed these Idolaters, as once he did the *Caldeans* against the *Jews*, to scourge his Apostatizing people, so that the destruction made by them in this land overspread the whole Island, none being able to resist it.

The Saxons  
sent for.

All Edifices both publick and private were demolished, the Ministers were slain while they were imployed in the service of God: The Reverend Bishops, and their flocks were cruelly murdered, without respect to their dignity, neither were there any to inter their slaughtered Bodies: Some being pursued into the Mountains were there murdered; others almost starved with hunger, were fain to creep out of their Caves and Dens, and to buy their food at their Enemies Hands, by whom they were either presently murdered, or deprived of their liberty for ever: Others with heavy Hearts left their Native Country, and fled beyond the Seas: Others being driven from House and Home, wandered up and down in Mountaines, and Woods, and Desert places, exposed to hunger, cold, nakedness, and all sorts of misery, and to fill up the measure of their wretchedness, Two hundred seventy one, or (as some stories say) Four hundred and sixty of the ancientest and chiefest Barons and Nobles of the land, were trained to *Almsbury* to meet with the chiefest of the *Saxons* about a Treaty of Peace, by whom they were most treacherously, and perfidiously all slain at a place called *Stoneheng*: By the which Monuments it seems that the Noble *Britains* were there buried.

Base treachery.

Yet not long after the *Britains* began to take courage to themselves coming out of their Caves where before they had lien hid, and with one consent humbling themselves before Almighty God for their sins, and calling upon him by fervent Prayer, they chose *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a gentle-natured Man, and of the ancient Blood of the *Romans* to be their Captain. This *Ambrosius* had a *Britain* to his Mother, and was educated in the Christian Religion by *Guitilins*, Bishop of *London*: Under him the *Britains* assembling themselves, provoked the *Saxons* and *English* to fight, and (through Gods mercy and goodness,) obtained a great Victory over them, and from that day forward they obtained many other Victories against the *Saxons*.

Repentance.  
*Ambrosius*  
made King of  
the *Britains*.

*Uter Pendragon*.

At last *Ambrosius* died of Poison, and his Brother *Uter*, surnamed *Pendragon* succeeded him, Anno 497. who fighting against *Ofta* and *Cosa*, the Two Chieftains of the *Saxons*, took them both Prisoners, and brought them to *London*, there to be kept: But they, breaking Prison, fled into *Germany* for more aid; In the mean time there daily came over abundance of *Saxons* in several Companies, with whom the *Britains* had divers conflicts and bickerings, sometimes winning, sometimes losing, as the Lord in his wise Providence saw fittest to order it.

A great Persecution.

At last came back *Ofta* and *Cosa* with a great Army out of *Germany*, and joyned with the other *Saxons* against the *Britains*. Here began the miseries of *Britain* afresh, whilst the Idolatrous *Saxons* prevailed in number and strength against the Christian *Britains*, oppressing the people, demolishing their Churches, murdering their Bishops and Ministers, sparing neither age, sex, nor person, but wasting Christianity almost through the whole land: And, as an aggravation of their miseries, their King *Uter* was sick, and could not come forth in defence of his Subjects; yet at last being sore grieved with the lamentable destruction of his people, he caused himself in his Bed to be carried into his Camp, where God in mercy gave him a wonderful Victory, *Ofta* and *Cosa* being both slain in the Battel; shortly after which Victory *Uter* died of Poison, as his Brother had done before him.

*Ofta*, and *Cosa*  
slain.

King *Arthur*,  
his great Vi-  
stories.

Anno 516. came in *Stuph*, and *Wigarius*, Two other Captains of the *Saxons* with a new Army, who so violently assaulted the *Britains*, that they of the Western parts were not able to resist them: Then the Providence of Almighty God raised up for the *Britains*, King *Arthur*, the Son of *Uter*, who obtained Twelve great Victories against the *Saxons*. Concerning this King *Arthur* many strange



strange stories are reported, which I omit as being most of them fabulous: But without question under his Reign, and some of his Successors the *Britains* enjoyed much peace and safety.

Yet when they were at peace with others, they again returning to their former sinful courses, fell to War amongst themselves. Notwithstanding, having yet fresh in mind the late calamities which had been so heavy upon them, both Ministers, Peers, and Commons kept themselves somewhat in order: But after their death, the generation which next followed little knowing, and less regarding the storms past in their Fathers days, and having respect only to the present prosperous estate and condition wherein they lived, fell to all manner of abominations: Justice, and Judgment were turned backward, and equity could not enter, and he that refrained from evil made himself a prey: Inasmuch as *Gildas*, our ancientest Historiographer complains, that they fell into all manner of wickedness, whereunto the nature of Man is inclined, and especially into that which is the overthrow of the best states, *viz.* The hatred of the truth, and love of lyes, embracing evil instead of good; and receiving the Devil under the notion of an Angel of light: They also, as a further aggravation of their sin, neglected to preach the Gospel of *Christ* to the *English* and *Saxons* which inhabited in the land amongst them: This hastened the wrath of God upon them, so that they were chased out of their Cities, and Towns, and the land fell into the possession of the *Saxons*, *Anno Christi* 568. By whom the Christian Ministers of the *Britains* were wholly driven out.

Sin the fore-  
runner of  
judgments.

A great Perse-  
cution.

*Theonus* Arch-Bishop of *London*, and *Thadeosius* Arch-Bishop of *York*, seeing their Churches wasted, and their people slain, and dispersed, left their seats in *Britain*, and fled into *Wales*.

The *Saxons* being thus possess of the land, divided it into Seven Kingdoms. Yet God left not their cruelty shewed to the *Britains*, and their usurpation of their land long unpunished: For these *Saxon* Kings falling out amongst themselves, cruelly devoured each other, one Warring against another till they were neither able to help themselves, nor to resist their Enemies.

The Heptarchy  
erected.

A just judg-  
ment.

The Gospel was first received by King *Lucius*, *Anno Christi* 180. from which time it continued in *Britain* Four hundred and odd years: Then by the *Saxons* it was almost extinct about Forty four years, from whose first coming into this Kingdom till their compleat conquest of the *Britains* were Two hundred and forty years. In sum, from *Christ* to *Lucius* were One hundred and eighty years. The continuance of the Gospel from *Lucius* to the entring of the *Saxons* were Three hundred and two years; The decay of Religion, to the restitution of it by *Austin* were One hundred and forty three years, whose coming into *Britain* was *Anno Christi* 598. And the occasion thereof was this.

Chronological  
notes.

*Pelagius* being Bishop of *Rome*, *Gregory* seeing some Children in the Market-place of *Rome*, being carried thither out of *England* to be sold, and having fair and beautiful Faces, *Gregory* demanded of what Country they were, and understanding that they came out of *England*, and were Heathens, he much lamented the case of the land, the Inhabitants being so beautiful, and Angelical, and yet subject to the Prince of darkness; and asking moreover of what Province they were, it was answered, They were of *Deira*; These People, saith he, are to be delivered de ira Dei, from the wrath of God: And further understanding that their Kings Name was *Alle*; There, saith he, ought Allelujah to be sung to the living God. He was also strongly pressed in Spirit to go into *England* and to endeavor the conversion of these Heathens; But *Pelagius* and the Church at *Rome* would not permit it at that time: yet *Gregory*, after *Pelagius* his death, being chosen Bishop of *Rome*, and remembering his former intentions, he sent *Austin* with about Forty Preachers more to undertake this work.

Austin sent in-  
to England.

As *Austin* and his Company was travelling towards *England*, a sudden fear surprized their Hearts, insomuch that they made a stop, and sent *Austin* back again to *Gregory*, desiring to be excused from that difficult, and dangerous enterprize of converting a Heathenish and Barbarous People, whose language they neither understood, nor were able to resist their rudeness: *Gregory* labored to confirm, and comfort *Austin* against all discouragements, sending him back again to his Companions, and writing by him to them, to exhort, and perswade them not to desist from so godly an enterprize, telling them how acceptable their labors would be with God, and how advantageous to themselves: And this Letter so prevailed with them, that they came at length to the Isle of *Thanet* not far from *Sandwich* in *Kent*, near unto which place also was the Palace of the King.

He arrives in  
the Isle of *Tha-*  
*net*.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

This King was *Ethelbert*, Fifth King of that Province, who a little before had married a Christian *French* Woman, to whom he had promised the enjoyment of her Faith and Religion.

He preacheth  
to the King.

*Austin* being thus arrived, he sent some Messengers, with their Interpreters to the King, signifying that he, and his Fellows were come from *Rome* to bring to him, and his people the glad tidings of salvation; whereby they might eternally Reign in Heaven with the only true God for evermore, if they would hearken to the Gospel which they were ready to preach unto them. The King having heard something before from his Wife of this way, appointed a time when he would meet with *Austin*, who at his coming, preached unto him: After which the King told him, That the words which he spake were very fair: *ret*, saith he, *because to me this way is uncouth, and new, I cannot suddenly depart from my Country Laws wherein I have been so long nurtured; yet since ye are come so far for my sake, you shall not be molested by me, but shall be well intreated, having all things provided for you which are necessary for your comfortable subsistence: we also grant you free leave to Preach to our People, and to Convert as many as you can to the Faith of your Religion.*

He is placed  
at *Canterbury*.  
Many con-  
verted.

Then went they to *Canterbury*, where the King had given them a Mansion for their abode: There they continued Preaching, and Baptizing such as through Gods grace, were converted by their Ministry. The King also at length, having well considered their manner of life, and moved with the miracles that God was pleased to work by them, heard them the more willingly, and at length through their Ministry, and example in their holy lives, he was Converted and Baptized *Anno Christi* 586. and of his Age 36. By whose example multitudes flocked to their Ministry, and being Baptized were daily added to the Church of *Christ*. The King forced none to it, but did most esteem and imbrace those of his Subjects that did willingly offer themselves.

The King con-  
verted.

The success of  
the Gospel.

More Preach-  
ers sent over  
by *Gregory*.

Then did *Austin* send *Laurence*, one of his company, to *Rome* to *Gregory* to acquaint him with the success that God had given them, and to seek for resolution in sundry doubtful, and difficult cases: *Gregory* much rejoiced at the good news, and returned answers to all his questions: He sent also to the Church of *England* more coadjutors and helpers, *Melitus*, *Iustus*, *Paulinus*, and *Ruffinus*, with Books, and such other requisites as he judged necessary for the *English* Church. He writ also to *Austin* to encourage, and direct him in the prosecution of that great work which he was engaged in. He directed also concerning the Idolatrous Temples, which he advised not to be pulled down, but to be converted to the use of the Christian Congregations. He also warned *Austin* to take heed that he grew not proud, nor puffed up by reason of those miracles which God was pleased to work by his Hands in converting the People of *England*, but rather to fear, and tremble, lest being puffed up by the outward works of miracles, he should fall inwardly through the vain glory of his heart, and therefore he advised him to repress such swellings by thinking of his manifold sins against God, for which he had more cause to be humbled, than to be puffed up for the other: Telling him that all the Elect of God cannot work miracles, and yet their

Good counsel.



their Names are written in the Book of life, and therefore exhorted him not to rejoyce so much for his working miracles, as to labor to see his Name written in the Book of life, and that he should remember that whatsoever miracle it pleased God to work by him, that it was not done for his sake, but for the conversion and salvation of the *English* Nation, &c.

He also directed another Epistle to King *Ethelbert* wherein he first praiseth God, then commends and encourageth the King, exhorts him to perseverance in the holy profession of *Christs* Faith, and to be fervent and zealous in the same, and in endeavoring the conversion of his people, the destruction of Idolatry, and in Ruling and Governing his Kingdom in all holiness, after the godly example of that most Christian Emperor, *Constantine* the Great. Lastly, he comforts him with the promises of life, and salvation in the world to come, &c. And finally, intreats him to except of such presents, and gifts as he had sent unto him.

Gregory writeth to King *Ethelbert*.

*Miletus* was especially sent by *Gregory* to convert the East Saxons in *Essex*, and it pleased God so to bless his endeavours, that he converted *Sigebert* the King, who made him Bishop of *London*, and who (together with his Uncle *Ethelbert*) built the Church of Saint *Paul* in *London*.

The East-Angles converted by *Miletus*.  
Saint *Pauls* Church built.

Afterward *Austin* with the assistance of *Miletus*, and *Iustus*, sent to, and gathered together all the *Britain* Bishops, and Doctors, exhorting and charging them that they should assist him in preaching of the Word of God to the *English* Men, as also to reform some rights amongst themselves, wherein they rather followed the Eastern than the Western Churches. The later the *Britain* Bishops refused without the assent of all them which used the same customs with themselves.

A Synod

After this also *Austine* gathered a second Synod, unto which came Seven Bishops of *Britain* together with the Sagest Men of that famous Abby of *Bangor*: But they first asked counsell of an old wise, and holy Man amongst them, Whether they should be obedient to *Austin* or no? His answer was, *If he be the Servant of God, agree to him. But how shall we know that?* said they. He answered, *If he be meek and humble, by that you may know that he is the Servant of God. But how, say they, shall we know him to be humble, and meek?* By this, said he, seeing you are the greater number; if he at your coming into the Synod shall rise up, and salute you courteously, by that you shall see his humility: But if he contemn and despise you, despise you him again.

A second Synod.

Being thus instructed they went to the Synod, and at their entrance, *Austin*, after the *Romish* manner, keeping his Chair, moved not at all: The *Britains* offended hereat, after some heat of words, rose up, and departed in great displeasure: Whereupon *Austin* said, That if they would not have peace with their Brethren, they should have War with their Enemies, and if they refused to joyn with them in preaching of the Gospel to the *English*, they should suffer death by their Hands.

Pride dangerous.

Surely both parties were much to blame in this business: *Austin* for his proud carriage, and the *Britains* for neglecting their duty upon private contents to joyn with the other by preaching the Gospel, to seek the conversion of the Idolatrous Saxons; and indeed God suffered them not long to go unpunished for it: For shortly after, *Ethelbert* King of *Northumberland* being a Pagan, and therefore hating the *Britains*, went with a great Army against the City of *Chester* where *Brockmail*, the Major of that place, raised an Army to defend the *Britains*.

A Prediction

There was at this time at *Bangor* in *Wales* a great Monastery, in which were many godly Monks that lived by the sweat of their brows and labor of their hands, that sort of Men being far unlike to Monks in after ages. Out of this Monastery the Monks went to *Chester*, to pray for their Friends good success against the Saxons, and Three days they continued in Fasting, and Prayer: *Ethelbert* the foresaid King seeing them so intent on their Prayers, asked what sort

The Monks of *Bangor*.

Fasting and Prayer,

Eleven hundred Monks martyred.  
Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

A great Conversion.

Austins death.

of Men they were: and being told that they prayed for his Enemies: Then said he, *Though they bear no weapons yet they fight against us, and with their Prayers and Preachings they persecute us.* Wherefore after he had overcome the Britains, he commanded his Men to fall upon these unarmed Monks, of whom he Martyred at that time Eleven hundred, only Fifty of them escaped with *Brocmaile*, all the rest were murdered. But God left not their death long unrevenged; For this cruel King was not long after slain in the Field by Christian *Edwin* that succeeded in the Kingdom.

*Austin* with his associates continuing to preach to the Saxons, went so far as into *Yorkshire*, where he Converted and Baptized Ten thousand Persons; and shortly after, finding his end to approach, he appointed *Laurentius* to be his Successor, and so quietly departed in the Lord, having continued in *England* about Fifteen years.

King *Ethelbert* had a Daughter called *Ethelburg*, whom he married to one *Edwin*, as yet a Pagan. This *Edwin* being envied and hated by *Ethelfride*, of whom mention is made before, was forced to fly to *Redwald*, King of the East Angles; which *Redwald* being partly over-awed, and partly corrupted by Bribes of *Ethelfride*, intended to betray *Edwin* to him; of which conspiracy (as God would have it) *Edwin* was informed by a secret Friend, who perswaded him to fly, and save himself; To whom *Edwin* said, *whither shall I fly that have already sought for shelter almost in all the Provinces of the Realm? And if I must needs be slain, I had rather the King should do it, than some other unworthy person.*

A Vision.



Afterwards being by himself alone, and solitary, there appeared one to him, who said, *I know well the cause of thy heaviness; what wouldest thou give him that would deliver thee from this fear, and reconcile thee to Redwald again? I would (said Edwin) give him all that ever I could make. And what, said the other, if I make thee a mightier King than any of thy Progenitors? Edwin answered as before. Then said the other, And what if I shew thee a better kind and way of life than ever was shewed to any of thy Ancestors, wilt thou obey and do after my counsel? Yes (said Edwin) with all my heart I will do it. Then the other laying his Hand on his Head said, when this token happeneth unto thee, then remember this time of tribulation, and the promise which thou hast made, and the words which I have said unto thee. And so he vanished out of his sight.*

Ethelfride slain  
Edwin made King.

Presently after came his Friend to him, bidding him be of good cheer; For the Heart (said he) of King *Redwald* which formerly sought thy destruction, now by the Mediation of his Queen is turned; so that he is resolved to keep promise with thee, and to protect thee whatever comes of it. Yea, not long after *Redwald* raised a great Army, and in *Edwins* quarrel went against *Ethelfride*, and gave Battel to him upon the Borders of *Mercia*: In which Battel *Ethelfride* was slain, and *Edwin* was placed quietly in the possession of *Northumberland*; yet all this while he remained a Pagan, though *Ethelburg* his Queen, a godly Woman, and *Paulinus* the Bishop ceased not to stir up, and perswade him to embrace the Christian Faith; But his Nobles and Councillors dissuading him, he was hard to be won. Then did the Lord bring a new affliction upon him, to humble, and bring him home unto himself, the occasion whereof was this.

A Special Providence.

*Quicelinus* and *Kinegilsus*, Kings of the West Saxons, envying and hating *Edwin*, suborned a Cut-throat privily to murder him, who watching his opportunity when the King had but a few with him, ran at him with an envenomed Sword, but one of his Servants suddenly stepped between the King and the thrust, and so received the Sword thorow his own Body, the King also being somewhat wounded by the Swords point: The murderer being apprehended, confessed by whom he was set; and the King lay long sick of the poisoned wound before he was healed: But when he was almost well, he raised a great Host to go against the West Saxon Kings, who had so basely sought his destruction, withal, promising unto *Jesus Christ*, that if he obtained the Victory, he would presently be

A Vow.

Baptized;



Baptized; and whereas his Wife was brought to Bed of a Daughter at that time, he caused it to be Baptized, together with Twelve more of his Family. Then went he forth against his Enemies, and thorow the power of *Christ*, obtained a great and glorious Victory, vanquishing and putting the adverse Army to flight, and so returned home with honor and great joy; yet did the pomp and glory of the world so dazle his Eyes, that he had little mind to perform his Vow of being Baptized, only he heard *Paulinus* Preach, and gave over his Idolatrous services, but he told him, That he could not suddenly forsake the Religion of his Forefathers, nor be Baptized but upon mature deliberation, and good advice of his Council.

A Victory of *Edwin*.

Temptation.

About the same time *Boniface* Bishop of *Rome* sent to him and his Queen some Presents, and hortatory Letters to forsake his Idolatry, and to imbrace the Christian Faith; yet neither would this prevail with him, insomuch as *Paulinus* seeing how he was hardened, and would not be persuaded to be Baptized, he poured out his Prayers incessantly before God for his conversion: After which the former Vision shewed to *Edwin*, was revealed to him; Whereupon *Paulinus* coming to the King at a fit season, layed his Hand on his Head, asking him, if he knew that Token. The King remembring it well, was so affected, that he was ready to fall down at his Feet: But *Paulinus* not suffering it, said to him, Behold, O King, you have vanquished your Enemies, you have obtained your Kingdom, now perform your promise; which was to imbrace the Christian Faith, and to be obedient unto our Lord Christ. The King, after consultation with his Nobles, was himself with many other of his Subjects Baptized by *Paulinus* at *York*; and presently after all the Idols with their Altars were cast down, and destroyed.

Power of Prayer.

King *Edwin* converted.

Idolatry destroyed.

*Paulinus* after this preached and converted many others in *Yorkshire*, and other neighboring Counties, as far as *Lincolnshire*, whom he also Baptized into the Christian Faith, and added them to the Church thereby.

*Edwin* having thus imbraced, and established the Faith of Christ in his Kingdom, was so careful in administration of Justice, and government of his people, that a single Woman loaden with Gold might have travelled from Sea to Sea, and none durst molest her. He also caused Brazen Dishes to be chained by every Fountain in the high-ways for the refreshing of Passengers.

King *Edwin's* justice.

His Charity.

King *Edwin* having after his Baptism, lived Six years in great Peace: The Devil enraged at the progress of the Gospel, raised up *Cedwalla* King of the *Britains*, and wicked *Penda* King of the *Mercians* to make War against him, and God, which doth not always prosper the better cause, suffered them to prevail, so that godly *Edwin* was slain in the Battel, as *Josiah* fighting again *Pharaoh Nechem*. After which *Cedwalla* and *Penda* with his Idolatrous *Mercians* raised a great Persecution against *Edwin's* Christian Subjects, sparing neither age nor sex, but in an inhumane manner butchering all: Insomuch as *Edelburg* the Queen, and *Eufled* her Daughter, with *Paulinus* the Bishop, were fain to fly by water into *Kent*; yet did *Paulinus* leave one *James* a godly Man to Preach to those Northern Countries, who, through Gods grace, Converted and Baptized very many till Peace was again recovered, and the number of the faithful much increasing, the Church recovered its pristine beauty.

A new Persecution.

King *Edwin* slain.

Flight in Persecution.

Afterwards *Oswald* the second Son of *Ethelfride*, succeeded in the Northern Kingdom, which when *Cedwalla* had notice of, he with King *Penda* raised a mighty host, thinking to slay *Oswald* as he had before slain *Edwin*; But *Oswald* hearing the approach of his numerous Enemies, betook himself to Prayer unto God which is the giver of Victory, beseeching him meekly to shew his power in protecting and saving his own people from the power of their enraged Enemies: After which, joyning Battel with *Cedwalla*, and *Penda*, though their Army far exceeded his for number, yet through Gods mercy, he obtained a great and glorious Victory over them, *Cedwalla* himself being slain in the fight.

*Oswald* made King.

Prayer the best refuge in danger.

Power of Prayer.

Much

# The Persecution of the Church in Britain.

Much is spoken of this *Oswald* by way of commendation for his fervent zeal in the Christian Religion, for his mercy and charity to the poor, and for his other rare virtues: And for the further propagation of the Gospel amongst his people, he sent into *Scotland* for a godly Bishop and famous Preacher called *Aidanus*: And the King being well acquainted with the *Scotish* language, *Aidanus* preaching in the *Scotish* tongue to the *Saxons*, the King himself interpreted it, not disdainning to expound it to his Nobles, and Subjects in their own language. His tender pity to the poor was so great, that being upon an *Easter-day* at Dinner with *Aidanus*, and served in Silver, one of the Servitors telling him that there were a great number of poor sitting in the street, desiring an Alms of the King: He caused the meat prepared for himself to be sent unto them, taking a Silver Dish also that stood before him, and breaking it in pieces, he distributed it amongst them: *Aidanus* seeing this, and wondering at it, he took him by the Hand, praying to God that that Hand which was the instrument of such mercy might never rot, which as some Authors say came to pass. Also by the means of this *Oswald*, *Kinigilsus* King of the *West-Saxons* was converted to the Faith of *Christ*, especially by the godly labors of *Berinus*, sent over by the Bishop of *Rome* to preach to the *English*. After which *Berinus*, through Gods grace, Converted and Baptized *Quicelinus*, Brother to *Kinigilsus*, who was King in *Dorsetshire*, together with many of their Subjects.

*Oswald* having Reigned with much prudence and piety, for the space of Nine years, was at last persecuted and slain by wicked *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*. But this cruel Persecutor escaped not long the revenging hand of God: For *Oswie* succeeding his Brother *Oswald* in the Kingdom, raised an Army, and though he had not the third of *Penda's* number of Soldiers, yet through Gods mercy, he fought with him, gave them a great overthrow, and slew *Penda* himself.

*Wolferus*, *Penda's* Son succeeded in the Kingdom of *South-Mercia* on this side *Trent*, who marrying *Ermenilda*, Daughter of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, was shortly after Converted and Baptized: After which, having conquered the Isle of *White*, he gave it to *Sigebert* King of the *East-Angles* upon condition that he should imbrace the Christian Faith, and be Baptized, by which means, and by the ministry of *Finianus*, the *East-Angles* were many of them Converted and Baptized.

But to return to *Oswie*, he was affable, courteous, and liberal to his people, and no less fervent in his Religion towards God. Upon a time he had given to *Aidanus* a princely Horse with rich trappings, and other furniture, and this he did, because *Aidanus* used to travel on foot from place to place to preach the Gospel, and the King was willing by this means to ease him. As *Aidanus* was riding by the way upon this stately Horse, a poor Man met him, craving his charity; *Aidanus* having nothing else to give, alighted from his Horse, and gave it to him, trapped as he was: The King hearing of it, as he was going in with *Aidanus* to Dinner, said unto him, *what meant you, Father, to give away my Horse? Had not I other Horses in my Stable that might have served the Begger well enough, but you must give away that which of purpose I had picked out for your own use?* The Bishop seeming somewhat offended, replied, *why, O King, do you set more by your Horse than you do by Jesus Christ?* The King hearing this, fell down at the Bishops feet, desiring him to forgive him, professing that he would never after blame him for any treasure of his that he should give away: The Bishop seeing the Kings humility, and piety, took him up, cheered him with comfortable words, and presently after was very heavy, and fell a weeping; and being asked the reason of it, he said, *I weep because this King cannot live long: This People is not worthy to have such a Prince, as he is, to reign over them, which indeed shortly after* came

His rare Charity.

A great Conversion.

*Oswald* slain.

*Oswie* succeeds.  
Gods Judgments on Persecutors.

*Wolferus* converted.

*East-Angles* converted.

King *Oswies* commendation.

Charity.

King *Oswies* humility.



came to pass; For *Oswie*, King of *Bernicia* hating him for his goodness, suborned some traiterously to murder him.

At this time the Bishops, and Ministers both of the *Britains* and *English* gave themselves wholly to teaching and preaching the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* to the people, not entangling themselves with the affairs of the world, but both by Life and Doctrine, they were burning and shining lights, and so free from covetousness, that when great possessions were forced upon them, they refused to receive them; yet presently after the Devil cast in a Bone of contention amongst them, about the time for the celebration of *Easter*, the *Britains* and *Scottish* Bishops following the custom of the Eastern Churches, the other of the *Western*: For the composing of which difference a Synod was called, which yet did not fully put an end to the controversy.

Faithful Pastors.

Satan's subtilty.

A Synod.

About this time, *wolferus* being licensed by *Ethelwold* the King, preached unto his Nobles and People of *South-Sax*, and converted them to *Christ*; presently after which they had plenty of Rain, which had been much wanting for Three years together, which had caused a very great Famine amongst them, inasmuch as many people being grievously pinched, and tormented with the Famine, used to get sometimes by Forty together, upon the Rocks by the Sea-side, and throw themselves down from thence into the Sea: But now, having imbraced the Gospel, it pleased God to give them Rain, and thereby great plenty, the barren earth becoming very fruitful.

A terrible Famine.

The Blessings of the Gospel.

And thus we have heard how, and by what means the Idolatrous people of the *Saxons* and *English* were converted to God; and induced to imbrace the true Faith of *Jesus Christ*, the *South-Saxons* with the Isle of *Wight*, being the last that gave entertainment to the same.

About this time the Church of *Rome* was degenerated from its pristine purity, and Antichrist was got into his throne: So that the Pope of *Rome* beginning to Lord it over the Churches of *Christ*, he sent *Theodorus* from *Italy* to *England* to be Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, together with many Monks of *Italy* to set up in the *English* Church *Latin* service, Masses, Ceremonies, Letanies, with such other *Romish* trash: This *Theodorus* played *Rex*, placing and displacing Bishops, and Ministers at his pleasure; and in a short time Christianity degenerated into Superstition: Kings and Queens that were religiously affected, left their Kingdoms, and turned Monks, and Nuns, and as error overspread the Land, so did impiety and prophaneness: Kings turned Tyrants, and the People wallowed in all manner of wickedness, which sins made way for a great and grievous plague, and scourge to this nation by the coming in of the Heathen *Danes*, as afterwards we shall hear.

Sin the forerunner of judgment.

Collected out of Doctor *Usher* de antiquitate Eccles. Brit. *Beda's History* of the Church, divers *Chronicles*, and the *Book of Martyrs*.

### CHAP. III.

Of the union of the Heptarchy under *Egbert*; and of the invasion by the *Danes*, and of the Persecution of the *English* Church under them.

AT this time there were Seven Kings of the *Saxons* Reigning in several parts of this Kingdom, Anno *Christi* 795. There was also in the Kingdom of *Brigtricus*, one *Egbert*, a Noble person of the Royal blood, who being envied, and feared by *Brigtricus*, he sought his death, so that *Egbert*, to avoid the danger, fled into *France*, where he remained till the death of *Brigtricus*; after which he returned into his Country of the *West-Saxons*, where

Egbert made  
King.

A special Pro-  
vidence.

Chester won by  
Egbert.

He erects the  
first monar-  
chy.

Britain named  
England.

The Danes first  
entrance.

The Danish  
persecution.

See the fore-  
runner of per-  
secution.

King Egberts  
Fatherly coun-  
sel.

Tithes given  
to the Mi-  
nistry.

where he behaved himself so prudently, and Nobly, that he obtained that Kingdom: But at his first settlement, *Bernulphus* King of *Mercia*, and some other Kings greatly derided and contemned him, making divers jests and scornful rimcs of him, which he bore patiently for a time: But when he was well settled in his Kingdom, and was assured of the love and good will of his Subjects, especially God working withal, he assembled his Knights, with whom he went against *Bernulphus*, and though his Adversary had at least Six against One in his Army, yet through the power of God, which is the giver of Victory, he won the Field, and seized upon the Kingdom which he annexed to his own.

After that he made War upon the *Kentish Saxons*, overcame them, and enjoyed their Kingdom: The like he did in *Northumberland*, making these Kings Tributary to him: He wan also the City of *Chester* from the *Britains*; whereof they had kept possession till that day: After divers other Battels and Victories, he quietly enjoyed the dominion of the whole Land, which till then was called *Britain*: But he now, assembling his Lords and Peers to *Winchester*, was by their joynt consents and advice, Crowned King of the whole Realm, whereupon he sent out his commissions straitly charging that all the *Saxons* should be called *English*, and the Kingdom *England*.

About this time the Pagan *Danes* came over into *Northumberland*, making horrible destruction wheresoever they came, especially in *Holy Island*, where they spoiled the Churches, murdered the Ministers, with Men, Women, and Children after a most cruel manner, and so departed. But afterwards in the Thirtieth year of King *Egbert*, they returned a second time with a great host, spoiling, and laying waste the Isle *Shepy* in *Kent*. *Egbert* hearing hereof, raised an Army, went against them, and fought with them at *Carrum*: But being overpowered by the *Danes*, he, with his Knights were fain to forsake the Field: Yet in the next Battel, through Gods mercy, he overthrew, and slew a great multitude of them, driving the rest away into their own Country.

The year following the *Danes*, presuming upon their former success, returned again into the West of this Land, where, joyning with the *Britains*, they invaded the Lands of *Egbert*, making great spoil wherever they came; After which time they were still abiding in one part or other of *England* till the time of *Hardekanute*, last King of the *Danish* Blood, and though they were many times beaten, and driven from one place to another, yet they ever gathered new strength and power, and abode still in the Land, exercising such horrible cruelties and villanies against the Christian *English*, as were never exercised before by any of the Invaders of this Land, which was a just hand of God upon them for the superstitions practised amongst them. *Egbert* having Reigned Thirty seven years, died, leaving his Kingdom to *Ethelwulf* his Son, telling him that he should be happy, if laying aside sluggishness, he would govern his Kingdom with diligence, and industry. *Ethelwulf* in his Fathers life-time was made Bishop of *Winchester*, but afterwards, being the only Son of *Egbert*, he was made King; He was a very devout Man, and a great Friend to the Ministers, giving them the Tithe of all his Goods, and Lands, with liberty and freedom from all service, and civil charges: Afterwards he went to *Rome*, shewing much obsequiousness and bounty to the Pope, and as he returned back through *France*, he married the Daughter of *Carolus Calvus*, with whom he came home into *England*: He had two Bishops about him which were his chiefest favorites, *Adelstan* Bishop of *Shireborn*, a Man very well skilled in civil and temporal affairs, and *Smithin* Bishop of *Winchester*, a Man wholly addicted to spiritual and heavenly meditations, and very careful to counsel the King for the good of his Soul. He had been Tutor to the King in his minority, and the King ever after much revered him, and was very willing to hearken to his advice and counsel.

And



Towards the latter end of his Reign there arrived many more *Danes* in *Hampshire* in Thirty three Ships, through whose barbarous tyranny and cruelty, abundance of *English* Blood was shed, in *Dorsetshire*, *Portsmouth*, *Kent*, *Essex*, *London*, and divers other places: And in a Battel against them, *Ethelwolph* was overcome; yet at length it pleased God that he obtained a great Victory over them at *Okeley*, driving them to their Ships for shelter; But after they had hovered a while upon the Sea, they landed again, committing horrible outrages; The cause of which great affliction an ancient Writer thus lets down.

Invasion by the Danes.

The Danes beaten.

In the Primitive Church of the English, Religion did most clearly shine forth, inasmuch that Kings, Queens, Princes, Ecclesiastical Persons, &c. thirsting after the Kingdom of Heaven, forsook all and followed the Lord; But in process of time Piety decayed, and Impiety succeeded in the room thereof, neither was any thing more odious and hateful than holiness and justice; nor anything in esteem but Civil war and Bloodshed: whereupon the Lord sent amongst them the cruel Heathen Danes, like swarms of Bees, which neither spared women nor Children, but for the space of about two Hundred and thirty years, destroyed this sinful Land from one Sea to the other, from Man also to Beast: For in their oft invasions of England, they went not about to subdue, conquer and possess it, but to spoil, destroy, and lay it waste; and if at any time they were beaten by the English, it little availed, for that other Navies with greater power were ready suddenly, and unawares to break into other places, and to destroy all before them.

Sin the forerunner of persecution.

But to these he might have added their sin of superstition, and the sin of their Fathers, who falsifying their faith and promise with the *Britains*, had cruelly murdered their Nobles, wickedly oppressed their Commons, impiously persecuted the innocent Christians, injuriously possessed their Land and Habitations, chasing the ancient native Inhabitants out of their Houses and Country: Besides the cruel murder of the Monks of *Bangor*, and divers foul slaughters amongst the poor *Britains*, who sent for them to be their helpers; wherefore Gods just judgment falling upon them, from that time never suffered them to live in quiet from foreign Enemies, till the coming of *William the Norman*.

A just judgment.

Shortly after King *Ethelwolph's* Victory over the *Danes*, he fell sick, and dyed, leaving Four Sons behind him, *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbright*, *Ethelred*, and *Allured*, all which succeeded each other in the Kingdom.

In the time of the Third Sons Reign [*Ethelred*] the *Danes* breaking in on every side, especially about *York*, committed infinite spoil, the City of *York* they sacked, and burnt. *Ethelred* with the help of his Brother *Allured* fought Nine Battels with them in one year. But the *Northumbrians* at that time rebelling against King *Ethelred*, thinking to recover their lost Kingdom, the strength of the *English* Nation was much weakened hereby, and their divisions gave the *Danes* great advantage to prevail against them.

*Ethelred.*

Towards the latter end of *Ethelreds* Reign, Anno 870. the *Danes* being possessed of the Northcountry, after a cruel persecution, and much Blood shed in those parts, taking Ship they intended to Sail from thence into the *East-Angles*, and by the way they met with another great Fleet of *Danes* under *Ingvar*, and *Hulba*, who consulting together, united their forces, and so Landed in *Norfolk*, going on as far as *Thetford*.

A great persecution.

*Edmund* the Vice-Roy of that Kingdom hearing of it, raised an Army, and gave them Battel: But *Edmund*, and his company were forced to forsake the Field; and himself, with some few of his Friends, fled into *Framingham* Cattle: Presently after came a Messenger to him, delivering himself in these words.

*Ingvar* Prince of the *Danes*, is come most vigorously with innumerable Legions, subduing both by Sea and Land many Nations to him, and being now arrived in these parts, requireth thee to be subject to him, to yield up to him thy hid treasures, and all other the riches of thine Ancestors, and so to Reign under him.

A a a

him: which thing if thou refusest to do, he judges thee to be unworthy both of life, and Kingdom. *Edmund* hearing this proud message of the Pagan, after consultation had with his Friends, returned to the messenger this answer: Go tell thy Lord these words, that *Edmund* a Christian King, for the love of a temporal life, will not submit himself to a Pagan Duke, unless he before will become a Christian.

A brave  
speech.

The Martyr-  
dom of Saint  
*Edmund*.

The wicked, and crafty *Dane* receiving this answer, presently with his Army marched towards the King; who again joyned Battel with him: But the King being again worsted, and seeing the miserable slaughter of his men, fled to the Castle of *Halesdon*, now Saint *Edmundsbury*, where this blessed man, being on every side environed by his enemies, patiently yielded himself to them, and because he would not be brought to deny *Christ*, or his truth, they there most cruelly bound him to a Tree, and caused him to be shot to death: After which they smote off his Head, and threw it into a thicket of Bushes.

Gods judge-  
ment on per-  
secutors.

After the Martyrdom of this holy Man, the *Danes* having robbed, and spoiled all that Country, they returned to their ships, and after a while landed in *Surrey*, and making pittiful havock all the way, they at last came to *Reading*, which Town and Castle they besieged, and after three dayes took them: But shortly after God met with them for all their cruelty; for *Inguar*, and *Hulba* proceeding in their journey, were met with, and both of them slain at *Englefield*. Yet did their Army keep so close together that the *English* could get no advantage against them. At last King *Ethelred*, and *Allured* forced them to fight a Battel, in which the *Danes* were discomfited, and many of them slain: The rest which escaped fled into a Castle: There the King besieged them, but after a while committed the prosecution of the siege to the Duke of *Barkshire*, and so departed.

King *Ethelred*'s  
great devotion.

When the *Danes* understood that the King was gone, they issued suddenly out of the Castle, and taking the Duke unprovided, slew him, together with many of his people; and then joyning with many other *Danes* that were scattered in other parts, they formed a strong Army. Tidings hereof being brought to King *Ethelred* it put him into a great heaviness, and to aggravate his sorrow another messenger brought him word of the landing of *Osrick* King of *Denmark*, who with a great Host was embattelled at *Asbdon*: Thitherwards therefore did *Ethelred*, with his Brother *Allured*, speed themselves with their Army to withstand the *Danes*: When they came near to the place, the King staying somewhat long at his devotion, his Brother *Allured*, with the Van of the Army was joyned in Battel with the *Danes*, whereupon a messenger hastened to the King requesting him to come on with the rest of his Army; But he being imployed in holy Meditation, and Prayer, would not stir a foot till he had ended his service of God: In the mean time the *Danes* fiercely assaulted *Allured*, and his Men, and won the Hill of them, and the Christians were in great danger to lose the Field: But the King bringing on the main Battel, (through the grace, and power of God:) quickly recovered the hill from the Infidels, and so discomfited the *Danes* that he soon put them to flight, and slew the greatest part of them, together with their King *Osrick*, with five of his Dukes, and the rest fled into *Reading*.

The Power of  
prayer.

Yet after this the *Danes* again resembled their forces, and formed a new Army, and met at *Basingstoke*, and there gave Battel to the King: and had the better of him.

A great per-  
secution.

Prophaneness.

After Two Months the King raised a fresh Army, and at *Merton* fought a great Battel with the *Danes*, but in conclusion the *Danes* had the honor of the Field, and the King being wounded was forced to fly. After which victories the *Danes* fell to spoiling of the Country, killing Man, Woman, and Child of the Christians that they met with: They also prophaned the Churches, making stables of them, and putting them to other vile uses.

The King oppressed by his enemies on every side, seeing his Land miserably



rably wasted by the Infidels, and his own Knights, and Soldiers consumed by the Wars, and himself lying wounded, he sent his Commissions into *Northumberland, Mercia, and the East-Angles*, to raise more forces; But they afforded him little comfort, which struck so to the heart of this good King, that shortly after he deceased, having reigned Eight years, and leaving no issue behind him, his Brother *Allured* succeeded in the Kingdom.

King *Ethelred's* death.

King *Allured*.  
His character.

Amongst all the *Saxon-Kings* that were before him, there was none comparable to this *Allured* for excellent, and singular qualities worthy the greatness of a King, whether we look upon his valiant Acts, and incessant Travels which from time to time he sustained against his enemies, during almost the whole time of his Reign, for the safety and preservation of his people, or whether we consider his piety, and excellent virtues, joyned with a publick, and tender care, and zealous study for the peace, and tranquility of his Realm: All which did notably appear by the excellent Laws which he made, and his care for the execution of the same; as also by his own private exercises in the virtuous institution of his life, and by his notable knowledge in good Letters, and a fervent love to, and Princely desire to advance, and propagate the same through his whole Realm; all which Heroical, and excellent properties seldom meet together in one Prince. First therefore to speak of his valiant Acts, and painful Travels which he underwent in defence of his Subjects, against the raging Tyranny of the *Danes*.

King *Allured*, or *Alfred* seeing his Lords and people much wasted, and decayed by reason of the former Wars, he endeavored as well as he could to raise an Army of the remainder, with which, within Two Months after he came to the Kingdom, he encountered with the *Danes* besides *Wilton*, where he gave them Battel: But being exceedingly overpowered through the multitude of his Adversaries, he was put to the worse, although not without a great slaughter of the Pagan Army: Whereupon the *Danes*, seeing how they were weakened, treated with the King, and agreed to depart out of his Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, and accordingly they removed from *Reading* to *London*, where they continued all the Winter following, and in the Spring following they went from *London*, and drew to *Lindsey*, robbing and spoiling the Towns, and Villages all the way as they went: From thence they went to *Kepingdon*, where they joyned with Three other Kings of the *Danes*, and so made a mighty Army; which Army they divided into Two parts: One remaining in *Northumberland* under their King *Halden*, the other went to *Grantbridge*, and there abode.

His valour.

The cruelty of the *Danes*.

About this time King *Allured* had a great Fight with Six of the *Danish* Ships upon the Sea, whereof they took One, the rest fled. At the same time went *Rollo* the *Dane* into *Normandy*, where he was Duke Thirty years, and was converted to the Christian Faith and Baptized.

The *Danes* beaten at Sea.

The *Danish* Army that quartered at *Grantbridge* invaded the *West-Saxons* again, taking the Castle of *warham*: But King *Allured* presently marched against them with a sufficient Army; which the *Danes* fearing to encounter with, sought delays till they could send for more aid: The King forced them to crave truce, and to leave sufficient pledges in his Hands, with promise that they would no more return into his Kingdom, and hereupon he let them go: But they, falsifying their promises, in the Night-time privily took their journey by Sea towards *Excester*: By the way they lost One hundred and twenty of their small Ships in a Tempest near *Sandwich*: The *Danish* Horſemen went by Land, whom King *Allured* followed, but could not overtake them till they came to *Excester*: Then did they again treat with him, gave him new pledges, and promised peace, whereupon the King departed.

Perfidiousness.

At *Excester* the number of the Pagans did daily increase by the access of new forces, so that after a while they returned back into *Mercia*, keeping a great part of the Land to their own use. Anno 879. The *Danes* having the Rule of all the North of *England*, thought scorn that *Allured* should have dominion in the

The English in  
great straits.

South, whereupon, raising all the Forces that possibly they could, they marched towards *Chippenham* in *West-Sax*; with such a numerous Army that the King and his people were altogether unable to resist them: So that many of the English fled over the Sea, others submitted themselves to the *Danes*, and the rest remained with the King.

The Kings  
gratitude.

The King seeing his enemies strength, and his own weakness, withdrew himself with a few of his Nobles into a woody Country in *Somersetshire*, called *Etheling*, where they had no means of subsistence but what they got by Hunting, and Fishing: The place where they abode was in a great Marsh into which there was no access, but by Boat, and had in it a great Wood called *Selwood*, and in the middle a little Plain of about Two Acres of ground: At the Kings first coming hither he espied the Cottage of a Swine-herd, to which he repaired unknown, and was there intertained with such poor Fare as the Swineherd, and his Wife could make him; which so pleased the King, that afterward he set the Swineherd to learning, who profiting much therein, the King at last preferred him to a Bishoprick.

Gods goodness  
to the English.

God at the length pitying the miserable condition of the poor English Men, began to enable them to lift up their Heads again; and their first good success was this.

*Halden* the Danish King, sailing out of the North with Thirty three Ships landed in *Devonshire*, where he was let upon by some of King *Allureds* Men that kept a Garrison near to that place, who slew Thirteen hundred of the *Danes*, and took their Imperial Standard called the *Raven*: King *Allured* hearing of this Victory, came abroad out of his fastness, and there repaired to him great numbers of people out of *Wiltshire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Hampshire*, so that he had a competent Army.

The Kings  
stratagem.

Then did the King attempt a bold adventure: For attiring himself like a Minstrel (being skilful in the *Saxon* Poems) with his instrument of Musick he went into the Danish Camp, and singing, and playing, he went up and down, taking notice of their sloth, and security, and withal heard much of their counsel: Then returning to his own Men, he acquainted them with all that he had observed: And so privily marching against the *Danes*, in the Night-time he brake into their Camp, slew a great multitude of them, and chased the rest out of his Coasts.

The Danes  
beaten.

His Subjects hearing of his valiant acts, repaired to him out of all parts, with whose assistance, through the help of God, he so overmastered the *Danes*, that he recovered from them *Winchester*, and divers other very considerable places: and in conclusion he enforced them to sue for peace, which he concluded upon certain conditions, one of which was that their King should imbrace the Christian Faith, and be Baptized: and that all such other *Danes* as would not do the like, should depart out of his countrey.

The Danes im-  
brace the Chri-  
stian Faith.

Shortly after, *Gutrum* the Danish King, with Twenty of his chiefeſt Nobles came to *Winchester*, where they were Baptized into the Christian Faith: After which King *Allured*, having royally feasted them, gave to this new Christian King *East-Anglia*, containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and part of *Cambridgeshire*: and to the other *Danes* that imbraced the Christian Faith, he gave *Northumberland*, and such of them as refused to imbrace it, departed the Land, and sailed into *France*. King *Allured* now enjoying a breathing time from his troubles, fell to repairing his Towns and strong Holds, which were ruined by the *Danes*, and according to the blindness of those dark times, he erected many religious Houses, wherein, though he shewed his religious mind, yet God was not well pleased therewith, and therefore in the Fifteenth year of his Reign, the Pagan *Danes* returned from *France* again, landed in *Kent*, and went on as far as *Recheſter*, where they besieged that City, and lay long before it: They also built a great Tower of wood against the Gates, but the Citizens destroyed it, and defended the City till King *Alfred* came to their rescue: At whose approach the

The Kings  
Prudence.

X

Danes



*Danes* were so affrighted, that they left their Horses for haste, and fled by night to their Ships: The King immediately sending after them, took Sixteen of their Ships, and slew many of the *Danes*: Then returned he in Triumph to *London*, which City he much repaired, and beautified, which formerly had been exceedingly defaced by the *Danes*.

The *Danes* beaten.

*London* repaired.

In the One and twentieth year of King *Allureds* Reign, the *Danes* again landed in Four places of his Kingdom, in the North, East, and in Two parts of the West. *Allured* having intelligence hereof, being at this time in the East, he sent messengers to *Ethelred*, Duke of *Mercia*, speedily to raise an Army, and to oppose the *Danes* which were landed in the West, and himself with such forces as he had ready, went against those in the East, whom he pursued so sharply, that he drove them out from those parts: Then they failed into *Kent*; whither the King also hastened with his Men, and drove them from thence likewise.

After this they landed again in the East with one Hundred ships, where they rested in quiet, for that the King now was gone Westward. A fourth Host of them the same year came to *Chester*, which after a long siege they won: But the country presently rising, besieged them so straitly, that at the last they were forced to eat their Horses for hunger: And provisions failing, they treated with the Christians, agreed to leave the Country, and so failed into *Northumberland*. Then did King *Alfred* with his Host hasten into the North, but when he came near, the *Danes* fortifying, and well furnishing all their Garisons, took shipping, and failed into *Sussex*, landing at *Lewes*, from whence they marched towards *London*, and when they came within Twenty miles of the City, they built a Castle, which the *Londoners* hearing of, they sent forth some Men at Arms, who joining with the Countrymen thereabouts, drove the *Danes* from their work, and beat down the Castle which they were building.

*Chester* won by the *Danes*.

Retaken by the *English*.

Shortly after the King came thither in Person, and to prevent the like danger in time to come, he caused the River *Luia* to be divided into Three streams, so that whereas before it would bear a Ship to that place, it would now scarce bear a Boat. The *Danes* being here forced to leave their Ships, and Wives, they fled towards *Wales*, and upon the Banck of *Severne* they built them a Castle; thither also the King with his Army pursued them: In the mean time the *Londoners* took their Ships, and some of them they brought to *London*, the rest they consumed with fire.

The Kings Policy.

About this time for Three Years together *England* was visited with Three sore judgments; with the Sword of the *Danes*, with a pestilence amongst Men, and with a murrain of Beasts: Yet was not the good King dejected, but thankfully took from the hand of God, what he was pleased to inflict, and manfully pursued his enemies.

Gods sore judgments on the *English*.

In the Twenty eighth Year of the Kings Reign, the *Danes* divided themselves into several parts, some went into *Northumberland*, some into *Norfolk*, some into *West-Sax*, and others of them failed into *France*: But Gods judgments pursued these cruel Persecutors of his people in every place: For many of them were slain in Fight by the *English*, many more perished by shiprack on the Sea, others were taken, and hanged, and Thirty of their Ships also were taken.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

Shortly after King *Allured* having Reigned almost Thirty Years, died, having valiantly Achieved many Noble acts, and patiently sustained many great afflictions in the necessary defence of his Realm, and Subjects.

King *Allureds* death.

His godly disposition did shew it self betimes; for when in his younger days he found himself troubled with fleshly lusts, instead of seeking to fulfil them in an unlawful way, as most Kings and Princes use to do, he had recourse unto God by prayer, intreating him to help him against them, and besought him that he would send to him some continual sickness for the quenching of those lusts, that so he might be more fit to attend upon the service of God, and more useful in the Government of his Subjects. And God answered his request, visit-

His chastity.

His piety.

ing

ing him with one sickness after another till he came to be Forty five Years old, whereby he was restrained from that intemperance which he so much abhorred. He was also a faithful stuard in the managing of his outward estate, distributing all his rents, and riches into two equal portions, whereof he imployed one moiety to uses Ecclesiastical, the other to his Civil affaires, which latter part he again divided into three portions, the first to the maintenance of his Family, the second to workmen, and builders which were imployed about his Houses, the third to strangers. The former part he divided into four portions, the first he gave to the poor, the second to religious Persons, the third to Oxford for the advance of learning, the Fourth he sent for the relief of foreign Churches. He was as careful, and exact in the expence of his time, dividing the Day, and Night in three parts, spending daily Eight hours, if by Wars, and other great businesses, he were not hindered, in study, and learning, other Eight hours in Prayer and Alms-deeds, and the other Eight in his Meals, and sleep.

His charity.

2

His care to promote learning.  
His careful expence of time.

His good Laws.  
His justice.

How studious and careful he was in the Government of his Kingdom, appears by those excellent, and wholesom Laws which were devised, and set forth by him, wherein he was very careful to abolish all theft, and Thieves out of the Realm, and did so far attain his desires, that causing brouches of Gold, or at least of Silver and guilt, to be set up in all Crosse-ways, there were none so hardy as to take, or steal away the same: He was also so vigilant in overseeing the doings of his Judges, and Officers, that they durst not pervert justice in any case whatsoever. He was very learned himself and a great promoter of Learning in others, and for this end erected many Grammar-schools, was a great Friend to the Universities, sent for learned Men from several Countries, whom he bountifully rewarded; and would suffer none to have any dignity in his Court except he were learned. He translated the *psalms* and many other good Books himself into *English*: And caused divers others to be translated by other Men. He brought up not only his Sons, but his Daughters also in Learning: Wheresoever he was, or whithersoever he went, he alwaies carried about him *Dauids psalms*, and divers Prayers of his own collecting, whereof he continually read, and made use, whensoever he was at leisure.

His piety, and industry.

6

King Edward.

His Prowess.

After the death of good King *Alfred*, his Son *Edward*, surnamed the Elder, succeeded, Anno Christi 901. He was not to be compared with his Father in learning, but in material prowess, and civil government he was not inferior to him, if he did not exceed him. He subdued *wales* and *Scotland*: He reconquered *East-Anglia*, and recovered *Mercland*, and *Northumberland* out of the Hands of the *Danes*: By reason of his continual Wars, his Subjects were so hardened, and enured to feats of Arms, that so soon as they heard of the approach of any Enemies, without expecting Command from the King or the presence of their Duke, they would presently assemble, and Encounter with them, in knowledge, and order of War always excelling their Adversaries. In the beginning of King *Edwards* Reign he had many bickerings with the *Danes*, and one *Clito* his Uncles Son, turning Renegado, and was made their Captain, who did much spoil in several parts of the Kingdom, but at last King *Edward* meeting with him between the two Ditches of Saint *Edmunds* Lands, a great Battel was fought betwixt them, at last *Clito*, with many of his *Danes*, was slain, the rest were constrained to Sue for Peace, which upon certain Conditions, and the payment of a Tribute, was granted to them: But in the Twelfth year of King *Edwards* Reign; the *Danes* repenting of their Covenants, and raising a great Army, met with the King in *Staffordshire*, where two great Battels were fought betwixt them, wherein were slain two of the *Danish* Kings, two Earles, and many Thousands of the Common Soldiers.

A just Judgment.

The Danes beaten.



The King by these means enjoying Peace, applied himself to Building, and repairing Cities, Towns, and Castles rased by the *Danes*: as *Chester*, which City he much enlarged: He also Built a strong Castle at *Hereford*, another at the mouth of the River of *Avon*, another at *Buckingham*, &c. In these Buildings his Sister *Elfreda* was a great help to him, as also in his Wars against the *Danes*, against whom she oft fought Valiantly, insomuch as at one time four of her Life-Guard were slain by her. King *Edward* had divers Children, his Daughters he brought up at the Needle, and Spinning, his Sons to Study, and learning, that so they might be fitter for Government. After a glorious Reign he ended his days, and left his Kingdom to *Ethelstan*, or *Adlestan*.

King *Edward*  
Prudence and  
Policy.  
A Martial Vi-  
rago.

King *Edward*  
death.

King *Ethelstan*  
his vertues.

This *Ethelstan* was a Prince of worthy memory, Valiant and Wise in all his Acts, and nothing inferior to his Father *Edward*. He was renounced for his civil Government, and had prosperous success in reducing his Realm into a Monarchy. He expelled the *Danes*, subdued the *Scots*, and quieted the *Britains*, both in *Wales*, and *Cornwal*: He was once in much danger by reason of a conspiracy, the chief contriver whereof was one *Elfredus*; But it pleased God that he escaped the danger: And *Elfred* fled to *Rome* before the Pope to purge himself by his Oath: But forswearing himself, God inflicted a visible Judgment upon him; for as soon as he had taken his Oath, he presently fell down, and being carried away to the *Englisb* House, he dyed within three days after. *Ethelstan* in the second year of his Reign subdued the *Danes* in *Northumberland*, and *Constantine* King of the *Scots*, whom yet upon his submission, he restored to his Kingdom, saying that it was more Honor to make a King, then to be a King.

Perjury pu-  
nished by God;

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The Kings Vi-  
stories.

Shortly after the *Scots* again Rebelling, King *Ethelstan* assembled his Knights, and marched into *Scotland*, where he subdued his Enemies, and returned home with Victory, and Honor.

A *Danish* Prince called *Alanus*, having fled out of *England* into *Scotland*, Married *Constantines* Daughter, and after a while gathered a Company of *Danes*, *Scots*, and others, with whom making a strong Army, he Shipped them, and entered into the mouth of *Humber* with Six hundred and fifteen Ships. King *Ethelstan*, and his Brother *Edmund* hearing of it, presently raised an Army, and marched against them: At a place called *Brimford* both Armies met, betwixt whom a terrible Battel was fought from Morning till Night, and very many were slain on both sides: But at last, through Gods goodness, the *Englisb* got the Victory, and slew *Constantine* King of the *Scots* with Five other petty Kings, twelve Dukes, and the greatest part of their Army.

The *Scots* and  
*Danes* beaten,

After this Victory King *Ethelstan* subdued the Northern *Britains*, and forced them to pay him yearly Twenty Pounds of Gold, Three hundred Pounds of Silver, Two thousand five hundred Head of Beasts, &c. and presently after he subdued the South *Britains*.

As yet the Pope of *Rome* had not usurped power over Princes, and therefore King *Ethelstan*, as his Predecessors had done, enacted good Laws, not only for the good Government of the Common-wealth, but of the Church also: He enacted a Law that all should pay the Tithe to God for the maintenance of his Ministry: not only for their Goods, but of their Cattel, Corn, and Fruits of the Earth, saying, Let us remember what *Jacob* said: Of all that thou givest me, I will give thee the Tenth: and what Saint *Matthew* saith, To him that hath it shall be given, and he shall have abundance, &c. He reigneth about Sixteen years, and died without Issue, his Brother succeeding in the Kingdom.

Tithes given to  
the Ministry,

King *Ethel-*  
*stan* death.

*Edmund* the Son of *Edward* the Elder, being Twenty years Old, began his Reign Anno Christi 940. He expelled the *Danes*, *Scots*, *Normans*, and all Foreign Enemies out of his Kingdom. Such Cities as were in their possession he recovered, and then wholly bent his Study, and endeavor to reform, and maintain the State of the Church. He reigned Six years and an half, and was then slain, leaving Two Sons *Edwin* and *Edgar* behind him: But because they were

King *Edmund*  
his good reign  
and death.

not

Edred made  
Protector.

not yet at Age, their Uncle *Edred* Govern'd as Protector Nine years, which place he discharged with great moderation and fidelity, till *Edwin* came to Age, and then resigned the Government to him.

King *Edwin* his  
bad Reign and  
death.

*Edwin* began his Reign *Anno Christi* 955. He was given to the Sin of Uncleanness, and many other Vices, for which he was Excommunicated by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and hated by his Subjects: He reigned Four years, and dyed.

6

*Edgar* his Brother being Sixteen years old succeeded him, *Anno Christi* 959. He made *Dunstan* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, by whose leading, the King was somewhat inclined to superstition: But otherwise much addicted to all Virtues and Princely deportments: An excellent Justicer, and sharp in punishing Vices both in Magistrates and Subjects, so that there was never less Theft, Bribery, Extortion and Oppression, then in his daies. Such Provinces and Lordships as were not yet under his subjection, he subdued, and united to his Dominion; making a compleat Monarchy of the whole Realm, with all the adjacent Islands. The Wicked he kept under, Rebels he suppressed, the Godly he maintained, the Modest he loved. He was very Religious towards God, and beloved of his Subjects, whom he Governed in much Peace and Quietness.

God blesteth  
him.

His Character.

Wolves de-  
stroyed.

6

His care to  
prevent  
Drunkenness.

And as he was careful to serve God, so God blessed him with abundance of Peace and Rest from all Wars, from which he was called *Pacificus*. He was so studious of the welfare of his Subjects, that no year passed over his Head, wherein he found not out something that conduced very much to the publick good. He was a great maintainer of Religion and Learning; and whereas other Princes in the midst of Peace and Plenty, grow usually dissolute and loose in their Lives, He on the contrary ever kept a strict watch over himself and others, not suffering any of his Nobility, though never so great, to violate his Laws with Impunity. He was also careful to destroy all the Ravenous Wolves out of the Land, causing *Leolin* Prince of *wales* to yield him yearly by way of Tribute Three hundred Wolves, so that within a few years there was scarce a Wolfe left in *England* or *wales*. He also built a great Navy, keeping Three thousand Six hundred Ships of War to scour the Seas in the Summer. In the Winter time he used to Ride over his Land in Progress, enquiring diligently how his Laws and Statutes were kept, and to see that the Poor were no way oppressed by the Mighty: and whereas the *Danes* had brought in a Wicked custom of excessive Drinking into the Land, whereupon Drunkenness and many other Vices ensued; this good King to prevent this Wickedness, ordained certain Cups with Pins or Nails let in them, enacting a Law, that whatever Person Drank beyond that Mark at one Draught, should forfeit a certain Penny; whereof one half to the Accuser, the other to the place where the offence was committed.

His death.  
His care for  
the Sabbath.

In the Thirteenth year of his Reign, he being at *Chester*, Eight Petty Kings came and did their Homage to him, as the King of *Scotland*, the King of *Man*, the King of *wales*, &c. He had also divers Vices, which rather belong to Chronologers than to me to Write of. He reigned Sixteen years and then died. Amongst other his good Laws, he enacted that the Sabbath day should be celebrated from Nine a Clock on Saturday Night, till Munday Morning. After his death, much contention arose amongst his Lords, who should be their King: But at last by the perswasion of *Dunstan*, *Edward* surnamed the *Martyr*, was chosen, anointed, and Crowned King.

Charity.

This King *Edward* was a Virtuous and meek Prince, very pittiful and liberal to the Poor. In the Fourth year of his Reign he was Hunting in a Forrest in the West-Country, and having lost his Company, he Rode to a place where his Mother *Alfith* with her Son *Egfred* did then live. The Queen-Mother being informed by her Servants that the King was come thither, called one of her men to her, whom she knew to be fit for her purpose, acquainting him with her whole intent, and giving him instructions for the accomplishment of the same, after



after which she went towards the King, and received him very courteously, desiring him to tarry that night with her, but he with the like Courtesie, excused himself, requesting only to see his Brother, and to drink a Cup of Bear as he sat on Horseback, and so away: The Bear was brought, and as the King was drinking, this Bloody Villain suborned by the Queen, strook him into the Body with a two-edged Dagger: The King feeling himself wounded, set spurs to his Horse, and rode that way wherein he supposed to meet with his company, but having lost much Blood, he fainted and fell from his Horse, one of his Feet hanging in the stirrup, by reason whereof his Horse drew him up and down the Fields till he died, and being so found, though the manner of his death was not known, yet was he known to be the King, and was buried honorably at *warham*, after which he was removed to the Minster of *Shaftsbury*.

Hypocrisie.

An unnatural Mother.

The Kings death.

After the murder of King *Edward*, the Crown fell to his younger Brother *Egelred*, Son to King *Edgar* by this Queen *Alfrith*. This *Egelred* Reigned Thirty eight years, but his Reign was full of troubles, and great miseries: So that Chronologers speaking of his Reign, say, that it was in the beginning ungracious, wretched in the middle, and hateful in the end. He was but Ten years old when his Brother was slain, yet did he much mourn and weep for him, which so enraged his Mother, that taking Wax-Candles, which were readiest at hand, therewith she scourged him so fore, that he could never after endure Wax-Candles to be burnt before him. At his Coronation, *Dunstan* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* said, that seeing he came to the Kingdom by horrid conspiracy, and the murder of his Brother, the Land should not be without the Sword and Bloodshed, till there came a People of an unknown language, which should bring the *English* into thralldom, neither should this wickedness be cleansed without long vengeance from God upon the Nation for it.

King Egelred.

His evil Reign

Queen Alfriths wickedness.

A prediction of mytery to the Land.

Shortly after his Coronation, a Cloud was seen hanging over the Land, the one half of it looking like Blood, and the other half like Fire. Not long after the *Danes* arrived in sundry parts of the Land, first spoiling *Southampton*, murdering many of the Inhabitants, and carrying the rest away into miserable captivity. From thence they went into the Isle of *Thanet*, into *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, then into *Sussex*, in all which places they made woful spoil. About the same time also a great part of *London* was consumed with fire. Much variance also fell out between the King and his Subjects, which the *Danes* hearing of, came and did abundance of harm in divers places of the Land, so that the King with great sums of money was forced to buy Peace of them. Besides which miseries the Lord plagued the Land with the Bloody Flux, and Burning Feavers, whereof multitudes died: The like murrian also was amongst the Beasts; and for lack of a due execution of the Laws, many Thieves, Catchpoles, and other Oppressors swarmed in the Land. About the year 994. the *Danes* again entred *England* in sundry parts of it, so that the King knew not to what place he should first go to withstand them; and in conclusion he was fain to appease their fury with great sums of money. But when that money was spent, these Pagan Persecutors fell to spoiling of the Land afresh in divers places: They also besieged the City of *London*; but being driven from thence by the valor of the Citizens, they went into *Essex*, *Kent*, *Sussex* and *Hampshire*, burning and killing whomsoever they met with, neither had the poor *English* any to relieve them; The King in the mean time giving up himself to uncleanness, and polling his Subjects, and disinheriting Men of their possessions, enforcing them to redeem them with great sums of money: For he paid yearly great sums of money to the *Danes*, which was called *Dane-gelt*, which tributes so increased, that from Ten thousand pounds *per annum*, which he paid at the first, it was in Five or Six years space brought to Forty thousand pounds *per annum*. And as an aggravation of the Subjects misery, the Lord plagued them with Famine, so that every one was forced to pluck and steal from others; whence it was, that partly by reason of the spoil made by the *Danes*, partly by reason of Thieves and

A Prodigious

A great Persecution.

London burnt? Discord dangerous.

Great judgments.

Dane-gelt

A Famine

Divisions dangerous.

Bribers, the Land lay under grievous afflictions: And this was caused in a special manner, by the great divisions and contentions, which were amongst the Nobility, who when they met together in counsel, either agreed upon nothing, or else quickly receded from their agreements, and fell to variance and contentions again.

Oppression.

The *Danes* thus prevailing, they grew exceeding proud and insolent, causing the *English* Men to plow, sow, and do all the drudgery, whilst they sat idle at home, having their Wives at their pleasure, and Children and Servants at command; And when the Husbandman came home, he could scarce get any thing; the *Dane* having all at his will, and feeding himself with the best, when the Owner scarce had his fill of the worst. Thus the common People were miserably oppressed by them, standing in great fear and awe of them, being glad in every thing to please them, calling them Lord *Danes*.

Lord Danes.

Sin the forerunner of judgments.

Anno 1000. King *Egelred* by the evil advice of some of his Friends, began a business which brought a new plague upon the *English*, the Lord thereby justly punishing them for their unjust dispossessing of the *Britains* of their Land, and that was by this means effected. The King this year married *Emma*, Daughter to *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy*; with which marriage the King was so puffed up, that he sent secret and strict Commissions to the Rulers of every Town in *England*, that upon *St. Brices* day, at an hour appointed, they should suddenly slay all the *Danes*, which was accordingly effected, but afterwards it turned to the great trouble of the Realm. For news hereof being carried into *Denmark*, *Swanus* the King with a great Host and Navy landed in *Cornwal*; and by the treason of a *Norman*, who by the Queens favor was made Earl of *Devonshire*, the *Danes* took the City of *Exceter*, and beat down the Walls; From thence they marched to *Wilton*, and to *Shirbourn*, cruelly murdering the Inhabitants, and spoiling the Country. But when *Swanus* heard that the King was coming against him with a great Army, he retreated to his Navy, set sail, and arrived in *Norfolk*: There also he miserably wasted the Country, spoiled the City of *Norwich*, burned the Town of *Thetford*, and laid all waste before him; yet at last Duke *Uskatel* met him, beat him, and slew many of his *Danes*. Then did *Swanus* return into *Denmark*, making a great Preparation against the year following to re-enter *England*, which accordingly he did, landing at *Sandwich*, wofully spoiling all that Country, and as soon as he heard of any Army of the *English* coming against him, he would suddenly depart; so that when the Kings Army was in one Country, he would presently sail about, and land in another; and when the King prepared to meet them on the Sea, they would either retire home, or with Bribes and Gifts so blind the *English* Admiral, that the Kings Navy could not meet with them; and thus they wearied the poor *English*, and in conclusion brought them into extream misery, and enforced the King to buy his Peace with the payment of Thirty thousand pounds to them; after which *Swanus* returned into *Denmark*.

The Danes murdered.

Revenge of murder.

Treachery.

A great Persecution.

Treachery.

But this Peace lasted not long, for King *Egelred* the year after made *Edrick* Duke of *Mercia*, who was subtle, fawning, and false to the King and Realm. And soon after *Turkillus* a Prince of the *Danes*, landed in *Kent* with a great Army, where they did much harm, insomuch that the *Kentish* Men were forced to buy their Peace by great Gifts, whereupon the *Danes* departed. Notwithstanding which, this grievous Persecution of the *Danes*, continued in one place of the Kingdom or other; neither did the King ever give them any notable Battel: For when he had prepared an Army wherewith to encounter them, this false Earl *Edrick* would always dissuade him from it; so that the *Danes* by robbing and spoiling grew richer and richer, and the *English* poorer and poorer.

*Swanus* hearing of the success of his Subjects in *England*, brake his Covenants formerly made with *Egelred*, and with a mighty Army and Navy he landed in *Northumberland*, proclaiming himself King of this whole Land. In those parts by his bloodshed and cruelty he subdued the People, and caused the Nobles and



and Rulers to swear fealty to him: Then did he pass the River of *Trent*, subduing and conquering all before him, and forcing the People to give him Pledges, whom he sent Prisoners to his Navy, under the Custody of his Son *Canutus*. Then did he march into *Mercia*, killing and slaying all the way as he went: He took also *Oxford* and *Winchester*: Then he marched towards *London*, but hearing that the King was there, he turned into *Kent*, and besieged *Canterbury*, which at last he took by Treachery, plundering the Inhabitants, and afterwards setting the City on fire. They tithed the Monks, slaying Nine by cruel torments, and only keeping the tenth alive, whom yet they kept in miserable slavery. In all, they slew above Nine thousand Men, Women, and Children in that place. From the Bishop they first extorted Three thousand pounds, and then brought him to *Greenwich*, where they stoned him to death.

*Canterbury*  
sacked.

The Arch-Bi-  
shop martyred.

King *Egelred* fearing what might be the issue of this Persecution, sent his Wife *Emma*, with his Two Sons *Alfred* and *Edward* to the Duke of *Normandy* for their greater safety. The *Danes* still proceeding in their fury and rage, conquered a great part of *West-Saxony*, and so returned again to *London*, which the Citizens hearing of, sent *Swannus* Pledges and great Gifts, whereupon he left them.

King *Egelred* was by this means chased in the Isle of *Wight*, and with small attendance abode there privately a great part of the Winter, and being destitute of all comfort, he sailed into *Normandy*.

The King driven into *Normandy*.

*Swannus* being assured hereof, grew exceeding proud, raised grievous impositions upon the People, and at last required a great sum of money upon *St. Edmunds* lands: But the Inhabitants being privileged, refused to pay the same; *Swannus* enraged hereby, marched into those territories, spoiling and laying all waste before him; But his sins being come to the height, the Lord strook this Bloody Persecutor; and the People of the Country falling to Fasting and Prayer; *Swannus* crying, roaring and yelling amongst his Knights, died miserably.

Gods Judgment on a Persecutor.  
The Power of Prayer.

*Canutus* his Son ruled here as King after his Fathers death, but being warned by Gods judgments on his Father, he granted to the Inhabitants their ancient liberties; and ditched in *St. Edmunds* lands with a deep and large Ditch, quitting the People from all taxes and tributes, &c.

King *Egelred* hearing of the death of *Swannus*, hastened his return into *England*, upon whose sudden arrival *Canutus* being unprovided, fled to *Sandwich*, and there cutting off the Hands and Noses of the Pledges which his Father left with him, sailed into *Denmark*; yet the next year he returned again with a great Navy, landing in the South Country, whereupon the Kings eldest Son, called *Edmund Ironside*, raised an Army, appointing *Edrick* Duke of *Mercia* to meet him with another; But the false Duke, feigning himself sick, came not according to agreement, by which means the expedition was frustrated: It was afterwards proved that *Edrick* had promised his Allegiance to *Canutus*. Hereupon did *Canutus* enter into *West-Saxony*, forcing the People to be sworn to him, and to give him Hostages. In the mean time the King fell sick at *London*, and died.

Cruelty.

Treachery.

King *Egelred*'s death.

During his Reign, though he was miserably vexed with his Enemies, yet with the Counsel of his Nobles, he set forth some good Laws for the Government of his Subjects, and having information against one of his Judges called *Walgeatus*, whom he loved above all others, that he had perverted Justice, he deposed, and deprived him of all his Possessions.

Injustice punished.

*Egelred* being dead, there was much variance about the Election of his Successor, the *Londoners* with some of the Lords chose *Edward*, the eldest Son of *Egelred*, a valiant and brave young Prince, surnamed *Ironside*, for their King: But the greatest part of the Nobility adhered to *Canutus* the *Dane*: By reason of this division many great Battels were fought between these two Martial Princes, first in *Dorsetshire*, where *Canutus* was driven out of the Field: Then at *Winchester*, where the fight was so sore, that none could tell who had the better;

Great Battels.

This Battel continued all day, and the next morning began again, but the second day *Canutus* was beaten out of the Field. After this they fought another Battel in *Mercia*, where *Edward*, through the treason of false *Edrick*, was worsted. After many such Battels, the two Armies again meeting, a Knight of *Edwards* Party stood upon an high place, and said, *we die daily, and none hath the Victory, and when the Knights are dead, the Dukes must either accord or fight alone: Is not this Kingdom sufficient for Two Men, which sometimes sufficed Seven? But if neither can be content to take a part, let them fight alone who would rule alone, &c.* These words were well allowed of by both Parties, and the place and time was appointed when the Two Kings should try it out in a single Duel in the sight of both Hosts; and when these Two brave Princes met, they assayed each other with sharp Swords, and lusty strokes: But being both wearied, at last *Canutus* moved for a Reconciliation, which *Edward*, (honoring the valor of his Enemy,) accepted of, and so they embraced and kissed each other, to the great joy of their Armies, whereupon they agreed to part the Land betwixt them, and ever lived and loved like Brethren.

Yet not long after, as King *Edward* was easing Nature, a Son of wicked Duke *Edricks*, being set on by his Father, stabbed him into the Fundament, whereof he shortly after died, having Reigned Two years.

He left behind him Two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edward*, whom wicked *Edrick* took from their Mother, and presented them to *Canutus*, saying, *Ave Rex Solus*: God blefs you our only King.

*Canutus* Reigning thus alone, took these Two Children, and sent them to his Brother *Swanus*, King of *Sweden*, to be slain by him: But he abhorring so wicked a fact, sent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, where the elder died, and *Edward* was married to *Agatha*, the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth his Daughter.

*Canutus* being thus established King over the whole Land, called a Parliament of his Lords Spiritual and Temporal at *London*; where he propounded to them, whether in the agreement made betwixt *Edward* and him, there was any mention made of the succession of *Edwards* Children, and these flattering Lords against their knowledge and conscience answered, Nay; promising with an Oath, that to the utmost of their power they would resist any claim made by them to the Crown: Hereby they expected great favor from the King; But by the just retribution of God it fell out far otherwise; For *Canutus* seeing the faithhood and perjury of those who were sworn to *Edward* and his Heirs, and their treachery to their Native Country, ever after disdained and hated them, exiling many, and beheading others, and God plagued others by sudden death. Amongst these, wicked *Edrick* escaped not his condign reward: For on a time coming to the King, he began to reckon what he had done in his service, and for his sake; as that he had forsaken and betrayed *Egelred*, and slain King *Edward*, with many other such deeds: To whom *Canutus* answered, *Thou hast condemned thy self, and worthily thou shalt die, for slaying thy natural Prince, and my sworn Brother*; and so commanded him presently to be bound Hand and Foot, and thrown into the *Thames*, or, as others say, beheaded.

In the mean time *Swanus* King of *Denmark* died, and so that Kingdom fell to his Brother *Canutus*, which *Canutus* hearing of, presently sailed thither, and after he had taken possession of it, and set things in order there, he returned into *England*, and married *Emma* late Wife of *Egelred*, by whom he had a Son called *Hardicanute*: After which he assembled a Parliament at *Oxford*, and agreed that both *English* and *Danes* should be ruled by King *Edgars* Laws, which were judged to be the best and most equal.

Thus the *Danes* being mixed with the *English*, began by little and little to embrace the Christian Faith. And *Canutus* having Reigned Twenty years died, leaving Two Sons, *Harold* and *Hardicanute*: The latter was made King of *Denmark*.

A Duel between two Kings.

Friendship.

The King murdered.

Gods Providence.

Base perfidiousness.

A just judgment.

*Edrick* slain for his treason.

*Hardicanute* born.  
A Parliament at *Oxford*.  
The *Danes* converted.  
*Canutus* his death.



mark in his Fathers life-time, and *Harold*, surnamed *Harefoot* for his agility and swiftness, succeeded to the *English* Crown, *Anno Christi* 1039. He Reigned but Four years, and then died, whom his Brother *Hardicanute* King of Denmark succeeded.

*Harold* succeeds.  
His death.  
*Hardicanute* succeeds.

In this time there was one *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, who had done many valiant acts for the *Danes* against the *Norwegians*, whereupon he was in great favor with *Hardicanute*. This *Godwin* was cruel, and of a subtil wit, as he shewed by his dealing with the Two Sons of King *Egelred*, *Alfred* and *Edward*, who coming out of *Normandy* to visit their Mother *Emma*, with many *Normans* in their company; This *Godwin*, intending by marrying *Edward* to his Daughter, to set him up to be King, perswaded *Hardicanute* and the Lords, that they should not suffer these *Normans* within the Realm, and so gat authority to order the matter as himself pleased: Then went he to meet these Princes on *Guild-down*, where he wretchedly murdered or rather martyred all the innocent *Normans*, in a most cruel manner, by winding their Guts out of their Bodies: He also put out the Eyes of the elder Brother *Alfred*, and sent him to the Monastery of *Ely*, where soon after he was murdered. *Emma* fearing the treason of *Godwin* against her other Son *Edward*, privily sent him back into *Normandy*: But God not long after revenged the death of these *Normans* upon the *English*, when he brought in Duke *William* to subdue and reign over them.

Earl *Godwin* cruelty.  
*Normans* murdered.

Murder punished by God.

*Hardicanute* when he had Reigned Two years, as he was in his mirth and jollity, was suddenly stricken dumb, fell down and died shortly after, being the last of the *Danish* Blood that Reigned in *England*.

*Hardicanutes* death.

The *English* Nobility considering the manifold wrongs, and indignities which they had received from the *Danes*, resolved that never more should any King of the *Danish* Blood rule over them; They drave out also all the *Danes* out of the Land, so that they never came any more: The Lord in mercy looking upon the miseries of the *English* Nation, and vouchsafing to grant them deliverance from the same.

The *Danes* from their first landing in *England* had now miserably wasted, and vexed it for the space of Two hundred fifty five years. But *Hardicanute* dying without issue, the Nobles sent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, who at his coming was Crowned King: He was of a gentle and soft Spirit, abhorring Wars, and Bloodshed: He Governed the Realm with much wisdom, and justice: He was of a godly and blameless Life, full of piety, mercy, and liberality to the poor: He eased his Subjects of the great tribute of *Dane-gelt*: He subdued the *Scots* and *welshmen*, which began to rebel against him. During his Reign, *William* Duke of *Normandy* came into *England* with a goodly train, was honorably Feasted by the King, and when he departed, the King presented him with great Gifts, and promised, that if he died without issue, he should succeed him in the Kingdom of *England*.

*Edward* made King.  
His character.

On a time as Earl *Godwin* sat at Dinner with the King at *Windsor*, one of his Sons being the Kings Cup-Bearer, stumbled as he came, and yet recovered again, so that he spilled none of the drink, wherewith Earl *Godwin* laughed, saying, That one Brother had holpen the other, meaning one Leg had holpen the other. The King hereupon remembring his Brother, slain by *Godwin*, said, So should my Brother Allured have holpen me, if it had not been for *Godwin*. *Godwin* hereupon fearing the Kings anger, took a piece of Bread, and said, So may I safely swallow down this Bread, as I am guiltless of his Blood: But that Bread choaked him, and he presently died: God plaguing his perjury hereby.

Earl *Godwin* punished for his murder, Perjury plagued by God.

King *Edward* in the Thirteenth year of his Reign sent into *Hungary*, for his Cousin *Edward* the Son of *Edmund Ironside*, who with his Wife and Children returned into *England*, but the year after he died at *London*, leaving behind him *Edgar Adelins*, and *Margaret*, (after married to the King of *Scotland*,) by whom he had *Maud*, afterwards Queen of *England*. King *Edward* had some purpose of making this *Edgar* his Heir, but fearing the inconstancy of the *English*, and

and the pride and malice of *Harold*, Earl *Godwins* Son ; he sent solemn Ambassadors to his Cousin *William* Duke of *Normandy*, assigning him to be his lawful Heir, and Succesor to this Crown.

After this, *Harold* as he was crossing the Seas, was driven into *Normandy*, where he swore to Duke *William*, that after the death of King *Edward*, he would keep this Land for his behoof, according to the Will of King *Edward*, and at his return, *Harold* relates this to the King, who was well pleased with it. This virtuous and blessed King *Edward*, having Reigned almost Twenty four years died. He enacted many excellent Laws in his life-time, collecting most of them out of all the Laws made by his Predecessors. They were so just, equal, and profitable for the publick good ; that afterwards the People would endure to be governed by none other.

King *Edward's*  
death.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *The Persecution of the English Church under the Papacy.*

After the death of King *Edward* surnamed the *Confessor*, some of the Nobles would have set up *Edgar Adeling* for their King : But *Harold* contemning the young years of *Edgar*, and forgetting his Oath to Duke *William*, by force and might seized upon the Crown, Anno *Christi* 1066. But *Harold Herefager*, Son of *Canutus* King of *Denmark*, hearing of the death of King *Edward*, came into *England* with above Three hundred Ships, who joyning with *Tostius* Brother of *Harold* King of *England*, entred the North parts, and claimed the Crown. Against him the Lords of those parts raised an Army, and gave him Battel, but were beaten by the *Danes* ; whereupon *Harold* King of *England*, marched with an Army into the North, fought with the *Danes*, and had the Victory : He slew also with his own Hands their King and *Tostius*. Upon this Victory *Harold* grew proud and insolent, and would not divide the prey amongst his Knights, which procured him much hatred.

*Harold* the Son  
of Earl *God-  
win* usurpeth  
the Crown.

He beats the  
*Danes*.

Duke *William*  
demands the  
Crown.

Duke *William*  
lands in *Sussex*.

A Battel be-  
twixt Duke  
*William* and  
King *Harold*.

Murther and  
Perjury pu-  
nished by God.

In the mean time, *William* Duke of *Normandy* sent Ambassadors to him to demand the *English* Crown, which by Oath he had promised to keep for him : *Harold* returned answer, That such a foolish promise was not to be kept, especially he being forced thereunto. Then did Duke *William* gather his Knights, and prepare his Navy, and having shipped his Army, he arrived at *Hastings* in *Sussex*, *Harold* being in the North, Duke *William* hastened towards *London* ; but when he came thither, he was kept out till he had given security to the Citizens to march through the City without wronging any ; which being done, he marched over *London* Bridge into *Sussex*, from which he sent to *Harold*, demanding one of these Three things : First, To deliver up the Crown and Kingdom to him, and to take it back, paying a tribute to him : Or Secondly, To refer the whole business to the Arbitrement of the Pope : Or Thirdly, To try the quarrel in a single Duel betwixt them Two, to prevent further Bloodshed. *Harold* refused all, and marched against him with his Army. This great Battel was fought in *Sussex*, in the place where afterwards King *William* built *Battel-Abbey*. In the beginning of the fight the *English* kept so close together, that the *Normans* were like to be beaten ; whereupon Duke *William* made his Men give back as though they fled, and the *English* followed so fast that they brake their Array : Then the *Normans*, charging them fiercely, at the last won the Victory ; and here by Gods just judgment, *Harold*, who had formerly so cruelly murdered *Alfred*, the true Heir of the Crown, with his *Normans* that attended him, was now himself wounded in the left Eye with an Arrow, whereof he presently died.

He



He was the last King of the *Saxon* Blood, which *Saxons* had Reigned in *England* for the space of Five hundred ninety one years.

Although Religion from the first planting of the Gospel in *England*, did not remain all this while in its Primitive Purity and Perfection, but in Process of time it grew from better to worse, declining into much superstition: Yet the corruption of those times was not comparable to that which followed, about the Thousandth year after *Christ*; when Pope *Sylvester* the Second, a Conjuror, by the help of the Devil obtained the Popedom. The Church being now fled into the Wilderness, and hiding her self there, I shall speak no more of the *English* Church, which was so corrupted and degenerated from its Pristine Purity, but only of such Persons in our *English* Nation, as God raised up to oppose the errors and superstitions of those times, and for which they met with Persecution from Antichrist and his Adherents.

St. Bernard who lived about the year 1130, in one place writeth thus: *wo be to this generation, for the leaven of the Pharisees which is Hypocrisie, if yet that may be called Hypocrisie which for the abundance cannot, and for the impudence desires not to be hid. All are Friends, and yet Enemies; All are Neighbors, and yet every one seeks his own: The Ministers of Christ, and yet they serve Antichrist. It remaineth therefore that the Meridian Devil, that walks in the open light, come to deceive the residue, that hitherto persist in their simplicity, &c. For he is Antichrist, which counterfeiteth himself, not only to be the day, but the midday, and extolleth himself above all that is called God, and worshipped, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the Breath of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming. And in another place he saith, It remaineth that the Man of sin be revealed, the Son of Perdition. And in another place he thus complains to God; O God, thy near Friends come near to stand against thee. All Christian People seem to have conspired against thee, &c. Alas, Alas, O Lord God, those are the first and chief in Persecution, who seem to love and bear the first and chief place in the Church, &c.*

The Testimony of Bernard against the Pope.

John of Salisbury told Pope Hadrian the Fourth plainly, what the world thought of him and his Prelates: That the *Roman* Church shewed her self, not a Mother, but a Stepdame to all other Churches; For (saith he) in it sit the Scribes and Pharisees, laying insupportable burdens upon Mens shoulders, which themselves would not touch with one Finger, &c. yea the Bishop of *Rome* himself is grievous to all, and almost intolerable.

John of Salisbury buries Testimony.

And one afterwards complained, that the Church of *Rome* was come to that state, that it was not worthy to be governed by any, but only by Reprobates.

Robert Grossthead, a learned and godly Bishop of *Lincoln*, and living Anno 1240. wrote sharply to the Pope, (especially for the evils which he committed in *England*;) That he was opposite to *Christ*, a Murderer of Souls, and an Heretick in these his courses, &c. Upon which Letters the Pope was exceedingly moved, threatening to cast down this Bishop into the Pit of all Confusion: But some of his wiser Cardinals pacified him, telling him of this Bishops holiness, learning and reputation: And that the meddling with such an excellent Man, might hasten a departure from their Church: For, said they, the things which he proved are full and manifest. This godly and learned Bishop, after divers conflicts and bickerings with the Pope of *Rome*, and other labors and travels of life, died at *Bugden*, Anno Christi. 1253. Of whom *Matthew Paris* thus writes; Out of the prison of this world which he never loved, was taken this holy Bishop of *Lincoln*, who was an open Reprover of the Pope and King, a Rebuker of the Prelates, a Corrector of the Monks, a Director of the Clergy, a Fautor of Scholars, a Preacher to the People, a diligent Searcher of the Scriptures, a severe Punisher of the incontinent, a Mall to the *Romanists*, and a Contemner of their doings. When he lay upon his Death-bed, he sent for

Robert Grossthead's Testimony.

Grossthead's death. His character.

for some of his Clergy, had much good discourse with them, complained of the corruptions which were sprung up in the Church, and inveighed bitterly against the manifold abominations of the Church and Court of *Rome*, concluding thus; Well may these old Verses be applied to them;

*Ejus avaritia totus non sufficit orbis,  
Ejus luxuria meretrix non sufficit omnis.*

*Th<sup>3</sup> whole world cannot suffice their greedy, covetous mind:  
Nor all their drabs and naughtypacks, their filthy, lusting kind.*

For his thundering against the *Romish* Church, and for his publick reproving of the covetousness, pride, and manifold Tyrannies of the Pope, he was excommunicated to the Pit of Hell by *Innocent* the Fourth, and cited to come to his Bloody Court; But he appealed from the Popes Tyranny to the eternal Tribunal of *Jesus Christ*, and shortly after died.

John Patrick  
Erigena.

Yea before this, there were some found in *England*, who disavowed the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, and underwent persecution for the same. *Anno Christi* 884. There was one *John Patrick Erigena*, a *Britain*, ordained by King *Alfred* the first Reader in *Oxford*, who wrote a Book about the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which was afterwards condemned by the Pope, and he martyred for it.

Some branded  
in the Face.

*Anno Christi* 960. There were some Divines at *Oxford* branded in the Face, and banished, for saying that the Church of *Rome* was the Whore of *Babylon*; Monker, a stinking Carrion; their Vows, Nurles of *Sodomy*; Purgatory, Masses, &c. inventions of the Devil.

Arnold Mar-  
tyr.

*Anno Christi* 1126. There was one *Arnold*, an *English* Preacher at *Oxford*, who was cruelly butchered for preaching against Prelates pride, and Priests wicked lives.

Thirty Wal-  
denses come  
into England.

About the year 1160. in the Reign of King *Henry* the Second, there came above Thirty of the *waldenses* into *England*, one *Gerard* being their Minister, acknowledged to be a learned Man by the Monk of *Newbury*, who writes the story: These people laboring to win Disciples unto *Christ*, were quickly smelt out by the Popish Clergy, and great complaints were made against them to the King; who thereupon assembled a Council of Bishops at *Oxford*, before whom these godly persons were convented, and *Gerard* their Minister spoke for them all, saying, We are Christians, holding and reverencing the Doctrine of the Apostles: Being examined in order, (saith the Monk) of the Articles of the Holy Faith, they held right things; but they would not admit of Salt, Spittle, and Exorcisms in Baptism and the Eucharist, nor of binding with the stole in Marriage, &c. And being urged with arguments, they answered that they believed as they were taught by Gods Word, but would not dispute of their Faith: Being admonished to repent, and to return to the Unity of the Church, they despised that Council, they scorned threats also, saying, *Blessed are they which suffer Persecution for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* Then did the Bishops excommunicate them, and so delivered them over to be corporally punished by the King, who caused the Character of Heretical Infamy to be burnt in their Foreheads, and *Gerard* their Minister suffered the disgrace of double burning, one in his Forehead, the other about his Chin; Then were their Clothes cut off to their Girdlesteads, and with flashing Whips they were publicly whipped through *Oxford*; They singing all the while, *Blessed are ye when Men hate you, and despitefully use you, &c.* The King further commanded, that none should presume to receive them to House, nor to cherish them with any comfort, whereby they miserably perished with hunger and cold, none affording any comfort to them.

A Council  
against them.

Their crimes  
what they  
were.

Popish crue-  
ty.



Anno Christi 1170. there was one *Gualo*, Professor of the Mathematicks in *Oxford*, who wrote invectives against the Priests, for their Pomp, Luxury, and wicked impostures.

Anno Christi 1170. there was one *Gilbert Foliot*, Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*, who perswaded King *Henry* the Second, after the example of *Jehosaphat*, and other good Kings, to reform the Clergy, and keep them in subjection: He also often resisted, and blamed *Thomas Becket* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to his Face, for which he was much hated, and Persecuted.

Anno Christi 1200. *Sylvester Gyrild*, much beloved by King *Henry* the Second, and King *John*, wrote a Book against the uncleanness, and wickedness of the Monks, whereby he stirred up those Hornets against him.

Anno Christi 1207. *Alexander*, a Divine of *Oxford*, was sent to *Rome* by King *John*, to defend his authority against the Pope, which he very well did both by Scriptures, and Reasons: He wrote also against the Popes power and Temporal Dominion, for which he was Persecuted, and Banished by *Langton* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and died in exile.

Anno Christi 1218. *Gualter Maxes* Arch-Deacon of *Oxford*, a Famous and Learned man, having been at *Rome*, where he saw the Pride and Ambition of the Pope, at his return, Preached vehemently against it, and wrote a Book called the *Revelation of the Romish Goliath*; and divers others against the wickedness of the Clergy, against the Pope, and Court of *Rome*; &c. For which he was much hated, and Persecuted.

Anno Christi 1255. *Sebald*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, earnestly contended against the Tyranny of the *Romish* Court: He said, that the Pope was permitted by God for the great hurt of many: He wrote to the Pope to abstain from his accustomed Tyranny, and to follow the Humility of his Holy Predecessors, and after *Peter's* example, to Feed the Flock, not to Pill, Waste, and Destroy them: The Pope contemned his Counsel, and Persecuted them for it.

Anno 1260. *William Strengham*, Doctor of Divinity, wrote for the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures; Only necessary for Salvation.

Anno Christi 1270. *Roger Bacon*, Fellow of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*, a Famous Divine, spake freely against the Antichristian errors of his times, so that Pope *Nicholas* the Fourth condemned his Doctrine, and imprisoned him.

Anno 1290. *John Scotus* of *Merton* Colledge, a great School-man, called Doctor *Subtilis*, Preached against the abuse of the Keys, and that Transubstantiation could neither be proved by Scripture, nor good reason.

Anno Christi 1320. *John Baronthorp*, Doctor, and publick Reader of Divinity in *Oxford*, called Doctor *Resolutus*, taught against the Pope; affirmed his power to be subordinate to Emperors, and Kings, and inveighed against the deceits and impostures of Antichrist.

Anno Christi 1326. *Nicholas Lyran*, a Divine of *Oxford*, amongst other things, wrote a Book *de visione Dei*, against the Pope.

Anno Christi 1330. *William Ockam*, Fellow of *Merton* Colledge, called Doctor *Singularis*, wrote against Pope *John* the Twenty third, and against *Clement*, charging him with Heresie; calling him Antichrist, an hater of Christ, an Enemy of the Common-wealth, affirming that the Pope had no power over Civil Magistrates.

Anno Christi 1340. *Thomas Bradwardine* of *Merton* Colledge, wrote three Books in defence of Gods grace against free will.

Anno Christi 1351. *Nicholas Orum*, Doctor of *Oxford*, Preached at *Rome* before Pope *Urban* the Fifth, and his Cardinals, wherein he discovered and condemned the Papacy, and foretold their destruction: He wrote the Epistle from *Lucifer* to the Clergy, thanking them for sending so many Souls to Hell: He placed his Daughters, Pride, Avarice, Luxury, Fraud, and especially Simony to them, as to their proper Husbands.

Richard Fitz-Ralph.

*Anno Christi 1355.* Richard Fitz-Ralph, Chancellor of Oxford, and Archbishop of Armagh, wrote against Begging Fryars, and in his publick Lectures set forth their Folly, Fraud, Luxury, Wantonness, Pride, Pomp, &c.

Dr. Killington.

*Anno Christi 1360.* Richard Killington, Doctor of Divinity in Oxford, defended the Book of *Armachanus*, and wrote many learned Books against the Monks and Fryers.

John Wickliffe.

About the same time, John Wickliffe, Doctor of Divinity; wrote many Volumes against the *Romish* corruption, for which he met with much hatred and Persecution, as also these good men before mentioned had done, the Particulars whereof you may Read in my first Part, in the Life of Wickliffe.

William Wickam.

*Anno Christi 1379.* William Wickam, Bishop of Winchester, who built a Colledge in Oxford, another at Winchester, was a great Enemy to the *Romish* Locusts, and professed, that notwithstanding all the good works which he had done, yet that he trusted in the merits of Christ alone for Salvation.

Philip of Repington.

*Anno Christi 1382.* Philip of Repington, of Merton Colledge, declaimed boldly against the erroneous and impure Doctrine of the Church of Rome; against the Roman Pharaoh, Mens traditions, Masses, Pilgrimages, Auricular Confession, &c. wherein Doctor Rigges the Vice-Chancellor, and the Proctors joyned with him.

Alexander Carpenter.

*Anno Christi 1429.* Alexander Carpenter, of Baliol Colledge, wrote a Book, wherein he sharply reprov'd the wicked Lives of Priests and Prelates, calling them Traytors to Christ, Deceivers, Thieves, Liars, Ravenors, Oppressors, Hypocrites, Cursed Tyrants, execrable Antichrists, &c.

John Felton.

*Anno 1440.* John Felton of Magdalen Colledge, taught the Gospel purely, reprov'ing the Popes Pride and Tyranny.

Dr. Capgrave.

*Anno Christi 1460.* John Capgrave, Doctor of Divinity in Oxford, complain'd much of the ungodly Tyranny of the Prelates and Priests, who like hirelings expos'd their Sheep to the Wolves, seeking their Wool and Milk, but not the good of their Souls, &c.

Henry Parker.

*Anno Christi 1470.* Henry Parker, Fellow of All Souls, preached at Pauls Cross against the Pride and Ambition of the Prelates, and at the request of some good People, published his Doctrin to the great disgrace of the Prelates, for which he was cast into Prison, where he lay long, and endured much want.

The Progress of the Gospel, though persecuted.

Thus we have seen in some particulars, how God raised up in those dark times some worthy instruments, who with the hazard of their estates, honors, liberty and lives, publickly oppos'd the corruptions which were crept into the Church, and expos'd themselves to the greatest dangers for the Vindication of the Truth. Neither were these Men alone and singular in their opinions; For, through Gods mercy, their Doctrin was readily embraced by many, so that in the Reign of King Henry the Second, about the year 1174. many of them were persecuted, and some Burnt. But this true Doctrin was more generally received in King Edward the Third his time, when as the Ministry of Wickliffe in Oxford found a good liking, and general applause amongst his Hearers; yea, it had the approbation of the whole University: and when Bulls came thick from Rome against him and his Doctrin, the whole University gave a testimony in favor of him under their Seal, in the Congregation-house: Yea he had many great Favorers amongst the Nobility, Citizens of London, and others: and his Doctrin took such deep root in the Hearts of many, that it could never be extirpated by all the means, which for many years after his death were used by Popes, Princes, Prelates, and their Officers, who from time to time, even till Luthers time, persecuted and endeavored to suppress the same: Amongst which number of the persecuted, these were some, Utrid Bolton and John Aswerby, Fellows of Oriel Colledge, both much troubled and persecuted for preaching and promoting Wickliffe's Doctrin, *Anno Christi 1380.*

Utrid Bolton and John Aswerby.



*John Ashton* Fellow of *Merton Colledge* was persecuted, and at last condemned to perpetual imprisonment for the same, *Anno Christi* 1382. *John Ashton.*

*Walter Brute* of *Merton Colledge*, was persecuted by the Bishop of *Hereford* *Walter Brute.*  
*Anno Christi* 1390.

*Peter Pateshal*, who had faithfully preached this Doctrine at *London*, and in the Court; was forced by persecution to fly into *Bohemia* for refuge about the same time. *Peter Pateshal.*

*Henry Crump* Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*, was first an Adversary to, but afterwards convinced, and converted by *Wickliffs* Doctrine, preached it boldly, for which he was persecuted by the Bishops, who forced him to fly into *Ireland*; yet there also was he long imprisoned by a Bishop about the year 1392. *Dr. Crump.*

King *Henry* the Fourth, though otherwise a good and valiant Prince, yet coming to the Crown by Usurpation, desired to uphold himself by the favor of the Pope and his Clergy, who had oft complained of the increase of *Lollards* in King *Richard* the Second his time, but could prevail no further than to have their Books burnt, and their persons imprisoned, but the final determination, what should be done with them, was ever reserved to the King and his Counsel. But now King *Henry*, to engratiate himself with the Clergy, suffered his fiery zeal to burn up to a fiery persecution, enacting a Law that *Lollards* should be burnt at the discretion of the Bishops, whereupon divers suffered Martyrdom, as

*William Sawtree*, a Divine of *Oxford*, and Parson of *St. Siths Church* in *London*, was imprisoned, degraded, and at last Burnt by *Thomas Arundel* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Anno Christi* 1400. This *William Sawtree* desired that his Cause might be heard by the Parliament then sitting, for the commodity of the whole Realm: But the Bishops smelling out the matter, obtained that it might be wholly referred unto them, who convening him before them, examined him upon Eight Articles, the last whereof was about Transubstantiation: To which he answered, that after the words of Consecration there remaineth very Bread, the same Bread which it was before the words were spoken; Whereupon the Arch-Bishop condemned him by the mouth of *Robert Hall* his Chancellor, after which they got a Warrant from the King, directed to the Major and Sheriffs of *London* for his burning. *William Sawtree Martyr.*

*William Swinderby* of *Kings Colledge* in *Oxford*, having for a good while taught the Truth at *Leicester*, was at last apprehended and compelled to recant: But after a while, repenting and receiving new strength from God, he renewed his Doctrine, and was Burnt in *Smithfield*, *Anno Christi* 1401. *William Swinderby Martyr.*

*William Thorp* Fellow of *Queens Colledge* in *Oxford*, was apprehended for the same, examined, imprisoned, and there at last secretly put to death by *Arundel* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Anno Christi* 1407. *William Thorp Martyr.*

*Lawrence Redman*, *David Sawtre*, *William James*, *Thomas Brightwel*, *William Haulam*, *Radulph Greenhurst*, and *John Schut* were all grievously persecuted by the Popish party, *Anno* 1420. *Lawrence Redman and others.*

Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, was persecuted, condemned, and Burnt in *Saint Gile's Fields*, *Anno Christi* 1417. Of whom see more in my Second Part in his Life. *Sir John Oldcastle.*

*John Purvey*, a learned Man, that wrote a commentary on the *Revelation*, wherein he proved the Pope to be Antichrist, and Whore of *Babylon*: He complained that many before him, who had impugned the *Romish* errors, had been imprisoned, killed, and their Books burnt, and that none were suffered to preach, but such as would swear obedience to the Pope: For which he was imprisoned, and secretly made away there, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. *John Purvey Martyr.*  
*Anno Christi* 1421. *See more of these afterwards.*

*William White*, Fellow of *Wickam Colledge*, for his preaching of the Truth was taken, and compelled by the Arch-Bishop to recant, *Anno Christi* 1424. But quickly repenting, and publicly confessing his weakness and inconstancy, with great

great lamentation, and renewing his former Doctrin, was at last taken, and condemned to the fire by the Bishop of *Norwich*, Anno Christi 1428.

*Richard Wiche.*

*Richard Wiche*, Fellow of *wickam* Colledge, was Burnt the same year for the like Profession.

*Peter Clarke*  
Martyr.

Anno Christi 1433. *Peter Clarke*, a Divine of *Oxford*, defended publicly in the Schools the Doctrin of *wickliffe*, for which he was so persecuted, that he was forced to flie into *Bohemia*: From thence he went into *France*, and was chosen Preacher to certain Christians at *Melda*; and in process of time Sixty two of his Congregation were surpris'd, bound in Carts, and sent to *Paris*: Where Fourteen of them were Burnt, the rest tormented, and put to other deaths, or banished: Mr. *Clarke*, with his Host, *Steven Mangris*, in whose House he used to preach, had first their Tongues cut out, then were hanged, and afterwards Burnt. See this Story in my former Part, in the Persecutions of the Church in *France*.

*Peter Paine.*

*Peter Paine* or *Peacock*, Fellow of *All Souls* in *Oxford*, for his constant preaching against the *Roman* Antichrist, was forced to flie into *Bohemia* to avoid the danger: From thence he with others, was sent to the Council of *Basil*, where he defended his Doctrin stoutly and learnedly Fifty days together, Anno Christi 1438.

*Roger Oweley.*  
Martyr.  
*Lady Elinor*  
*Cobham.*

*Roger Oweley*, a Divine of *Oxford*, and Chaplain to the Lady *Elinor Cobham*, the Duke of *Glocesters* Wife, wrote learnedly against the superstitions that were then in practice: And for attempting something with the said Lady against the Papacy, he with some of his Friends were hanged and quartered at *London*, and the Lady banished into the *Isle of Man*, Anno Christi 1443.

*Humphrey Duke*  
of *Glocester*  
Martyr.  
See more of  
him afterwards.

*Humphrey Duke of Glocester*, Son of *Henry* the Fourth, Brother to the Fifth and Uncle to the Sixth, having been educated in *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxford*, was a great Favourer of Preachers of the purer Religion: For which the Bishops and their Creatures hated him deadly, by whose means he was taken in the Night in *Bury-Abbey*, cast into Prison, and there murdered, Anno Christi 1447.

*Philip Norise.*

*Philip Norise*, a Divine of *Oxford*, inveighed bitterly against the Monks and Friars, calling them Antichrists, Wolves, Thieves, Traitors, Swine, Hypocrites, Hereticks, more pestilent and dangerous than the *Arrians*, *Pelagians*, *Donatists*, *Nestorians*, or other Hereticks whatsoever: For which he was persecuted by the Friars, who complained of him to Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, from whom he appealed to a general Council, Anno Christi 1446.

*David Boyse.*

*David Boyse*, Fellow of *Merton* Colledge, a witty, and learned Man, embraced, and preached the sincere Religion, for which he was hated, and persecuted, Anno Christi 1450.

*John Collet.*  
See his Life  
afterwards.

*John Collet*, a Divine of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Pauls*: He taught in *Oxford* that Mans justification was by the mere grace of *Jesus Christ*: That Images were not to be worshipped: That Bishops not feeding their flocks are Wolves, &c. *Richard James* Bishop of *London*, and some Friars persecuted him for the same, Anno Christi 1507. which was but Ten years before the rising of *Martin Luther*.

True Ministry  
in England  
from the first  
planting of the  
Gospel here.

Thus we have seen in sundry passages of this story, and in many particular instances that from the first planting of the Gospel in this Kingdom, which was presently after *Christs* time, to the time of *Luther*, God preserved a true Church, a true Ministry, and true ordinances amongst the people of this Land in despite of the Devil, and all his instruments; and though many times the Saints of God were fain to hide themselves and underwent grievous persecutions for the cause of *Christ*, yet God still preserved a seed alive, who when the storm was over, appeared again: And when corruptions and Antichristianity had overspread the greatest part of the Christian world, God from time to time raised up some in this Nation to bear witness against the same, who loved not their Lives to the death, that they might be found faithful to *Christ* and his Truth: And therefore *Doctor Field* in his Book of the Church, Book *Chap. 6.* and *8.* had good reason to say thus: *Although we do acknowledg Wick*

*Doctor Fields*  
Testimony.



Wisse, Husse, Jerom of Prague, &c. to have been the worthy servants of God, and truly Martyrs suffering for the cause of Christ against Antichrist: Yet we do not think that the Church was to be found only in them, or that there was no other appearance of the succession of the Church and Ministry, as the Papists falsely charge us: For we firmly believe that all the Churches wherein our Fathers lived, and dyed, were the true Churches of Christ, wherein salvation was to be found; and that they which taught, imbraced, and believed those damnable errors which the Romanists now defend, were a faction only in the Church, as were they that denyed the resurrection, urged circumcision, and despised the Apostles of Christ, in the Churches of Corinth, and Galatia.

Luther also in his Book against the Anabaptists faith, That under the Papacy there was much good; yea all Christian good, and it came thence to us: As true Scriptures; true Sacraments; a true Ministry; a true Catechism; wherein is the Lords Prayer, Ten Commandments, and Articles of the Christian Faith, &c.

Doctor Luthers  
Testimony.

Calvin in his Institutions, Book 4. Chap. 2. faith, That God suffered not his Church to perish in France, England, &c. having made his Covenant with them: But it continued there through effectual Baptisme, and other remainders: Though for Mens ingratitude he suffered the Building to be much rent, and torn.

Calvins Testi-  
mony.

Béza in his questions faith, The Church was under the Papacy, but the Papacy was not the Church. Master Perkins faith the like in his exposition of the Creed: So Morney De Ecclesia, Chap. 9. with Bucer, and Melancthon teach the same:

Béza's Testi-  
mony.  
Master Per-  
kins, &c.

## CHAP. V.

*The continuation of the Persecution of the English Church under the Papacy.*

WE have heard in the former Chapter how God raised up sundry faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ in several ages to oppose the superstitions, and errors brought into our Church by the Pope and his adherents, for which they suffered great persecutions: Now let us see how many Lay-men also as well as Ministers imbraced the truth, and suffered Martyrdom for the same.

Anno 1409. there was one John Badby, a Taylor, convented before Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, for the crime of Heresie, as they stiled the truth in those daies, and for holding divers Articles repugnant to the determination of the Church of Rome; witnesses were examined against him, after which the Arch-Bishop asked him whether he would renounce, and forsake his opinions: To which he answered, that he would not, but that he would adhere to his answer formerly given in: Hereupon he was shut up a close Prisoner, the Arch-Bishop himself keeping the Key of his Chamber; and a few daies after he was brought again before the Arch-Bishop, and his assistants sitting in Pauls Church London, who condemned him for an open and obstinate Heretick, delivering him over to the secular power: Presently after came the Kings writ for his execution, by vertue whereof, John Badby still persevering in the truth, was brought into Smithfield, put into an empty Barrel, bound with Iron chains, fastned to a stake, having dry Wood put about him: The young Prince, the Kings eldest Son, being present, much pittied the Man, perswading him to have respect to his life, and when intreaties prevailed not, he added menaces, but nothing would shake the constancy of this faithful Martyr: Then did the Prior of Saint Bartholomews in Smithfield bring him with all solemnity

John Badby:

King Henry  
the Fourth.

solemnity the Sacrament, demanding of him how he believed in it? He answered, that it was hallowed Bread, but not *Christ's* Body: Then was Fire put to him, and when he felt the Fire he cryed unto God for mercy: whereupon the Prince thinking that he recanted, caused the Fire to be quenched; then asked him if he would forsake his Heresie, promising that if he would do it, he should have riches enough, and a yearly stipend out of the Kings treasury to his full content: But this valiant Champion of *Christ* inflamed with the love of *Christ*, and thirsting after Heavenly treasures, refused those great promises; whereupon Fire being again put to him, he endured the torments with invincible courage, and so in the flames resigned up his spirit unto God.

His constancy.

His Martyrdom.

The Statute *ex officio*.

Unto this Act the Commons in Parliament never consented, as appears by the Parliament Rolls.

Wicked Constitutions.

Persecution increaseth Professors.

William Thorpe.

He confesseth his Faith.

His courage and constancy.

His death: John Ashtons death.

The Persecuting Bishops, studying how to suppress the truth of the Gospel, made their addresses to the King, with many flattering pretences, and obtained by his means an Act of Parliament, called The Statute *ex officio*, whereby it was ordained, that if any preached, maintained, or taught openly or privily, or writ any Book contrary to the Catholick Faith, and determination of the holy Church, or that should favor any such Preacher, or that should conceal any such Book, and not deliver it up within Forty days, &c. that being lawfully convicted thereof before the Ordinary or his Commissaries, they may imprison him in any of their own Prisons, and there keep him so long as in their discretion they shall think fit: As also that they may charge him with such a fine of money to the Kings use, as they shall think competent, according to the quality of his offence, and if he refuse to recant and abjure his Heretical opinions and practices, or relapse after Recantation, that he shall be delivered over to the secular power, who are required openly to Burn him before all the People, &c.

The Arch-Bishop also set forth cruel, Blasphemous and wicked Constitutions about the same time, against the true Professors of the Gospel: notwithstanding all which, the number and courage of the Faithful was so far from being vanquished, that they multiplied and encreased daily, especially in *London, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Herefordshire, Shropshire*, and in divers other places; yet amongst so many, some there were that did shrink and revolt by reason of the severity of the Law: Others feared no danger nor death, so they might be found faithful witnesses to the cause and truth of *Christ*: Amongst which was Master *William Thorpe*, first imprisoned in *Shrewsbury*, afterwards removed to the Castle of *Saltwood*, from whence he was brought before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who charged him for going about many years together, to teach and disperse his Heretical opinions, whereupon he required him to kneel down, and to swear upon a Book to submit to his correction, and to stand to his award: *Thorpe* answered, since you count me for an Heretick, I beseech you give me leave here to make a Confession of my Faith before you: Which the Arch-Bishop assenting to, he made a large and notable Confession of his Faith, after which he added: To the rule and ordinances of Gods Laws I meekly, gladly and willingly submit me with all my heart, and whosoever shall by the same convince me of any error, I am ready and willing to recant. Then the Arch-Bishop said, I will that thou presently swear to me to forsake all the opinions which the Sect of the *Lollards* hold, and that thou shalt neither favor any Man or Woman that holds any of the aforesaid opinions, and that thou shalt publish their names, and make them known to the Bishop of the Diocese, where they live, &c. To this Master *Thorpe* answered, Sir, I may not do this, for it would be the doom of my conscience, if I should be the cause of the death of so many Men and Women, which are now in the way of salvation, who would justly charge me to be a Traitor both to God and them, &c. and therefore from this wickedness keep me and all Christian People Almighty God, now and for ever, for his holy names sake. The Arch-Bishop swore and raged exceedingly at this answer, and cast him into prison, where he either died of sickness, or was made away by the Arch-Bishops procurement. The like end hapned to *John Ashton*, another follower of *wickliffs* Doctrine, who was committed to perpetual imprisonment, Anno *Christi* 1382.



*John Purvey*, with *Herford*, a Doctor of Divinity, were grievously tormented in the prison of *Salwood*, and afterwards forced to recant at *Pauls Crofs*, by *Arundel* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*: But *Purvey* afterwards recovering himself by Gods grace, was again imprisoned under *Henry Chichely* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Anno Christi 1421.

*John Purvey.*  
*Dr. Herford,*

*Frier Walden* called this Master *Purvey* the Library of the *Lollards*, and the *Glosser* upon *Wickliffe*; He was a very learned Man.

King *Henry* the Fourth being dead, his Son *Henry* the Fifth succeeded, who called a Parliament; But when the Bishops perceived that the Gospellers had so many Friends in and about *London*, they caused the King to adjourn it to *Leicester*, where they procured a Law that the *Wickliffs* should be punished as guilty of high Treason, and therefore should be both hanged and burnt.

King *Henry* the Fifth,

At this time Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, suffered Martyrdom, the Story whereof read in my second part, in the Life of the Lord *Cobham*.

Anno Christi 1413. which was the first year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Fifth, Sir *Roger Aston*, Mr. *John Brown*, and Mr. *John Beverly*, were persecuted and put to death in *St. Giles* in the Fields for the truth, together with divers others, to the number of Thirty six, all which were hanged with fire made under them, whereby they dyed a double death.

Sir *Roger Aston*, *John Brown* & *John Beverly*, &c.

These godly persons, Mr. *Beverly* being their Preacher, in those dangerous times, used to meet in the night in *St. Giles* his Fields, to pray and hear the word preached: Which the Bishops having some notice of, they informed the King of a dangerous Conspiracy which these persons intended, as to rebel against the King, to seize upon the City of *London*, &c. whereupon the King going with many armed Men at midnight, only found these Thirty six persons, all which were executed as before: Yet the number was greater, some escaping by flight, amongst whom was *William Murle*, of *Dunstable*, Maultster, who being afterwards apprehended, was drawr, hanged and burnt. Within few days after their execution, *Thomas Arundel* the Arch-Bishop was so stricken by God in his tongue, that he could neither swallow any food, nor speak for divers days before his death, whereby he dyed in much misery. Concerning whose manner of death, one makes these Observations.

*William Murle;*

Gods judgment on Arch-Bishop *Arundel*.

This Man was he that made an Ecclesiastical Law, that the Scriptures (which are Gods Tongue) should not speak, by forbidding *Wickliffs* Translation of them; and therefore God justly made him dumb.

This Man was he that stopped the Mouths, and tied the Tongues of Gods faithful Preachers, who are Gods mouth and tongue to his People; and therefore God plagued his mouth and tongue.

This Man was he that spake proud, threatening, taunting and blasphemous words against Gods truth, and his people, and had swelling thoughts for their destruction; and God made his tongue to swell to his own destruction.

This Man (as much as in him lay) brought a Famine, not out of Bread, but of hearing the Word, and now is he justly famished himself to death. Who can chuse but admire the exceeding Justice of Gods requital?

Anno Christi 1415. there was one *John Claydon* of *London*, Coriar, that was brought before *Henry Chichely* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, upon the suspicion of Heretic, and upon his examination, he confessed, that for the same cause he had been formerly imprisoned by the Bishop of *London*, by the space of two years in *Conway* Castle, and that at another time he had been Three years in the Fleet for the same, as also that he had divers English Books, which at several times he heard read to him, and wherein he took great delight, &c. After this, his Books being examined, were condemned as Heretical to be burnt in the fire, and sentence of condemnation was passed upon him by the Arch-Bishop, and he was delivered to the secular power, by whom he was carried into *Smithfield*, and there burnt, Anno Christi 1415. With him also was burnt *Richard Turning* a Baker, for the same cause.

*John Claydon.*

His Martyrdom.  
*Richard Turning.*

## The Persecution of the English

A wicked  
Constitution.

About the same time *John Husse* was burnt at *Constance*, and the Gospel began to spread much in *England*, which caused the Prelates to bestir themselves with might and main to suppress it: And at a Convocation held at *London*, Anno *Christi* 1416. the Arch-Bishop made a Constitution, which he sent abroad to all his Bishops and Suffragans, requiring them at least twice every year, to make diligent enquiry after all such persons as were suspected of Heresie, and that in every place where any such were suspected to dwell, they should cause three honest Men, to take their Oaths upon the Evangelists, that if they knew or heard of any *Conventicles*, or if any persons in life and conversation, differing from other Catholick Men, or that held any Heresies or errors, or that were suspected to have any such English Books, or to harbor or entertaine any such person, &c. that they make Certificate in writing of all such persons, with the circumstances whereby they are suspected, to the Suffragans, Commissaries, &c. who were required to send forth Process against them and upon Conviction, either to deliver them over to the secular power, or to commit them to perpetual imprisonment, as the quality of the cause should require. Hereupon many were apprehended, viz. *John Taylor*, of the parish of *Michaels* in the *Quern*, *William James*, Master of Arts, *John Dwerse*, *John Jourdelay*, Master *Roberts*, Parson of *Heggerley* in *Lincolnshire*, *William Henry* of *Tenderden*, *John Gall*, a Minister in *London*, *Richard Monk* Vicar of *Chefham* in *Lincolnshire*, *Bartholomew Cornemunger*, *Nicholas Hooper*, *Thomas Granter* Minister, *Edward Frith* Butler to the Lord *Cobham*, most of which were kept in close imprisonment. Also Master *Benedict Ulleman*, a Citizen of *London*, was apprehended, for scattering some papers, wherein the truth was asserted against Popery, for which he was hanged, drawn and beheaded upon *Michaelmas* day.

Mr. Ulleman  
Martyr.

John Barton.

Also during this Convocation, there was brought before the Bishops *John Barton* a Minister, who was accused by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, for that he had stood excommunicated six or seven years for Heresie, and for that upon Summons he would not appear, nor seek to be reconciled, for which he was committed to prison, till they had further leisure to proceed against him.

Roberts Chap-  
pel.

Also *Robert Chappel*, another Minister, sometimes Chaplain to the Lord *Cobham*, was brought before them, against whom it was objected, that he had been excommunicated Three or four years, and yet to the contempt of the Keys, he continued to preach, and sought not to be reconciled: *Chappel* fearing the issue, abjured his former opinions as Heretical, promising never to hold the same again: Then was he enjoined by the Arch-Bishop to do penance, and to make a publick Recantation at *Pauls Cross*: The like abjuration was obruded upon many others.

His fall.

Radulph Mun-  
gin.

There was also one *Radulph Mungin*, a Minister, brought before the Arch-Bishop, and charged with divers Heretical opinions, and because he could by no means be induced to recant the same, he was by the Arch-Bishop condemned to perpetual imprisonment: Many others were driven to forsake their Houses and Families, and to retire themselves into private places, to preserve themselves from the rage of these bloody Persecutors.

A great per-  
secution.

King Henry  
the Sixth.

William Tay-  
lor.

King *Henry* the Fifth being dead, his Son *Henry* the Sixth succeeded him, being not a year old when his Father died, in the first year of whose reign, *William Taylor*, a Minister, was convented before *Chicheley* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and charged with sundry Articles, which they counted Heretical: He drew forth a writing, and tendred it to the Arch-Bishop to justify his opinions to be true: This paper being given to some of the Doctors that were present, was examined by them, and concluded to be erroneous and Heretical, whereupon he was condemned to suffer perpetual imprisonment, and yet through favor they promised to release him, if he would put in sufficient security, and swear that he would never hold, nor favor such opinions afterwards, and so he was committed to the Custody of the Bishop of *Worcester*, who had authority to release him upon the conditions aforesaid: But during his abode with this Bishop, there passed some



Some writings bewixt him, and one *Thomas Smith*, a Priest of *Bristow*, about the Question of worshipping the Saints, by occasion whereof he was again brought before the Convocation, *Anno Christi* 1422. and his writings being shewed to him, he refused to revoke the same, for which he was condemned of Heresie, and presently after a Writ came from the King, *De Hæretico comburendo*, and so he being committed to the secular power, was carried into *Smithfield*, where he was burnt, dying a faithful Martyr of *Jesus Christ*.

His Martyrdom.

About this time *Henry Chicheley*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, wrote to Pope *Martin*, that the *wicklevis* in *England* were grown to be so many, that they could not be suppressed without an Army.

*Anno Christi* 1422. This Arch-Bishop held a Synod, wherein was brought before him one *Henry Webb*, who was accused for preaching up and down without a Licence, for which he was condemned to be whipt stark naked in the procession, in the Cathedrals of *Pauls* in *London*, *Worcester* and *Bathe*, which was accordingly executed.

Henry Webb whipt.

Also about the same time *John Florence*, a Turner, dwelling at *Shelton* in the Diocess of *Norwich*, was convented before the Bishops Chancellor, and charged with holding sundry Heretical opinions, for which he was enjoined Three Sabbath days in the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, to be whipt before all the people; the like also to be done to him in his own Parish Church Three other Sabbath days.

John Florence cruelly whipt.

Between the year 1428. and 1431. there were about the number of One hundred and twenty Men and Women in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, brought and examined before the Bishop of that Diocess, for the profession of the Christian Faith, some of which escaped more easily, but most of them were cruelly handled, and some of them burnt.

One hundred and twenty persecuted.

*Anno* 1424. There was one *William White* a Minister, and a follower of *wicklevis* Doctrine, a Learned and Godly Man, that spent his time in reading, writing and preaching, for which he was apprehended and carried before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, before whom for a time he stoutly and valiantly defended the truth; but at last, through the cruel menaces of his Adversaries, and his own weakness, he began to be faint; yet after a while, through Gods grace, he became more stout and strong in *Jesus Christ* than he was before, confessing his former weakness, and heartily repenting of the same: And thereupon he wholly imployed himself in preaching to, and converting the people unto the true Doctrine of *Christ*, for which he was again at last apprehended, and carried before the Bishop of *Norwich*, by whom he was convicted, condemned, and burnt, *Anno Christi* 1428. When he was at the Stake, he began to speak to the people, to exhort and confirm them in the truth, but one of the Bishops Servants smote him on the mouth, and forced him to hold his peace, and so with much meekness and patience he received his Crown of Martyrdom. This Master *White* having married a Wife, she being a good Woman, and following the footsteps of her Husband, went about, doing privately all the good that possibly she could, for which she was persecuted, and suffered grievous things from the same Bishop of *Norwich*.

William White.

His Martyrdom.

His Wife persecuted.

About the same time there was a Godly Minister, and another ancient Man, called Father *Abraham*, burnt at *Colchester* for the truth.

Two burnt at Colchester.

There was also one *Thomas Pie* and *John Mendam*, examined before the Bishop of *Norwich*, by whom they were censured to be openly whipt Six Sabbath days in their Parish Church, and Three Market days about the Market-place of *Harleston*, carrying in their Hands a Taper of a pound weight, &c. Many others were served in the like sort.

Thomas Pie, and John Mendam whipt.

*Anno Christi* 1430. *Richard Hoveden*, a Citizen of *London*, holding and professing the opinions of *wicklevis*, was convicted for the same, and when by no

Richard Hoveden Martyr.

means he could be brought to recant them, he was condemned and burnt hard by the Tower of *London*.

Master Nicholas.

Also the same year Master *Nicholas*, a Canon of *Ely*, was forced to endure Three whippings about the Cloister of the Cathedral Church in *Normich*, and was afterwards kept in prison, for turning his Face from the High Altar, and reproving those that did reverence to the Sacrament.

Thomas Bagley.

Anno Christi 1431. *Thomas Bagly*, a Minister, being a valiant Disciple of *Christ*, and adhering to the Doctrine of *Wickliffe*, was condemned at *London* by the Bishops, degraded and burnt in *Smithfield*.

Richard White Martyr.

Anno Christi 1439. One *Richard white* or *wiche*, a Minister, was apprehended and examined, and when he would not be drawn from his opinions, he was condemned to be burnt at the Tower-hill for Heresie : At the place of execution he foretold that the Postern of the Tower should sink, which shortly after came to pass, and so in the flames he resigned up his Spirit unto God : The people much admired him for an holy Man.

A Prophecie.

Humphrey Duke of Gloucester.

His Character.

Popish Imposture discovered.

Anno 1447. The Duke of *Glocester*, who was Son to King *Henry* the Fourth, Brother to King *Henry* the Fifth, and Uncle to King *Henry* the Sixth, was chosen Protector in his Nephews minority. He was of a meek and gentle disposition, a lover of the Commonwealth, a supporter of the poor Commons, wise, discreet, studious, a lover of Religion, a Friend to virtue, and an enemy to pride, especially in the Clergy, which made him to be much hated of them, and in the end brought him to an immature death. His learning was rare and memorable, and his discreet wisdom no less exemplary, whereof take this instance : The King in his minority, being under the Government of this good Duke, was to go to *St. Albanes*, against which time a Beggar with his Wife, were suborned to come thither by the Bishops, where he begged up and down Five or Six days before the Kings coming, saying, that he was born blind, and never saw in all his life, and that he was warned in a Dream to come from *Barwick*, where he had always lived, to *St. Albane*, from whom he should receive his sight ; But having been at his Shrine he yet remained blind, and therefore he would go and seek him at some other place. But when the King was come, and the Town full of his Retinue, this blind Beggar going again to the Saints Shrine, had his sight restored to him : This miracle was much observed by the Popish Clergy, and a *Te Deum* solemnly sung, and nothing was talked of in the Town but this miracle : Duke *Humphrey* hearing of it, sent for the Beggar, and shewed himself joyful for the recovery of his sight, exhorted the Man to humility, and to thankfulness to God for restoring his sight, &c. and then looking upon his eyes, asked him if he had never seen any thing in his life before : The Beggar and his Wife both answered, *No ; I believe you*, said the Duke, *For I think you cannot see well now ; Yes*, said the Beggar, *I thank God and his holy Martyr, I can now see as well as any Man : what colour then*, said the Duke, *is my Gown ?* The Beggar told him, as also the several colour of other Mens Gowns, naming all the colours to the Duke ; whereupon the Duke bid him be gone like a Traitor, For if he had ben blind always, how knew he so readily the Names of all colours ; but this more exasperated the Prelates against him.

Amongst his Enemies *Henry Beauford*, Cardinal, and Bishop of *Winchester* was the chief, who drawing to his side *William de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, they conspired with the Queen to deprive him both of honor and life : For which end a Parliament was summoned to be kept at *Bury*, far from the Citizens of *London*, who much loved the Duke of *Glocester*, and when the Lords and Commons were met, and amongst them the Duke, neither thinking harm to others, nor suspecting danger to himself, the second day after the Parliament began, the Lord *Beaumont*, then High Constable of *England*, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham* and some others arrested the Duke of *Glocester*, and put him into Ward, which caused much murmuring amongst the people, and the next night after he was found dead in his Bed, being

He is arrested and murdered.



as it was commonly reported, smothered between Two Feather-Beds, having prudently Governed this Realm for the space of Twenty five years : But Gods judgments followed-all the Contrivers and Actors of this murther : The Queen, who thought hereby to preserve the Honor of her Husband, and her own state, on the contrary lost her Husband, and he lost his Kingdom, and the Kingdom lost *Anjou, Normandy, Aquitaine*, and all they held in *France*, except *Calice*: The year after the Cardinal, the chief Contriver of the Dukes martyrdom, was stricken by God with an incurable disease, who hearing that he must needs die, murmured and grudged exceedingly, that having so much riches he must yet leave all, saying, That if the whole Realm would purchase his life, he was able either by his policy to get it, or by his money to buy it : *Therefore*, saith he, *Fie, will not death be bribed? will money do nothing? &c.* The Duke of *Suffolke* also did not long escape unpunished; For in a Parliament he was accused as a Traitor to the Kingdom, a Murtherer of the Duke of *Glocester*, and a Robber of the Kings Treasure: For which the King at last was forced to banish him for Five years, thinking that in that space the peoples hatred of him would be allayed: The Duke took shipping in *Suffolke*, intending to go into *France*, but being presently encountred by a Man of War belonging to the Tower, was taken and carried into *Dover-Road*, where on a side of a Ship-Boat one struck off his Head, *Anno* 1450. and thus God suffered not the innocent Blood of that good Duke of *Glocester* to go unpunished.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

Death not to be bribed,

Not long before the Dukes death, he had complained to the King his Nephew, of sundry injuries which the Cardinal of *Winchester* had done, not only to him, but to the King and whole Kingdom, which he put into writing in Twenty four Articles, and presented them to the King; King *Henry* committed the examination hereof to his Council, who (being for the most part Clergy-men,) the business was shuffled up, and the Duke entrapped, as we heard before: Also to aggravate his affliction, they caused his religious Dutcheß, the Lady *Elinor Cobham* of witchcraft and treason, as if to advance her Husband to the Crown, she had practiced by sorcery and enchantment to destroy the Kings Person: And hereupon they enjoined her in a disgraceful manner to go through *Cheapside* with a Taper in her Hand, and to do Penance in three publick places of the City, and afterwards to be committed to perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of *Man*, under the custody of Sir *John Stanley* Knight.

The Dutcheß accused.

During the life-time of the Duke of *Glocester*, there was one *Rainold Peacock*, who publickly in the Universities disputed against *Annats Peter-pence*, and other the jurisdictions of the See of *Rome*, freely declaring his judgment about the same, and was protected therein by the said Duke; But after the Dukes death he was persecuted by the Prelates and their instruments. He was a very learned Man, translated much of the Scriptures into *English*, and wrote many Books: The Duke made him first his Chaplain, then Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*; The Arch-Bishop summoned him to appear before him; when he came, the Arch-Bishop with divers other Bishops, labored by all means either to reduce him or destroy him; many terrible menaces and threatnings they gave him, many fair and flattering promises they made to him, so that at the last they drew a Recantation from him; yet afterwards, through Gods mercy, he recovered and repented of his Recantation, for which he was cast into Prison, and at length was condemned for an Heretick, and as the report went, was privily in Prison made away.

*Rainold Peacock.*

His Constancy.

Privily murdered.

It is observed, that from the time of King *Richard* the Second, in every Kings Reign that succeeded him, there was some good Man or other that suffered martyrdom by burning at a Stake.

King *Henry* the Sixth being deposed and murdered, King *Edward* the fourth succeeded him, in whose time there was one *John Goose*, or *Husse*, *Anno* 1473 that was called before the Bishops, and accused for Heresie, by whom also he was condemned, and delivered to the Sheriff of *London* to be burnt: The Sheriff

*John Husse*

His Constan-  
cy.

An excellent  
Speech.

His Martyr-  
dom.  
King Henry  
the Seventh.  
Joane Boughton.  
Her Constan-  
cy.

Her Martyr-  
dom.

Babram.  
Ma: tyr.

William Tilsworth.

Popish cruel-  
ty.

A great per-  
secution.

Roberts.

Thomas Ber-  
nard.  
James Melton.  
Thomas Chase.

His Constan-  
cy.

Privily mur-  
dered.

Thomas Norris.

Laurence  
Guest.

being a charitable Man took him home to his House, laboring much with him to recant his Heresies, and thereby to deliver himself from death: *Husse* answered that for his Religion he was at a pass, and neither could, nor would recant the same, But desired the Sheriff to give him some meat, for that he was fore and Hungry: The Sheriff commanded meat to be brought him, whereof he did eat heartily, saying to the standers by, *I eat now a good and competent Dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shower ere I come to Supper*: When he had dined he gave thanks, and required that he might forthwith be led to the place of execution, where in the flames he meekly resigned up his Spirit unto God.

*Anno Christi 1494.* There was one *Joane Boughton* Widow, Mother to the Lady *Young*, being about Eighty yeares old, that was accused for Heresie in holding many of *Wickliffe's* opinions: She was so stout, and constant a defender of the truth, that all the Doctors in *London* could not turn her from one of her opinions, and when they told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy, and Heresie, she set light by all there threats, and when she was in the flames she cryed unto God to receive her soul into his holy Hands, and so quietly yielded up the Ghost.

*Anno Christi 1498.* There was a godly Man, and faithful Martyr of *Christ* burnt in *Norfolk* called *Babram*: And the year after another old godly Man was burnt in *Smithfield*.

*Anno Christi 1506.* There was one *William Tilsworth* convented before Doctor *Smith* Bishop of *Lincoln*, by whom he was condemned for Heresie, and burnt in the Town of *Amersham*: At his burning his onely Daughter, a faithful Woman, and married to one *Clarke*, was compelled with her own Hands to set fire to her dear Father: And at the same time *John Clarke* her Husband with many others did penance, bearing Fagots, many others were burnt in the Cheek with an hot Iron, bearing the marks of our Lord *Jesus Christ* about with them.

Presently after there was one Father *Roberts*, a Milner of *Missenden*, burnt at *Buckingham* for the testimony of the truth: At the time of whole burning, above Twenty persons were compelled to bear Fagots, and to do Penance.

About Two yeares after *Thomas Bernard*, an Husbandman, and *James Melton*, a laborer, were both burnt at one fire for the truth at *Amersham*.

*Anno Christi 1506.* There was also in *Amersham* one *Thomas Chase*, a Man of a godly, honest, and sober behavior, and one that could not abide Idolatry, and superstition; for which being maligned by some wicked Men, he was brought before the Bishop at *Woburne*, who propounded many questions to him, which he intermixed with many taunts, jeers, and reproaches; *Chase* answered him stoutly defending the truth, and opposing Idolatry for which he was by the Bishop put into his Prison called, *The little ease*: There he lay cruelly bound in Chains, Jives, and Manacles, and almost pined with hunger. The Bishop also sent his Chaplains often to him with checks, taunts, rebukes, and threatenings, floutings, and mockings, all which the Godly Martyr bore with invincible patience, and constancy, remembring often that of his Saviour: *Blessed are they that suffer persecution for Righteousnes sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*. When the Bishop saw that by his cruelty he could prevail nothing against him, but that rather he was more fervent, and zealous in defending the truth, and that he patiently bore all his wickedness; He consulted privily to put him to death for fear of an uproar amongst the people, and accordingly shortly after he caused him to be cruelly strangled, and pressed to death in the Prison, who called most heartily upon God to receive his Spirit: The Bishop causing it to be bruited abroad that he had hanged himself in Prison.

*Anno Christi 1507.* There was one *Thomas Norris*, who for the profession of the Gospel was condemned by the Bishop and burnt at *Norwich*: Not long after there was in *Salisbury*, one *Laurence Guest*, who for denying the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. was convented before the Bishop: He had good Friends, and therefore



therefore the Bishop was loath to burn him, but kept him Two years in Prison: This *Laurence* had a Wife, and Seven Children; and therefore the Bishop, hoping to overcome him by fatherly affection to his Children, when he was fastened to the Stake, his Wife, and Seven Children were brought to him: But, through Gods grace, Religion overcoming nature in him, he remained constant, and unmoveable, and when his Wife began to exhort him to favor himself: He desired her not to be a block in his way, for that he was in a good course running towards the mark of his Salvation: And fire being put to him, he renounced his Wife, and Children to follow *Christ*, and in the midst of the flames resigned up his Spirit unto God.

*Christ preferred before Wife and Children.*

*His Martyrdom.*

*A Woman Martyr.*

About the same time there was at *Chipping Sadbury*, a Godly Woman convented before the Chancellor, who was Doctor *Whittington*, before whom she made a resolute, and good confession of her Faith, not shrinking for any of his terrible threats, so that at last he condemned her to be burnt. Against the day of her execution multitudes of people flocked together to *Sadbury*, and amongst the rest, Doctor *Whittington* came to see her executed. This faithful Woman, and true Servant of *Jesus Christ* nothing daunted with the sight of the Stake, nor shrinking at the torments of the fire, quietly slept in the Lord: At the same time there was a Butcher in another place of the Town slaying a Bull, which Bull was fast bound with a Rope ready to be knocked on the Head; The Butcher missing his stroke, the Bull brake loose just as the people were coming from the execution of the holy Martyr: The people seeing him coming, severed themselves and made a lane for him to pass through: The Bull went on without hurting Man, Woman or Child, till he came to the place where the Chancellor was, against whom he ran very furiously, and with his Horns hitting him on the Belly, ran him quite thorough; and tearing out his Guts with his Horns, he trailed them about the street, to the great astonishment of the people that beheld it.

*Gods Judgment on a Persecutor.*

Under the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, there were divers godly persons in *Coventry* persecuted, and forced to abjure: And King *Henry* the Seventh being dead, and his Son *Henry* the Eighth succeeding, there was one *Richard Fitz-James* Bishop of *London*, who convented before him many poor people, charging them with holding many Heretical opinions, for which they were excommunicated and imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant, and for further penance were enjoined to wear a Fagot painted on their sleeves all their life after. This was *Anno Christi* 1510.

*Henry the Eighth.*

About the same time there were some others, who having through frailty been forced to recant, being afterwards pricked in conscience for it, and overcome by the manifest truth of Gods most sacred Word, became as earnest and zealous Professors of *Christ* as ever they were before, and for the same Profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and at last cruelly burnt; Amongst whom were *William Sweeting*, and *John Bruster*, who were both burnt together in *Smithfield*, *Anno Christi* 1511. The crimes wherewith they were charged, were for denying the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament; For reading forbidden Books; and for keeping company with persons suspected for Heresie.

*Recovery after falls.*

*William Sweeting. John Bruster.*

About the same time *William Carder* was convented before Arch-Bishop *Warham*, and his Chancellor, *Cutbert Tonstal*, and they brought such witnesses against him as were before abjured, whom they knew, that for fear of being reputed relapsed, durst not but disclose whatsoever they knew of him, by whose testimony they condemned him to be burnt.

*William Carder.*

*Agnes Grebyll* also was convented before them, against whom they put in Twelve Articles, which she denying, put them upon the proof: Then they called for *John Grebyll* her Husband, and *Christopher* and *John Grebyll* her Two Sons, who had been before abjured, causing them to depose, the one against his Wife, the other against their natural Mother; yea, afterwards they caused these Two young

*Agnes Grebyll.*

*Her Husband and Sons brought against her.*

young Men to give in evidence against their own Father also : The Woman was so grieved hereat, that she repented the time that ever she bare these Children of her Body ; and so she was condemned to be burnt. Her Husband with Two others were brought in to testify against *Robert Harrison*, upon whose testimony he also was condemned, and so these Three persons were all burnt, *May 2. 1511. Ex Registro Cantuar.*

Mr. Stile burnt  
with the Re-  
velations.

Shortly after Mr. *Stile* was condemned, and with him a Book of the *Revelations*, which he had in *English* ; when he was carried into *Smithfield*, and saw the Book tied together with him to the Stake, he cryed out, *O Blessed Apocalyps, how happy am I, that I shall be burnt with thee*, and so they were both burnt together.

A capital  
crime to read  
the Scriptures.  
Blasphemy.

About the same time Five other persons were accused in this manner. *We object to you, that divers times, especially upon a certain night, three years ago, in Robert Durdants House of Yvercourt near Stanes, you erroneously and damnablely read in a great Book of Heresie, all that same night certain Chapters of the Evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions, and conclusions of Heresie.* *Ex Registro Episc. Lond.*

John Brown.

There was one *John Brown* passing from *London* in a *Gravesend* Barge, in which Barge there was a Priest, and *Brown* sat hard by him : whereupon the Priest said to him, *Dost thou not know who I am ? Then sittest too near me :* *Brown* answered, *No Sir, I know not who you are. I tell thee,* said he, *I am a Priest :* *What Sir,* said *Brown*, *are you a Parson, or a Vicar, or a Ladies Chaplain ?* *I am,* said the other, *A Soul-Priest, and sing for a Soul ;* *I pray you Sir,* said *Brown*, *where find you the Soul when you go to Mass ?* *I know not,* said the Priest. *And where do you leave it when you have done Mass ?* *I cannot tell,* said the Priest. *Brown* replied, *If you neither know where the Soul is when you begin, nor where you leave it when you have done, how then do you save a Soul ?* *Go thy ways,* said the Priest, *thou art an Heretick, and I will be even with thee :* And accordingly when they came to Land, the Priest taking two others with him that were present in the Boat, went and complained to Arch-Bishop *Warham*, who sent a Warrant presently to apprehend *Brown* ; when the Messenger came, *Brown* was carrying in Dinner at his Wives Churching, and being apprehended, the Messenger bound his Feet under his Horse-belly, and carried him away to the Arch-Bishop, neither his Wife or Friends knowing whither he went, nor what they would do with him : The Arch-Bishop cast him into Prison, where he lay about Six weeks : Then was he carried to *Ashford* where his habitation was, and there set in the Stocks all night, his Wife hearing of it, came and sat by him all night, to whom he shewed how cruelly he had been handled by the Arch-Bishop, telling her, that he could not set his Feet to the ground, for they had burnt them to the Bones, to make him to deny *Christ*, which said he, *I durst not do, lest my Lord Christ should deny me hereafter, therefore good wife, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up my Children vertuously, and in the fear of God ;* And so the next day this godly Martyr was burnt, calling upon God, and saying, *Into thy hands I commend my Spirit ; Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.* This was *Anno Christi 1517.*

Popish malice  
and cruelty.

Richard Hune.

*Anno Christi 1514.* There was one *Richard Hune*, Merchant-tailor of *London*, who had a Child at Nurse in *Middlesex* : The Child dying there, the Parson demanded a bearing sheet for a mortuary : *Hune* pleaded that it was not due, the Child being but Five weeks old : The Priest hereupon cited him into the Spiritual Court ; *Hune* advising with his learned Council, was directed to bring a Writ of *Præmunire* against the Priest and his Abettors, which accordingly he did : But the Popish Clergy being much netled at these proceedings, and fearing that it would tend to their great prejudice, they make a diligent enquiry after *Hunes* life and carriage, and at last frame Articles against him, wherein they charge him with Heresie, for which, by *Fitz-James*, Bishop of *London*, he was cast into *Lollards* Tower, and none of his Friends were suffered to come to him ; At last he



was carried before the Bishop at *Fulham*, and thereby *Horsey* the Bishops Chancellor, was accused of Heresie; After examination, the Bishop sent him back to *Lollards Tower*, and *Horsey* within Two nights after, suborned some wicked Cut-throats, who going in the night into Prison, took *Hune* and hanged him, blazing abroad that *Hune* had desperately hanged himself: The Citizens of *London*, suspecting that he was murdered, caused the Coronor to sit upon him, but whilst the Jury was busie about their Office, the Bishop proceeds *ex officio* against the dead body in case of Heresie, supposing thereby that the Jury durst not but find him guilty of his own death, and after the cause heard, the Sentence definitive was pronounced against the dead body, and it was delivered over to the secular power, and the next day after publicly burnt in *Smithfield*.

Privily murdered.  
Popish lies.

Notwithstanding these proceedings of the Bishop, the Jury went on, and made diligent enquiry after the manner of his death, and the Cause was oft heard before the Privy Council, the King himself being sometimes present, and at last the Bishops Chancellor, and Two other Officers were found guilty of the murder, and an Indictment was drawn up against them, but by Cardinal *woolfes* means the Indictment at the Sessions was cast out; yet though the Chancellor by this means escaped the punishment of the Law, his Conscience so tetrified him with the inward guilt of murder, that he went to *Exceter*, and durst not shew his Face in *London* again afterwards.

Gods Judgment on a Persecutor!

A great Persecution,

About this time there were multitudes of good Men and Women persecuted for the truth, and at last through weakness were forced to recant, yet some there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made more strong in the profession of his truth, and constant unto the death: Of which number was *John Stilman*, who was apprehended and brought before *Fitz-James*, Bishop of *London*, *Anno* 1518. who after examination sent him to *Lollards Tower*: After a while he was brought forth before *Dr. Hed*, the Bishops Vicar General, and being charged for relapsing into Heresie after his former Recantation, he denied it not, but boldly professed that he would adhere to the truth, even to the loss of his life: Hereupon he was condemned and delivered the same day to the Sheriffs of *London*, by whom he was carried into *Smithfield*, and there openly burnt, *Anno Christi* 1518.

*John Stilman*  
Martyr.

About the same time *Thomas Man* was apprehended and brought before the Bishop of *London*, and afterwards was examined also by *Dr. Hed* in the Consistory, where he was charged with sundry Articles, most whereof he granted to be true, the rest he denied: Then did *Dr. Hed* pronounce Sentence of condemnation against him, delivering him over to the Sheriffs of *London*, by whom he was immediately carried into *Smithfield*, and there burnt. Amongst other things, he was accused for going up and down into divers places, and Countries of *England*, to disperse and teach his errors: And himself confessed that he went Westward, where he found a great company of well-disposed persons, being of the same judgment with him about the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and especially at *Newbury*, where was a glorious and sweet Society of faithful persons, who had continued in Peace Fifteen years together, till they were betrayed by a false Brother, whereby Six or Seven score were forced to abjure, and some others of them were burnt: From thence he confessed that he went to *Amersham*, where he found a godly and great Company, who had continued in that Doctrine and the truth Twenty three years. Against these a great persecution was raised by *William Smith*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Anno* 1507. at which time many of them were abjured; He also confessed that he had been an instrument under God, to turn Seven hundred persons to his Religion and Doctrine, for the which he thanked God.

*Thomas Man*:

A Church in *Newbury*:

Seven hundred converted by one Man.

*Robert Cofin*.

*Robert Cofin* was convented before the Bishop of *Lincoln*, for perswading *Joane Norman*, not to go on Pilgrimage, nor to pray to the Saints, &c. for which he was condemned and burnt at *Buckingham*.

*Anno*

Christopher  
Shoemaker.

Many true  
Professors be-  
fore Luther's  
time;

A great Perse-  
cution.

Robert Bartlet.

Richard Bart-  
let.

Papish wick-  
edness and  
cruelty.

Papish policy.

John Screvenor  
Unnatural  
cruelty.

Anno Christi 1518. Christopher Shoemaker of Missenden, was accused for reading part of the Gospel to John Say, and teaching him that the substance of Bread remained after Consecration: Against Pilgrimages, and worshipping of Saints, &c. for which he was condemned and burnt at Newbury. Yea before the name of Luther was heard of, there were multitudes of Men and Women in England, which professed the truth, and disavowed the superstitions of Popery, whereupon arose a great persecution in Buckinghamshire, Amersham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbury, in the Diocess of Lincoln, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolk, Norfolk, and in divers other places.

After the death of Smith, Longland succeeded in the Bishoprick of Lincoln, who was a cruel Persecutor of the poor Saints of Christ: Those that first were accused before him, were Robert Bartlet, and Richard his Brother; Their crime was, for that having abjured under Smith, they were now returned again to their former opinions; and that they used to meet in the House of one Thomas Harding, whose Wife seeing Robert Bartlet come in, said, that she was glad that he was converted to the grace of Christ, requiring him that he should never forsake that which he was called to; for if he did, there was no sacrifice left for him. Also seeing Richard Bartlet coming, she said, *I hope he will be a good Man; but he hath so much mind of buying and selling, and taking of Farms, that it takes off his mind from all goodness*; Upon this information Robert and Richard were examined upon their Oathes before the Bishop, and at last were forced to confess, that Robert had read to Richard a Portion of Scripture, and that one William Tillworth had told them, that the Images of Saints were but stocks and stones: And that Thomas Mastal had taught them, that the real presence of Christ was not in the Sacrament: And that Richard had learned some part of the Epistle of James by heart, &c. Robert Bartlet acknowledged likewise, that his Wife was of the same opinion with himself, and that if she had not been so, he would not have married her: He also confessed that he had taught his Sister not to worship Images, and had taught her part of the Epistle of St. James: He also detected many others that used to meet together to read and confer about the Word of God, &c. Then was Agnes Wells, Sister to Robert, examined upon sundry captious Interrogatories, which she refused at first to answer to; but at last was compelled to detect her self, and many others. By reason of this cruel Inquisition, multitudes of persons, both Men and Women, living in and about Amersham, were brought before the bloody Bishop, and their greatest crimes were, for reading some portions of Scripture in English; yet did the Bishop put them to their Oaths, and compel Parents to accuse their Children, and Children their Parents; Brothers to accuse their Sisters, and Sisters their Brothers; yea, Husbands to accuse their Wives, and Wives to accuse their Husbands: And the Bishop perceiving that the number of these Hereticks was very great, and that their opinions did daily disperse more and more, that it was almost past his power to redress it, he therefore had recourse to King Henry the Eighth, who was yet young, requesting his aid for the suppressing of these men: Hereupon the King sent Letters to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Officers, to be aiding and assisting to the Bishop in this matter: And so the Bishop, being armed with the Kings authority, and incited by his own cruel disposition, neglected no time, but sitting upon his Tribunal-Seat, called before him, not only such against whom he had proof, but many others that were never so little suspected or noted to incline towards those opinions, whom he caused to abjure, and enjoined them most rigorous penance: The others that had relapsed, though he had promised them favor upon their detection of others, yet without all pity he read the Sentence of condemnation against them, and delivered them over to the secular power by whom they were burnt. And at the burning of one of them, called John Screvenor, his own Children were compelled to set fire to their Father.

Hitherto the Christian world had lain for the most part in miserable darkness: But it pleased God, that about this time the Art of Printing was found out



out, which incontinently furnished the Church with the instruments of learning and knowledge, which were good Books, which till now lay hid and unknown, and then followed the grace of God, which stirred up good wits to discern the light, by which darkness was discovered: Truth began to be distinguished from Error, and Religion from Superstition: God also raised up divers excellent Men, that being furnished with the help of good letters, defended strenuously the cause of Learning against Barbarism, and of Truth against Error, of which number were *Picus*, and *Franciscus Mirandula*: *Laurentius Valla*: *Franciscus Petrarcha*: Doctor *Wesalinus*: *Revelinus*: *Grocinius*: Doctor *Collet*: *Rhenanus*: *Erasmus*, &c. who by their learned Writings, and laborious Travels opened a Window of light unto the World, thereby making way for others that came after: And immediately, according to Gods gracious appointment, came *Martin Luther*, and his Followers, by whose Ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full reformation of his Church.

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## CHAP. VI.

*The Persecution of the English Church after the rising of Martin Luther.*

A persecution  
in Coventry.



*Anno Christi 1519.* there were divers persons apprehended in *Coventry*, viz. *Mistris Smith, Robert Hatcher, Archer, Hawkins, Bond, Wriggsbam, and Langsdale*, for teaching their Children and Servants the Lords Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Belief in the *English* Tongue, whereupon they were put into Prison, and some into Dungeons under ground: From thence, after a while, they were sent to *Macklock-Abbey*: And in the mean time their Children

were examined by the Warden of the *Gray-Friers* in *Coventry* concerning their Belief, and what Heresies their Fathers had taught them, charging them upon pain of death not to meddle any more with the Lords Prayer, &c. in *English*. Shortly after those good people were brought back to *Coventry*, where they were condemned to be burnt: Onely *Mistris Smith* was dismissed for the present, and because it was dark-night, *Morton* the Summoner would needs go home with her; But as he led her by the arm, he heard the rustling of a paper in her sleeve, whereupon taking out the paper he found that it was the Lords Prayer, the ten Commandments, and the Creed in *English*: Then said he, *Ah Sirra, come, as good now as another time*, and so he brought her back again to the Bishop, who immediately condemned her, and so they were all six burnt together in the little Park.

Six burned.

*Robert Silkeb.*

Popish cruelty.

There was also one *Robert Silkeb*, who at the apprehension of the other ran away: But Two years after being taken, and carried to *Coventry*, he was presently condemned, and burnt the next day. When these persons were thus Martyred, the Sheriffs presently went to their Houses, seizing upon all their goods, not leaving their Wives, and Children any thing to subsist on.

*Thomas Harding.*

*Anno Christi 1523.* there was one *Thomas Harding* living at *Chesham* in *Buckingham-Shire*, who on *Easter-day*, when other people went to Church to commit Idolatry, he went into the woods; there solitarily to worship the true, and living God, in spirit, and in truth; and whilst he was reading an *English* Book of Prayers, one spied him, who immediately ran to the officers to inform them what he had seen: Hereupon some ran to his House to search for Books; and searching very narrowly under the boards of a floore, they found some portions of the holy Scriptures in *English*: Then was this godly Father with his Books carried before Bishop *Longland*, who with his Chaplains mocked, and derided him.

*Thomas Harding* seeing their uncivil behavior, said little, but comforted himself in the Lord: Then was he sent to the Bishops prison called the *Little-Ease*, where he lay with hunger, and pain enough, till the Bishop called him to judgment, and condemned him to be burnt, appointing one *Rowland Messenger*, Vicar of great *wickam* to see execution done: This Vicar, with a rabble

like



like himself, carried him to *Chesham*; where all that night he continued in prayer, and holy meditations, and the next morning was carried with Bills, and Staves to the place of execution; many followed him, whereof some bewailed his death, others rejoiced at it: When he was tyed to the Stake, he desired the people to pray for him, and forgiving his enemies, and persecutors, he commended his spirit into the Hands of God, and so took his death very patiently, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, and saying, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*: When fire was set to him, one threw a Billit at him wherewith he dashed out his Braines, being above sixty years old.

His Martyrdom.

Anno Christi 1528. John Raimund a Dutchman was abjured in London, for causing Fifteen Hundred of Tyndals New Testaments to be printed at *Antwerp*, and for bringing Five Hundred of them over into *England*.

Anno Christi 1529. Sigar Nicholson, Stationer in *Cambridg*, was hung up by the privy members, for having in his House some of Luthers, and other prohibited Books, and not presenting them to the Ordinary.

Sigar Nicholson.  
Popish cruelty;

Also Paul Luther, a Gray-frier was abjured, for saying in his Sermon, that it was pittie that so many Images were suffered in Churches, &c. and that there was no need to go on pilgrimages: And that if a Man were near drowning, or any other danger, he should call only upon God, for the Saints in Heaven can neither hear, nor help us.

The same year William Tracy, Esquire, of *Todington* in *Glocestershire*, dying, made a most Christian Testament, but because he would have no Funeral Pomp, Mass, &c. But trusted in God, alone through *Christ*, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* shewed the said Will in the Convocation-house, when his Son brought it to be proved, whereupon he was adjudged to be taken out of his Grave, and burnt, which was performed Two years after his death.

Mr. Tracy's  
body burnt  
after death;

Anno Christi 1530. Thomas Hitten, a godly Minister at *Maidstone* in *Kent*, was converted before Arch-Bishop *warham*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and accused of Heresie, whereupon he was kept long in prison, and cruelly tormented by them, and when by no means they could prevail to turn him from the truth, he was at last by them condemned, delivered over to the secular power, and burnt at *Maidstone*.

Thomas Hitten  
Martyr.

Anno 1532. Thomas Bilney, Jeffery Lome, Garret, Barnes, and some others, were cruelly persecuted by Cardinal *woolfsey*, and at last forced to abjure; But of Mr. Bilneys recovery, troubles and martyrdom; See his Life in my first Part.

Master Bilney;

There was also at the same time one Thomas Arthur a Minister, brought before the Cardinal, and divers other Bishops, where he was accused for exhorting his people, to pray for those which were in prison for the truth: Item that he told his people, that if he were persecuted for preaching the Gospel of *Christ*, yet there were Seven thousand more that would preach it: Therefore, saith he, good people, think not that if these Tyrants and Persecutors put a Man to death, the preaching of the Gospel is therefore to be forsaken. As also that he said, that every Christian is a Priest, to offer up spiritual sacrifice unto God, &c. For these and such other things he was forced to recant, and submit himself to their correction. About the same time the Bishops procured of the King a Proclamation, for the abolishing of divers Books printed beyond Sea, and sent over into *England*: As also for the punishing of all such, as preached any thing against the dignity and ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, whereupon ensued a great persecution, and much trouble to the poor innocent flock of *Christ*.

Thomas Arthur

Humane frailty;

Popish mallice;

A great persecution.

Anno Christi 1532. Richard Bayfield, a Monk of *Berry*, was converted by Doctor *Barnes*, and much edified by Two godly Citizens of *London*, Brickmakers, and Wardens of their Company, Master *Maxwel*, and Master *Stacy*, who by their holy conversation, and private instructions were the instruments of the conversion, and edification of very many Men, and Women. The occasion of Master Bayfields conversion was this: Doctor *Barnes* used oft to resort to the Abbey of

Richard Bayfield,

*Berry* to one Doctor *Ruffam*, who had been his fellow-student at *Lovane*: At this time *Bayfield* was chamberlain of the House to provide lodging for strangers: He delighted much in Doctor *Barnes* his talk, and of the two Citizens above named: And at last Doctor *Barnes* gave him a New Testament in *Latine*, and the Citizens gave him one in *English* of *Tindals* translation, with some other good Books: *Bayfield* for Two years space so studied these Books, and profited thereby, that for the same he was cast into the Abby-prison, and there cruelly whipt with a gag in his mouth, and then set in the stocks, where he continued in torments Nine months before Doctor *Barnes* could get him out, which he procured by Doctor *Ruffames* means, and so *Bayfield* was committed to Doctor *Barnes* to go with him to *Cambridg*: There he profited so much in learning that he never returned to his Abbey again, but went to *London* to *Maxwel*, and *Stacy*, who kept him privately a while, and then conveyed him beyond Sea, Doctor *Barnes* being then prisoner in the Fleet for the truth of *Christ*.

He is whipt.

His flight.

He is betrayed.

Popish cruelty.

His courage.

Popish cruelty.

His cruel Martyrdom.

John Tewksbury.

*Bayfield* joyning with Master *Tindal*, and Master *Frith*, profited exceedingly in the knowledg of the truth, and carrying over much substance with him, was very helpful to them, he sold also all their Books, and the *GERMANS* Books for them, both in *France*, and *England*; At last coming to *London* to one Master *Smiths* in *Aldermanbury*, he was betrayed, and from thence dogged to his Warehouse, where his Books lay in *Mark-lane*, and there apprehended, and committed to *Lollards* Tower, from whence afterwards he was removed to the Bishops Coal-house, and there more cruelly handled than he had been in *Lollards* Tower: For he was tyed both by the neck, and middle, and Legs, standing upright by the Wall: He was also tormented to enforce him to accuse those that had bought his Books of him: But he would accuse none, and stood to the confession of his Faith even to the end, though he was put to his Tryal in the Consistory, and urged to abjure, which he utterly refused, and in disputation put them to great shame. And being asked for what intent he brought those books into the Realm, he answered: To the intent that the Gospel of *Christ* might be promoted, and God the more glorified amongst Christians; confessing further that he had sold, and dispersed many of these Books to sundry persons in the Kingdome, and to divers in the Diocess of *London*. At last they proceeded to his sentence, at which time he boldly said unto them: *The life of you of the spirituality is so evil, that ye be the Hereticks; and ye do not only live evilly your selves, but maintain the like in others: Ye also hinder that it may be known how Men ought to live, &c.* Then was he condemned for an Heretick, and degraded, and so delivered over to the secular power. When the Bishop of *London* had degraded him; he smote him so hard on his Breast with his Crosiers staff, that he struck him down backwards in a swoond, and broke his Head: But when he came to himself again, he praised God that he was delivered from the malignant Church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true Church of *Jesus Christ*, militant here on earth, and trusted anon to be in Heaven with *Jesus Christ*, and the Church triumphant for ever: And so by the Sheriffs he was carried to *Newgate*, where he continued about an hour in prayer, and so went to the fire with a joyful, and courageous heart: Much cruelty was shewed in his burning, for that for lack of fire he continued half an hour alive: And when his left Arme was burnt, he rubbed it with his right Hand, and it fell from his Body: He continued in Prayer to the end without moving.

About the same time *John Tewksbury*, Leatherfeller of *London* was convicted before *Cuthbert Tonsal* Bishop of *London*, and accused for having *Tindals* Testament, and the Bible written, and some other good Books: Before them he made a good confession of his Faith, yet at last through their subtle dealing, and humane frailty, he was drawn to abjure, and was enjoyned a se-

vere



penance: But it pleased God e're long to recall him to the truth by seeing the courage, and constancy of Bayfield at the time of his burning: And so after two years he was again called before Sir Thomas Moore, and the Bishop of London, where he had many Articles laid in against him, to which he answered very resolutely, and Christian-like, and for which he was condemned, and delivered over to the secular power, and so by the Sherifes was carryed into Smithfield, and there burnt.

Recovery after falls,

His Martyrdom.

Edward Freefe

Edward Freefe, borne in York, and there prentice with a painter, being of pregnant wit, and working with his Master in Bearse Abbey; the Abbate taking him bought out his time of his Master, and would have made him a Monk: But the Boy not liking that kind of life, ran away, and went to Colchester, where he used painting, married a Wife, and lived like an honest Man, and after a time he was hired to paint some clothes for an Inn; And in the upper part of those clothes, he wrote certain sentences of Scripture; whereupon he was suspected for an Heretick, apprehended and carried to the Bishop of London at Fulham: There he was cruelly imprisoned with some others of Essex, viz. one Johnson, and his Wife: wylie, and his Wife: Father Bates, &c. These were all fed with Bread made of Saw-dust, and so straitly lookt to that their Wives and Friends could not come at them. After they had thus remained in misery, the Painter upon the suit of his Wife was removed to Lollards Tower: But whilst the Woman was thus petitioning for her Husbands remove, being desirous to see him, she being great with Child pressed towards the place where he was; whereupon the Bishops Porter, kickt her on the belly with his foot, so that the Child presently died, and the Woman not long after.

Papish Cruelty.

These Persons were set in the stocks a long time: Then loosed, but with Horflocks on their Legs, and other Irons; The Painter would be often writing on the Wall with Chalk, or a Coal, which caused them to manacle his Hands together till his flesh grew higher than his Irons: At last the King was petitioned for his release, and after long suit he was brought again before the Bishop, but was kept Three days without meet before he came to his answer, by reason of which, and other cruel usage he was distracted, so that he never came to his wits, to his dying day.

Not long after, his Brother Valentine Freefe, and his Wife gave their lives at one Stake in York for the Testimony of Jesus Christ.

Valentine Freefe and his Wife.  
Mr. Bainham

Master James Bainham, whose Father was a Knight in Gloucestershire, was carefully educated by his Parents both in Learning, and Religion, so that he was well skilled both in the Latin, and Greek Tongues: Afterwards he applied himself to the study of the Law: He was of a virtuous disposition, and godly conversation; much addicted unto Prayer, and a diligent reader of the holy Scriptures: A great maintainer of the godly, liberal to Scholars, a visiter of Prisoners, very merciful to his Clients, ready to give counsel to Widows, Fatherless, and afflicted without money, or reward: At last he was suspected, and complained of to Sir Thomas Moore, then Chancellor of England, and being by a Warrant from him arrested in the middle Temple, he was carried before him to Chelsey, where he continued a free Prisoner for a while: Sir Thomas Moore in the mean time laboring both by frowns, and flattery to withdraw him from the truth; but when that prevailed not, he caused him to be bound and whipt at a Tree in his Garden, and then sent him to the Tower: And after a while, Sir Thomas Moore being present, he caused him to be cruelly rackt till he was lamed, because he would not accuse his acquaintance of the Temple, nor discover where his Books lay: Then was his Wife imprisoned, and his goods confiscated.

His Character

His Constancy.

He is whipt and rackt,

A while after he was carried before Stokesly, Bishop of London, and examined upon sundry Articles; to which he made a clear, and stout answer, not declining from the truth in any particular. The next day he was brought before the Bishop again, and demanded whether he would still persist in what he

he had formerly said, or whether he would return again to the Catholick Church? Adding moreover many fair, inticing, and alluring words; saying, the time was yet that he might be received to favor, The bosom of his Mother being open for him; whereas if he continued stubborn, there was no remedy. *Bainham* hereupon began to waver between desire of life, and fear of death, and therefore said, that he was willing to submit himself in those things where in he had offended; yet were his answers such, that the Bishop before he would release him, would make farther tryal of him, and therefore committed him to the Counter, and not long after he was again brought forth into the Bishops Consistory, and by his Chancellor was asked whether he would stand to his former answers, protesting that he intended not to receive him into the unity of the holy Church, except he returned faithfully, and unfeignedly to the Catholick Faith? To which *Bainham* answered, that he unfeignedly doth believe in the holy Church, and holdeth the Catholick Faith; Then did the Chancellor offer him a form of abjurations in these words, *I voluntarily as a true penitent Person return from my Heresies, and utterly abjure them, &c.* But *Bainham* answered, that he knew not the Articles contained in that abjuration to be Heresie, and therefore he saw no reason to abjure them: Hereupon the Chancellor began to read his definitive Sentence, but stopped in the midd'st saying, that he would reserve the rest till he saw his time; and so sent him back to Prison: And Five days after he was again sent for into the Consistory, and the Chancellor again demanded of him, whether he would yet abjure, and submit himself? *Bainham* was contented, and so laying his Hand on the Book he read his abjuration; but when he had done, he said, that because there were many words in the abjuration which were difficult, and obscure, he protested that by his Oath, he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his Oath: This so vexed the Chancellor that he took the definitive Sentence in his hand, saying, *Take your Oath, and kiss the Book, or I will do mine office against you:* Then did *Bainham* kiss the Book, and subscribed his abjuration; and the Chancellor fined him Twenty pound to the King; enjoining him penance to go before the Cross in procession, to bear a Faggot, &c. after which he was to return to Prison again, and there to abide the Bishops determination: And after a while he was dismissed, and returned home. But it pleased God within a moneth after to shew him his sin, so that he greatly bewailed his abjuration, and could never be quiet in his mind and conscience, till he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness before the Congregation of the faithful, which met privately in a Ware-house in *Bow-lane*: Alfo the Sabbath following he went to *St. Austines* Church, with an *Englisb New Testament* in his Hand, and standing up there in his Pew, before all the people, declared openly, with abundance of tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to be warned by his fall, that they do not the like; For, said he, *If I should not return again to the truth, this word of God (holding up the New Testament) would damn me, both Body and Soul, in the day of judgment;* and therefore he intreated them all rather to die presently, than to do as he had done: For he would not feel such an Hell in his Conscience again for all the good in the world: Besides, he also wrote Letters to the Bishop and to others, for which he was presently after apprehended, and committed to the Tower of *London*, and shortly after he was brought before *Foxford*, Vicar general to the Bishop of *London*, who read to him his Articles contained in his abjuration, and shewed him a Book, which *Bainham* confessed to be his own writing, saying, That what was contained in it was good: He also shewed him the Letter which he wrote to the Bishop, which he also owned, &c.

After all their proceedings, when he remained constant in the truth, the Sentence definitive was read against him, and he was delivered to *Sir Richard Gresbarn*,

His frailty.

He refuseth to abjure.

Yet afterwards abjured.

His recovery.

He asketh forgiveness.

He is again imprisoned.



*Greesham*, Sheriff of *London*, by whom he was sent to *Newgate*, and afterwards being carried into *Smithfield* he was there burnt, April the last Anno Christi 1532.

During his imprisonment he was cruelly handled; For about a Fortnight he lay in the Bishops *Coal-house*, in the stocks with irons upon his Legs: Then was he carried to the Lord Chancellors, and there chained to a Post Two nights; Then was he carried to *Fulham*, where he was cruelly handled for a week together; Then to the Tower, where for a Fortnight together he was scourged with Whips, to enforce him to recant his opinions. As he was at the stake to be burnt, in the midst of the flames which had half consumed his Armes, and his Legs, he spake these words: *O ye Papists! behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may see a miracle: For in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in a Bed of down, but it is to me a Bed of Roses.*

About the same time there was one *John Bent*, a Tailor burnt at the *Devises* in *Wiltshire* for the truth: As also one *Trapnel* was burnt at *Brodford* in the same County.

Anno Christi 1532. There was an Idol named the *Rood* of *Dover-Court*, unto which multitudes of people went on Pilgrimage: Whereupon divers godly persons of *Dedham*, were much troubled in their consciences to see God so dishonored, and his glory to be given to an Idol, wherefore they were stirred up by Gods Spirit, in a Frosty Moonshine-night to go from *Dedham* Ten Miles to the place where the Idol stood: And when they came thither, they found the Church-doors open, the Popish Clergy having spread a rumour, that such was the power of this *Rood*, that no Man could shut the Church doors where it stood: Then did they take the Idol from his shrine, and carried it a quarter of a Mile off, where, striking fire, they burnt the Idol to ashes, and so returned. For this Three of them, viz. *Robert King*, *Robert Debnam*, and *Nicholas Marsh*, were indicted of Felony, and condemned to be hanged in chains, which was afterwards executed.

*Robert King* being hanged at *Dedham*: *Robert Debnam* at *Cataway Causey*: and *Nicholas Marsh* at *Dover-Court*. These Three godly persons at the time of their death wonderfully edified the people, both by their Christian exhortations, and their holy example in dying constantly in the Faith of Christ.

About the same time there were many Images cast down, and destroyed in sundry places, especially in *Essex*, in *Cozshal*, *Sutbury*, &c.

Next ensued the Persecution, apprehension, examination, and condemnation of Master *John Frith*, of which you may read the story in my *First part in the Life of John Frith*, with whom also there was burnt one *Andrew Hewet*, a young Man of about Twenty four years old, a Prentice to a Tailor in *Watling-street*: This *Hewet* on an Holy day going up *Fleet-street* met with one *William Holt*, servant to the Kings Tailor: This *Holt* being a dissembling knave, and suspecting *Hewet* to be one that favored the Gospel, after a little conference with him, left him, but withal watched whither he went, and seeing him go into an honest Bookellers house about *Fleet-Bridge*, he took some Officers, and went, and searched the House, and finding *Hewet* there, he carried him to the Bishops House, where he was cast into irons: And after he had lain there a good while, by the means of an honest Man he had a file conveyed to him, with which he filed off his irons, and when he saw his time, he gat out of the gate: But not knowing where to hide himself, he went into *Smithfield*, and there met with one *Withers*, an Hypocritical knave, who understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whether to go, willed him to go with him, promising to provide for his safety, and accordingly kept him a while in the Country, and then brought him to *London*, and left him in *Hosier-lane* for the space of Two days, after which he brought

His Martyrdom.

Popish cruelty.

A miracle:  
I will be with thee in the fire.  
*John Bent*.  
*Trapnel*.

Zeal.

An Idol burnt:  
*Robert King*.  
*Robert Debnam*.  
*Nicholas Marsh*.  
Martyrs.

Images thrown down.

Master *John Frith*.  
*Andrew Hewet*.

A Judas.

His imprisonment.

His escape.  
A Judas.

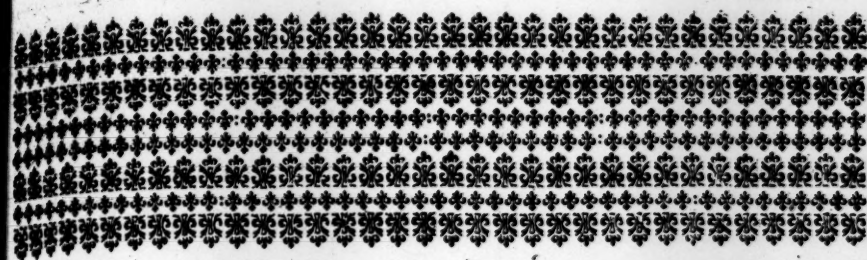
*Holt*

He is again  
apprehended.

His Martyr-  
dom.

*Holt* to him, who pretended much love to him, saying, that if he should bring him into trouble it were pity but the earth should open and swallow him up quick : These villains also brought some others with them at night to sleep with him, and after supper *Holt* gave *Andrew* two groats, and embraced him in his Arms : And thus when they were gone, there came in to him one *John Tibald*, who had been Four times in prison for *Christs* cause : And shortly after came the Bishops Chancellor with the watch, and searched the House, where he found these two innocent persons, whom he bound with Ropes, and carried to the Bishops House : The next day Bishop *Stokeley* examined them with many threatening words : After which he sent *Hewet* to *Lollards* Tower, and kept the other under guard, yet afterwards he was delivered, but was forced to sell all that he had, and might not come within seven miles of his own House : *Andrew Hewet* after long, and cruel imprisonment was condemned to death, and burnt with *John Frith*





THE LIFE OF  
THOMAS BENET.



Bout the same time there was one *Thomas Benet*, born in *Cambridg*, and Master of Art in that University, a Man very well learned, and of a godly life, who was very familiar with Master *Bilney* that famous Martyr of *Christ*: This *Benet*, the more he increased in the knowledg of God, and his holy Word, the more he abhorred the Idolaary and corruptions of the times, and therefore fearing to continue in his own Country, he went into *Devonshire*, Anno Christi 1524.

and first dwelt in *Torrington*, where for the maintenance of himself, Wife, and Children, he taught a School; but that Town not affording him a subsistence, at the years end he removed to *Exceter*, where also he taught Children, and so maintained his Family thereby: He was very courteous, quiet, meek, and of an holy conversation: He greatly delighted to hear Sermons, and was very attentive to them; what time he could spare from his School, he employed in the study of the Scriptures, having no converse with any but with such as he understood to be favorers of the Gospel, and zealous for the truth: And understanding that one *William Strowd* of *Newnam*, Esquire, was committed to the Bishops Prison in *Exceter*, upon suspicion of Heresie, he sent consolatory Letters to him, and lest his letters should be suspected by this Gentleman, he discovered himself to him, with the cause of his coming into that Countrey, and amongst other passages he had this, *Because I would not be an whoremonger, or unclean Person, I married a Wife, with whom, through Gods mercy, I have lain hid* His Zeal  
*in Devonshire from the Tyranny of the Antichristian party these six years*: Thus increasing in knowledg, and sanctity, and seeing daily the glory of God to be Blasphemed, Idolatry to be embraced, and maintained, and the false usurped power of the Bishop of *Rome* to be so extolled, he was so grieved in spirit, and troubled in conscience, that he could not be at quiet, till he had uttered his mind therein; But first he began to deal privately with some of his Friends, to whom he plainly discovered how abominably God was dishonored, his Word contemned, his People, whom he had dearly purchased, were by blind kinds carried head-long to eternal damnation, and that therefore he could no longer endure, but must, and would utter their abominations, and for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and in defence of Gods true Religion, would yield himself willingly, as near as God would give him grace, to die, and shed his Blood in this quarrel: Alledging that his death would be more profitable to the Church of God, for the edification of his People, then his life could be.

His Friends being overcome by his arguments, told him that they would pray for him, that he might be strong in the cause of God, and continue a

Fff

faithful

faithful Soldier to the end. Then did he give order for the disposal of his Books, and shortly after he wrote his judgment in certain papers, which privately he set up upon the doors of the Cathedral Church, in which he wrote, *The Pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship God, and not the Saints.* Upon the finding of these Papers there was much ado, and great searching after the Heretick, that should set them up: The Major and Aldermen busying themselves therein, but especially the Bishop, and his Doctors, were stung like as with wasps; And to quench this fire, some of them were daily imployed to confute this Heresie in publick: *Thomas Benet* the Sabbath following went to the Cathedral Church, and accidentally sat down by Two Men that were most busie of all others in searching after Hereticks: These Men looking on *Benet*, said each to other, *This Fellow is of all others likeliest to set up these Papers, and it were good that he were examined;* yet when they beheld his sober carriage, his attention to the Sermon, and his diligent looking on his *Latin Testament*, they were so astonished that they had no power to speak to him, but went their ways, and left him reading on his Book.

Gods Providence.

He is cursed with Bell, Book, and Candle.

The Canons and Priests being much troubled how to find out the Author of those Bills, resolved to Curse him whatsoever he were with Bell, Book and Candle, which they proceeded to after this manner.

One of the Priests cloathed all in white, went up into the Pulpit, divers Fryers stood round about, and the Cross was held up with divers Wax Tapers lighted about it; Then the Priest began to preach on the Text in *Josbna*: *There is an accursed thing amongst you;* which Sermon he thus concluded. That the foul and abominable Heretick which hath put up these Blasphemous Bills, was for that his Blasphemy damnably accursed, and therefore he besought God, our Lady, Saint *Peter* the Patron of the Church, with all the holy company of Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, that it might be known what Heretick had put up those Blasphemous Bills, that so Gods people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of these Curlings was very terrible to the Spectators, who were miserably deluded with such Superstitions.

Then said the Priest, *By the Authority of God, the Father Almighty, and the blessed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, and of the hly Saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse, and ban, commit and deliver to the Devil of Hell, him or her, whatsoever he, or she be, that have in spite of God and Saint Peter, whose Church this is, in spite of all holy Saints, and in spite of our most holy Father the Pope, Gods Vicar here on earth, and in spite of our reverend Father in God John, our Diocesan, and the worshipful Canons, &c. which serve God daily in this Church, fixed up such Cursed and Heretical Bills full of Blasphemy upon this, and other holy Churches Doors. Excommunicated plainly be he, or she, and delivered over to the Devil as perpetual Malefactors, and Schismatics: Accursed let them be, and given over Body, and Soul to the Devil: Cursed be they in Cities, and in Towns, in Fields, in Ways, in Paths, in Houses, out of Houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. we separate him, or her from the Threshold, and from all the good Prayers of the Church, from the participation of the holy Mass, from all Sacraments, Chappels, and Altars; from holy Bread, and holy water; from all the Merits of Gods Priests, and Religious Men, and from all their Cloisters, from all pardons, priviledges, grants, and immunities, which all the hly Fathers, Popes of Rome, have granted to them: And we give them over utterly to the power of the Fiend, and let us quench their Souls if they be dead this night in the pains of Hell-fire, as this Candle is now quenched, and put out, (and therewith he put out one of the Candles) And let us pray God if they be alive, that their Eyes may be put out as this Candle-light is, (and therewith he put out another Candle) And let us pray to God, our Lady, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, and all holy Saints, that all the senses of their Bodies may fail them, and that they may*



may have no feeling, as now the light of this Candle is gone, (and therewith he put out another Candle) except they come now and openly confess their Blaſphemy, and by repentance, as much as in them lies, make satisfaction to God, our Lady, Saint Peter, and the worshipful Company of this Church, and as the staff of this holy Croſs now falls down, so may they except they repent, and so the staff fell down.

Upon this dreadful Curse what a noise, and terrible fear was there amongst the People.

Master Benet seeing all this foppery, laughed heartily at it, yet as privately as he could, but some there were that espied him, whereupon they asked him how he could laugh at such dreadful Curses? Benet answered: *My Friends, who can forbear seeing such merry conceits, and interludes played by the Priests?* This caused them to cry out, *Here is the Heretick, here is the Heretick, hold him fast, hold him fast:* Hereupon there was a great noise, and clapping of Hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the Heretick or no: So that they suffered him quietly to depart home to his own House: But he, being not able to digest the lyes there preached, caused his Boy early in a morning to set up new Bills upon the Church-yard Gates, which whilest he was doing, one that went early to hear a Maſs, found the Boy at the Gates, and charged him with setting up those Bills, wherefore pulling down the Bill he carried both it, and the Boy before the Major of the City, and thereby Master Benet being discovered, was presently sent for, and violently haled to Prison: On the next day the Canons began to examine him, to whom he confessed, that it was he that had put up the Bills, and that if it were to do, he would do it again; *For, said he, there is nothing in them but the very truth. Couldst not thou, said they, have spoken so much with thy Mouth, as well to have set up those Bills? No, said he, I put them up that many might read them, and thereby know what abominable Blaſphemers you are, and that your Pope is Antichrist, even that Boar out of the wood that destroys the Church of Christ, &c. But if I had spoken so much I should presently have been clapt up in Prison, and so the truth had been concealed, &c.*

A special Providence.

He is apprehended.

His Courage.

The next day they sent him to the Bishop, who clapped him up in his own Prison, kept him in the Stocks, loaded him with Irons, and shewed him as much favor as a Dog should have had: Then associating to himself some others, he examined him: But he answered in such sort, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he confounded, and put to silence his Adversaries, causing them much to admire him: Then did they rife his House, shamefully abused his Wife, charging her with divers enormities: But she, like a good Woman took all patiently, and was willing to bear the Croſs with her Husband.

Papish cruelty.

Some of the Fryers did greatly torment their Brains to find out how they might turn him from his opinions: But through Gods mercy, Benet was at a point, not to deny Christ before Men, so that at last they declared that never was their such an obstinate Heretick. Yet did they for divers days continually assault him, so that being weary of their Company, he said, *I take God to record that my life is not dear to me, I am content to depart from it; for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings to the utter destruction of Christs Flock; so that I desire death that I may no longer see your detestable Idolatries, and Superstitions, or be subject to Antichrist your Pope, &c. Away from me, I pray you, and vex my Soul no longer; you shall not prevail against me, &c. If I should hear, and follow you, everlasting death should be my portion; A just reward for all them that love a temporal before eternal life: Away therefore from me, for your company likes me not.*

His Constantcy.

During his imprisonment his Wife provided food for him; and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good, and godly exhortations, intreating her not to move him in any thing to comply with his Adversaries.

His condemnation.

When the Canons and Priests perceived that they could nothing prevail, neither by their flatteries, nor threatnings, they proceeded to judgment, drawing out their bloody Sentence against him, and condemned him to be burnt, delivering him to Sir *Thomas Denis*, Sheriff of *Devonshire*, Anno Christi 1531. The holy Martyr rejoiced that his end approached so near, and as a Sheep before the Shearer, yielded himself with all humility, and cheerfulness to take up the Cross of *Christ*, and being brought to the place of his execution, he made his humble confession, and prayer to Almighty God, requesting all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such gravity, and sobriety, above all things to seek the honor of God, and the saving knowledge of him, as also to leave the devices, and fancies of Mens brains, in the service of God, that all the hearers and spectators were stricken with great admiration, so that most of the people, and the Scribe himself that wrote the Sentence of his condemnation, confessed that he was Gods faithful Servant, and a good Man.

He is tempted

Yet Two Gentlemen, [Master *Thomas Carew*, and Master *John Barnhouse*,] labored first by fair promises, and inticing words, and then by grievous threatnings to draw him to a recantation, and to pray to our Lady, and the Saints,

His Constancy.

to whom he meekly answered, saying, *No, no, it is God only upon whom we must call, and we have no other Advocate with the Father but Jesus Christ alone, who died for us, and now sits at the right hand of his Father to plead our cause, by him must we offer, and make our Prayers to God, if we desire that they should find acceptance at the Throne of Grace: Barnhouse* was so enraged hereat, that

Popish cruelty.

he took a Furze-bush upon a Pike, and having set it on fire held it to his Face, saying, *Ah whoreson Heretick, pray to our Lady, or by Gods wounds I will make thee do it: To whom Master Benet* answered with an humble, and meek Spirit, *Alas Sir, trouble me not, and holding up his Hands he said, Father forgive them;*

His Martyrdom.

Then was the fire kindled, and this holy Martyr lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, said, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit;* and so continuing in prayer, he never moved his Body, but with admirable patience endured the violence of the fire till his life was ended. The Popish party were so violent at his burning, that well was he, or she that could get a stick, or bush to throw in to the fire.

Popish Ignorance.

Popish Clergies malice.

About this time the Popish Clergy were so active, and vigilant in suppressing the light of the Gospel that began then to break forth, that scarce a Man or Woman could make the least shew, in imbracing, or entertaining the same, but presently they were seized on, and either burnt at a Stake, or grievously persecuted, and molested till they were forced to abjure, as very many were in the Diocese of *London*, by Bishop *Stokesly*, and in most other Diocesses in the Kingdom. And indeed the malice, and cruelty of the Prelates, and their Officers grew so intolerable, that the commons, shortly after assembled in Parliament, did by their Speaker, accompanied with divers Knights, and burgesses, complain thereof to the King, humbly desiring him to take such order, and redress in that case, as to his Highnesses wisdom might seem most convenient, &c. And the Lords divine providence did not fail in this time of need; For he saw that the pride, and cruelty of the Popish Clergy was grown intolerable; He heard the sighes, groans, and bitter afflictions of his oppressed flock, that truth was adulterated, Religion profaned, the Glory of his Son defaced, and his poor Church lamentably wasted, wherefore by a strange and wondrous way and means, he wrought salvation for his people, by the Kings divorcement from the Lady *Catherine of Spain*, and by his marrying with the Lady *Anne Bullen*, during whose time I find no great Persecution, nor any to be forced to abjuration in the Church of *England*.

The Parliaments complaint of it.

Gods seasonable assistance to his Church.

Good laws enacted.

Also in the Parliament which began, Anno Christi 1533. upon the aforementioned petition of the Commons to the King, it was at length by the Kings consent enacted, that all the laws, decrees, ordinances, and constitutions made



made, or established by the pretended authority of the Bishops of Rome, to advance their worldly Glory, should be null; That whosoever did speak against the same should not therefore stand in any danger, or be impeachable for Heresie. As also that all Constitutions, Ordinances, and Canons, either Provincial, or Synodal made here by the Bishops, and Clergy in their Convocation, being onerous to the King, and his Subjects, and in any wise repugnant to the Laws, and Statutes of this Realm, should be committed to the examination of Thirty two Persons to be chosen out of the Two Houses of Parliament, and by them either to be confirmed, or abrogated at their discretion, &c.

But as the Kings marriage with the Lady Anne Bullen brought great joy to all good and goodly Men; so it much grieved and incensed the Popish party, whereupon some Monks, and Fryers divulged amongst the common people that they had a revelation from God, and his Saints, that he was highly displeased with the Kings divorcement from the Lady Catherine, and they further declared, that God had revealed to a Nun, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called *The holy Maid of Kent*, that if the King persisted in his divorce, he should not continue King for a month to an end, &c.

Popish jugg  
ling.

This Nun by her dissimulation before the people, shewed marvelous alteration of her visage, and other parts of her Body, lying as if she had been in a trance, and then, as if she had been inspired by God, would speak much by way of reproving sin, and reproaching the Gospel, which she called Heresie: As also she uttered many things to the dishonor of the King and Queen, and to the establishing Idolatry, Pilgrimages, &c. But Doctor Crammer, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Lord Cromwel, and Master Hugh Latimer, by their prudence, and diligence found out all the knavery, so that the Nun and some of her associates were condemned, and executed, Anno Christi 1533.

The holy maid  
of Kent hang-  
ed.

About this time there was one Pavier, or Pavy, the Town-Clerk of London, and a great Enemy to Gods truth, who could not indure that the Gospel should be translated into English, and in the presence of divers he swore a great Oath, that if he thought the King would set forth the Scripture in English, and so suffer them to be read to the people, he would cut his own Throat, rather than live to see that day: But he broke promise, faith mine Author; For instead of cutting his Throat, he hanged himself with an Halter: A just judgment for his impiety.

Pavier hang  
himself,

About the same time Doctor Foxford, Chancellor to the Bishop of London, [Stokely] a cruel Persecutor of Gods Saints, who had condemned, and forced to abjure those before spoken of, as he was sitting in his Chair, his Belly burst, and his Guts fell out before him.

Gods Judge-  
ment on Per-  
secutors.

Anno Christi 1534. The King summoned a Parliament, wherein the usurped power of the Pope was abolished out of this Kingdom, and the King was declared the supreme Head of the Church, and invested with power to reform, and redress all errors, Heresies, and abuses in the same. The University of Cambridge also in the Regent-house unanimously declared against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, the like did many Bishops in the Realm: Yet the body of Popery still continued in the Land, so that Anno Christi 1536. that faithful Martyr of God, William Tindal, was betrayed, arraigned, and condemned, and gave his life for the Testimony of the truth, the Story whereof you may read in my First Part of the Marrow of Eccles. Hist. in the life of Master Tindal.

The Power of  
the Pope abo-  
lished,

Master Wil-  
liam Tindal.

The same year followed the death, and Martyrdom of that good Queen Anne Bullen, who had now been married to the King about Three years: She was a Woman of rare and singular gifts of mind, well instructed in the true Religion, with a fervent desire to advance, and propagate the same; she was

Queen Anne  
Bullen.

Her character

of

Her Charity.

of a gentle, and modest behaviour towards all; and so humble, that she was not only willing to be admonished, but required her Chaplains freely, and plainly to tell her of whatsoever was amiss. She was very bountiful to the poor, insomuch that the Alms which she gave in Three quarters of a year, amounted to the Sum of Fourteen or Fifteen thousand pounds; besides a great Sum of money, which she intended to have sent into Four parts of the Kingdom, to make a stock for poor Artificers, and Workmen. She was a zealous defender of *Christ's* Gospel, and by her means it was, that Master *Hugh Latimer* was made Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Shaxton* (a good Man,) was advanced to another Bishoprick. What her Faith was appears by this example.

The Kings ignorance reformed by the Queen.

King *Henry*, being with her at *Woodstock*, was much afraid of an old blind prophecy, by reason whereof, neither he, nor other Kings before durst hunt in that Park, nor enter into the City of *Oxford*: But at last, through the Christian, and faithful counsel of this Queen, he was so animated, and encouraged against those foolish feares, that he both hunted in the Park, and went to *Oxford* without receiving any harm thereby. She was a strong Bulwark to the reformed Religion, and to the professors thereof, which caused her to be much hated by her Popish malicious Adversaries, who ceased not till they had wrought her out of the affections of the King, by sinister suggestions, and false tales, and had brought in another Lady, upon whom the King casting his Eye, and affecting change, he resolved to be rid of Queen *Anne*, by whom he had the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards our glorious Queen of *England*. For which end the King and Queen being at *Greenwich* to see a Jufts, suddenly in the midst of the sport, the King rose up, and with a few Persons went to *Westminster*, and the next day after, Queen *Anne*, with the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, and some others were carried to the Tower, and within less than Three weeks after, she was beheaded, the cause whereof was scarce ever since known.

Popish subtilty.

Her Martyrdom.

At the time of her death, she spake to this purpose; *Good Christian People, I come hither to die, being adjudged thereunto, and therefore I will speak nothing against it: I come not hither to accuse any Man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused, and for which I am condemned; I pray God to save the King, and to send that he may Reign long over you, &c. And if any Person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judg the best: And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. Oh Lord, have mercy upon me: To thee, O God, I commend my Soul, and so kneeling down, she said, To Christ I commend my Soul; Jesus, receive my Soul.* Which she repeated divers times, till her Head was stricken off. The third day after, the King was married to the Lady *Jane Seymour*.

It pleased God that about this time the Lord *Cromwel* grew in favor with the King, by whose advice many things were reformed in the Church: whereof you may see more in my *Second Part, in the Life of the Lord Cromwel*.

Images abolished.

*Anno Christi 1538.* The Kings injunctions were published, whereby all such Images, and Pictures as were abused with Pilgrimages, or Idolatrous offerings to them, were commanded to be abolished: By vertue whereof many notable Idols were destroyed, as the Image of our Lady at *Walsingham*, *Ipswich*, *Worcester*, *Willesdon*, of *Thomas Becket*, with many others, which by secret Engines were made to open, and shut their Eyes, to roull them about, &c. whereby the people had been long deceived.

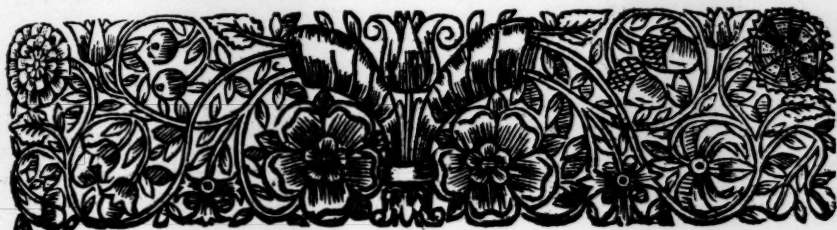
An Heretick burned.

At the same time there was one *Frier Forest*, who was convicted of treason, for holding divers damnable Heresies which he refusing to revoke, was condemned to be hanged on a Gallows under the Arms, and by fire made under him, to be burnt to death. But when he saw that he must die, he caught hold on the Ladder, and would not let it go, and shewed very much impatency, and terror at his death, ending his life very unquietly, and ungodly.

Abbeys, and Monasteries demolished.

The same year followed the ruin, and demolishing of Abbeys, and Religious Houses by the special motion of the Lord *Cromwel*.





THE LIFE OF  
Mr. JOHN LAMBERT.



Resently after followed the trouble, and Martyrdom of *John Lambert*, that faithful Servant, and valiant Champion of *Jesus Christ*, of whom the Story followeth.

*John Lambert* was born, and brought up in *Norfolk*, and was first converted by Master *Bilney*. He studied in the University of *Cambridg*, and having sufficiently profited in the knowledg of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, he translated divers Books into *Englisch* out of both those Languages, and at last when persecution grew hot, he went beyond the Seas, to Master *Tindal*, and Master *Frith*, with whom he abode above a year, and was Preacher to the *Englisch* Merchants at *Antwerp*, till by the malice of Sir *Thomas Moore*, and the cunning craft of one *Barlow*, he was carried from *Antwerp* to *London*, and being brought before Arch-Bishop *warham*, he was charged with Forty five Articles, whereunto he returned an excellent, and learned answer in writing, which you have at large in the Book of Martyrs, *Volum. 2. page 396. &c.* This was *Anno Christi 1532*. But shortly after *warham* dying, Doctor *Cranmer* was made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and partly by his means, and partly by the help of Queen *Anne Bullen*, Master *Lambert* was delivered out of Prison, and so returning to *London*, about the *Stocks* he set up a School, wherein he taught the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues: And seeing that Ministers could not be allowed at that time to marry, he left his Ministry, and wholly betook himself to his School, intending to marry: And thus he continued a Schoolmaster with great commendation, and approbation, and to the great benefit of youth till *Anno 1538*. At which time being present at a Sermon in *Peters Chutch*, there preached one Doctor *Taylor*, a Man that was a favorer of the truth. After Sermon Master *Lambert* took his time, and went to the Preacher, desiring to be satisfied in divers things, especially about the manner of *Christs* presence in the Sacrament: Doctor *Taylor* told him that he had other business for the present, but wished him to write his mind, and to come to him at another time: Master *Lambert* went his way, and having written his mind, repaired to him at another time: For the confirmation of his opinion he had quoted Scriptures, set down reasons, and brought the opinion of the Doctors: *Taylor* willing to satisfy Master *Lambert*, advised with divers, but especially with one Doctor *Barnes*, who favored the Gospel, and was an earnest Preacher, yet liked not Master *Lambert's* opinion in this point, whereupon he perswaded Master *Lambert* to put up this matter to Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*: And thus the matter which at first was but a private conference, became now a publick business: And Master *Lambert* was sent for by the Arch-Bishop into the publick Court, and forced to defend

His first imprisonment.

His deliverance.

defend his cause openly: For the Arch-Bishop as yet favored not the Doctrine of the Sacrament, and the rumor of this disputation was presently spread abroad all over the Kings Court.

Stephen Gardiner's subtilty.

At this time *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester* was one of the Kings Council, who was of a cruel nature, and withall subtil, and Politick, ever watching an opportunity to hinder the progress of the Gospel: And upon this occasion he went straight unto the King, telling him how much hatred he had procured to himself, by abolishing the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority; by the demolishing Monasteries, and by the divorce of *Queen Katherine*, so that he was reported to be a favorer of new Sects, and opinions: But now the time served for his taking off all these aspersions, and clearing himself, if he would vigorously proceed against *John Lambert* for his Heresies, &c. The King willingly hearkened to this Counsel, and thereupon presently sent out a general commission, commanding all his Nobles and Bishops to come with all speed to *London* to assist him against Hereticks, and Heresies, which the King himself would sit in judgment upon: And thus all things being prepared, a day was set for Master *Lambert's* appearance, a great concourse of Nobles was there, and all the Scaffolds filled with spectators: By and by the faithful Servant of *Christ* Master *Lambert*, was brought from Prison with a guard of Armed Men, as a Lamb to fight against many Lions, and placed over against the Kings Seat, so that now they tarried but for the Kings coming, who at last came as the Judge of that controversy; on his right hand sat the Bishops, and behind all the famous Lawyers, and on the left hand the Peers of the Realm, &c. which was enough to have daunted the innocent Servant of *Christ*, but especially the Kings looks, his cruel countenance, and brows bent in a severe manner: Who turning himself to his Counsellors, called forth Doctor *Day*, Bishop of *Exeter*, commanding him to declare to the people the cause of this great assembly; The sum of the Bishops Oration was, that though the King had abolished the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, yet he would not have any thing that he intended therewith to extinguish Religion, or to give liberty to Hereticks to disturb the Churches peace: As also that they should not expect any disputation upon the Heretical Doctrine; His purpose being only by the industry of himself, and the Bishops to refute the Heresies of this Man present, and of all like unto him, and openly to condemn them in the presence of them all.

His second imprisonment.

His Trial.

The Bishop having ended his Oration, the King stood up, and with bent brows looking upon Master *Lambert*, he demanded of him what was his Name: The meek Lamb kneeling down, said, *My Name is John Nicholson, though ordinarily I am called Lambert*; and so after divers questions and answers, the King bad him go to the matter, and declare his opinion about the Sacrament of the Altar: Then Master *Lambert* gave God thanks, who had inclined the Heart of the King, that himself disdained not to hear, and understand the cause of Religion: The rather, because it oft-times fell out, that through the cruelty of the Bishops, divers innocent Men in several places were privily murdered, and put to death without the Kings knowledg, &c. Then the King with an angry voice interrupted him, saying, *I came not hither to hear mine own praises, therefore briefly go to the matter without any more circumstances*. Master *Lambert* being troubled at the Kings angry words, paused a while, considering whither he might turn himself in this extremity: The King being more incensed hereby, said, *why standest thou still? Answer what thy judgment is about the Sacrament of the Altar?* Master *Lambert* first quoted out Saint *Augustines* judgment, and then plainly denied it to be the Body of *Christ*: Then the King commanded Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* to confute his assertion: The Arch-Bishop made a short preface, and then disputed very modestly with Master *Lambert*; who answered him very acutely and learnedly, so that the King seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the Arch-Bishop was intangled, and the people amazed: But *Stephen Gardiner* filled with all malice, without the

A Disputation.



the Kings command interposed, and urged his argument, which *Lambert* easily wiped off, though he was interrupted, and taunted for his labor: Then *Ston-  
field*, Bishop of *Duresme* took his course, and after him *Stokeley* Bishop of *Lincoln*;  
To both whom, Master *Lambert* answered so, that both King and Bishops raged  
exceedingly, so that he was forced to silence. After which, other Bishops, be-  
ing Ten in all, pressed him with their arguments; so Master *Lambert*, afflicted  
with taunts, amazed with the Majesty of the place, the King being present, and  
tired with standing, having continued Five Hours together, and seeing no hope  
of prevailing by Speech, resolved to hold his peace: And when they began to  
light up Torches, the King said to him, *what sayest thou after all this pains taken  
with thee? wilt thou live, or die? what sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choise.*  
Master *Lambert* answered, *I submit my self wholly to the will of your Majesty*;  
The King replied, *Commit thy self into the hands of God, not of me.* Master *Lam-  
bert* answered, *I commend my Soul into the hands of God, but my Body I wholly submit  
to your clemency*; Then said the King, *If you commit your self to my judgment,  
you must die, for I will be no Patron to Hereticks*; and so turning to the Lord *Crom-  
wel*, he bad him read the Sentence of condemnation against him. *Cromwel* was  
at this time the great Patron of the Professors of the truth, yet through the mal-  
lice and subtilty of *Winchester* he was put upon this employment; And thus  
Satan sometimes makes use of one Brother to destroy another, as he did  
here of *Taylor*, *Barnes*, *Cranmer* and *Cromwel* to destroy *Lambert*, who in  
a manner all of them afterwards suffered the like for the Gospels sake. And  
thus was Master *Lambert* in this bloody Session, judged and condemned to  
death.

His condem-  
nation.

Upon the day which was appointed for this holy Martyr to suffer, he was  
brought out of Prison by Eight a Clock in the morning, to the Lord *Cromwells*  
Houle, and so carried to a private Chamber, where *Cromwel* desired forgiveness  
of him, for that which he had done. And when the hour of death came,  
Master *Lambert* found much joy, and comfort in his Soul, and coming out of  
the Chamber into the Hall, he saluted the Gentlemen, and sat down to break-  
fast with them, after which he was presently carried to the place of execution,  
which was *Smithfield*, where he was very cruelly handled: For when his Legs  
were burned to the stumps, the wretched Tormentors withdrew the fire from  
him, leaving but a small fire, and coals under him: Then Two of them  
thrust their Halberts into his sides, wherewith they lifted him up as far as the  
Chain would permit. Then Master *Lambert* lifting up his Hands, his  
Fingers ends flaming with fire, said, *None but Christ, None but Christ*, and  
so being let down again, he fell into the fire, where he sweetly ended  
his life.

Lord *Cromwel*  
asketh him  
forgiveness.

His Martyr-  
dom.

The same year *Robert Packington*, Mercer, and Citizen of *London*, used  
every day at Five of the Clock in the morning, Summer and Winter, to go to  
prayers at *Mercers Chapel*, and one morning being a very great mist, he was  
pistolled as he crossed the street thitherward, yet the Murtherer was long  
concealed till Doctor *Incent*, Dean of *Pauls*, lying on his Death-bed, confessed  
that he had hired an *Italian*, for Forty Crowns to do that wicked deed; and the  
reason of it was, because this Master *Packington* being a Burges of Parliament at  
that time, was known to be a stout Man, one that could speak well, and would  
be heard: And in that Parliament he had spoken plainly against their wickedness,  
which had procured him this hatred.

1538.  
*Roberts Pack-  
ington.*

Murthered:

Also the same year there was one Master *Collins* a Lawyer, burnt for an He-  
retick in *Smithfield*. Also in *Suffolke* there was one *Puttedew*, who coming to  
Church, and telling the Priest, that after he had drunk up all the Wine alone,  
he blessed the People with the empty Cup, was presently apprehended for it,  
and shortly after burnt for an Heretick.

Master *Collins*;  
*Puttedew*;

As also *William Leiton*, a Monk of *Aie* in the same County, was burnt at  
*Normich* for speaking against an Idol that was used to be carried about in

*William Leit-  
ton.*

Proceſſion: As alſo for holding that the Sacrament ought to be adminiſtered in both kinds.

Peck.

Not long before, one *Peck* was burnt at *Ipswich*, and when by reaſon of the flame round about him, he was all over as black as a Coal, there was one Doct<sup>r</sup> *Reading*, with other Doct<sup>r</sup>s ſtanding by, and *Reading* having a long Wand in his hand, ſtrook *Peck* on the ſhoulder, ſaying, *Kecant, and believe that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of Chriſt, fleſh, blood, and bones, and ſo I will preſently abſolve thee*: To whom *Peck* answered, *I deſie both it, and thee*, and ſo ſpat Blood at him; whereupon the Doct<sup>r</sup> ſaid, *To as many as ſhall caſt a ſtick, to the burning of this Heretick, My Lord Biſhop of Norwich grants Forty days pardon*; which ſaid, Baron *Curſon*, Sir *John Audley*, with many others roſe from their ſeats, and with their ſwords cut down Boughs, and threw them into the fire: The like did all the multitude that was there preſent.

Popiſh ignorance.

As God of his great goodneſs had raiſed up *Cromwel* to be a Friend, and Patron to the Goſpel: So Satan ſtirred up *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by all ſubtil, and crafty devices to impede, and hinder the ſame, whereupon he ſo wrought with the King; that *Anno Chriſti* 1539. he ſet forth injunctions, that none ſhould bring over any *Engliſh* Books, nor ſell, give, utter, nor publiſh them: That none ſhould here print any Books, but ſuch as were licenſed: That none ſhould print, publiſh, nor ſell any Book of the Scriptures, not firſt peruſed, and licenſed: That no Sacramentaries, or others ſhould ſell Books, maintaining their opinions, but that ſuch Perſons, and Books ſhould preſently be detected, and diſcovered: That none ſhould reaſon, diſpute, or argue about the Sacrament of the Altar: That all Ceremonies formerly uſed in the Church, as holy Water, Proceſſions, creeping on *Good-Friday* to the Croſs, &c. ſhould be obſerved till it pleaſed the King to alter, or abrogate the ſame: That all Priests that had married Wives, or intended ſo to do, ſhould be deprived from all ſpiritual promotions, &c. and all theſe upon very grievous, and ſevere penalties.

Wicked Injunctions.

By theſe means the courſe of the Goſpel began again to decline; but preſently after it pleaſed God opportunely to ſtir up the Lord *Cromwel* to be an inſtrument of advancing the Goſpel, which he had done much more, had not the peſtilent Biſhops by contrary practices craftily undermined him, and ſupplanted his virtuous proceedings.

Lord Cromwels piety.

About this time, *Anno Chriſti* 1540. the Lord *Cromwel* for the better eſtabliſhing ſincere Religion, in this Realm, deviſed to effect a Marriage between the King, and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, whoſe Siſter was married to the Duke of *Saxony*, a Proteſtant Prince, by which marriage it was ſuppoſed there would be eſtabliſhed a perpetual peace and amity between this Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, which would much ſtrengthen the Proteſtant party againſt the Tyranny of the Pope and his adherents. But preſently after the marriage, *Stephen Gardiner*, who was now crept into favor with the King, ſuggeſted to him ſome occaſions of diſtaſt againſt the Duke of *Saxony*, and ſome apprehenſions of fear by reaſon of that *odium* which he had pulled upon himſelf, by rejecting the Pope, and demolishing Abbeyes, and Monaſteries, whereby (as he told him) he had made the Pope, the Emper<sup>r</sup>, the King of *France*, and the King of *Scotland*, his Enemies, but eſpecially his own Subjects who were much diſtaſted with the innovations in Religion, &c. and that the only way to heal all, was to ſhew himſelf ſharp, and ſevere againſt the new Sectaries.

Stephen Gardiners ſubtilty.

This occaſioned the King to condemn Maſter *Lambert*; To publiſh the aforenamed injunctions, and as if he yet had not done enough, he ſummoned a Parliament, and Convocation, in both which he cauſed theſe Six Articles to be enacted. Firſt, that the Bread, and Wine in the Sacrament after the words of conſecration, were really turned into the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, &c. Secondly,

The Six Articles.



Secondly, that the Communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem*, to salvation, &c. Thirdly, that Priests may not marry. Fourthly, that vows of chastity out to be observed by the Laws of God. Fifthly, that private Masses ought to be continued. Sixthly, that Auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained, and frequented in the Church of God.

These Articles being consented unto, and concluded by King and Parliament, the crafty Bishops caused farther to be enacted, that whosoever denied Transubstantiation, or whosoever should be aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein, should be adjudged Hereticks; That every such offender should have, and suffer judgment, execution, pains, and pain of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of Clergy, or Sanctuary, &c. and should farther forfeit to his Majesty, all his honors, manors, lands, tenements, goods and chattels, &c. as in the cases of high treason. And for all such as did preach, teach, uphold, maintain or defend any thing contrary to the Five last Articles, should be adjudged as Felons, and lose both life and goods, as in the case of felony, &c.

Yet when these Articles were in debate in the Parliament-house, Doctor *Cranmer* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, like a constant Patron of Gods cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the truth, three days together disputing against these Articles, and in his disputations he behaved himself with such humble modesty; Protesting that the cause was not his, but the cause of Almighty God, that the King could take no offence at the same. Wherefore the King, who always bore him special favor, well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the Parliament-house into the Council-chamber for a time till the Act should be passed; which he notwithstanding with humble protestation refused to do. But notwithstanding all his opposition, the Act was passed, and the King considering the constant zeal of the Arch-Bishop, and weighing the many authorities, and reasons which were brought against those Articles: He sent the Lord *Cromwel*, the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with all the Lords of the Parliament to dine with the Arch-Bishop at *Lambeth*: where they told him that it was the Kings pleasure that they all should in his Highness behalf, cherish, comfort and animate him as one that in the Parliament had declared himself very learned, and also discreet and wise, and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged at any thing that had passed contrary to his judgment, and allegations; the Arch-Bishop humbly thanked, First the King for his singular good affection towards him, and then the Lords for their pains; Adding, that he hoped that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place to Gods glory, and the benefit of the Realm.

Not long after followed the apprehension and Martyrdom of the Lord *Cromwel*, Earl of *Essex*, concerning which see his Life in my *Second Part of the Marrow of Eccles. History*.

This Lord *Cromwel* in his life-time had been a great stay and prop to the Church of *England*, and had much protected the professors of the Gospel, but after his death, there ensued a miserable slaughter of godly Men, and Women: For *Winchester* having now obtained his purpose, raised great troubles in the Lords Vineyard, and his malicious mind: admitting no delays, he assaulted Three godly Ministers, Master *Robert Barnes*, *Thomas Garret*, and *William Jerom*.

Dr. *Cranmer* opposeth them.

The Kings love to Dr. *Cranmer*.

Lord *Cromwells* Martyrdom.

*Stephen Gardiners* malice.



THE LIFE OF  
Dr. B A R N E S.



Doctor Barnes after he came from the University of *Louvain*, went to *Cambridge*, where he was elected Prior of the *Augustine* Fryers. At this time the knowledge of good Letters was scarcely entred into the University; whereupon Doctor Barnes began to read in his own House, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and *Cicero*, so that by his great pains and industry, he caused the House to flourish with Learning, and divers began to be eminent for their Scholarship, amongst whom was Master *Coverdal*. After this foundation laid, he began openly to read upon *Pauls* Epistles, and that he might advance *Christ*, and his holy Word, he turned their unfavoury problems, and former fruitless disputations to better Subjects about the holy Scriptures, whereby in short space he made many good Divines: The same order he also observed when he disputed in the University Schools. Thus by his reading, disputations, and preaching he became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, always preaching against Bishops, and Hypocrites, yet saw not the remainders of Idolatry which himself practised, till good Master *Bilney*, and some others converted him wholly unto *Christ*. Then preaching publicly in *Cambridge*, he was accused of Heresie by Two Fellows of *Kings-hall*. This stirred up some godly, and learned Men of *Pembroke-hall*, and other Colleges often to meet together at an House in the Town, which in derision was by their Adversaries called *Germany*.

Contention in  
*Cambridge*.

Doctor Barnes his Adversaries accused him in the Regent-house; and Articles being put in against him, he promised to return an answer to them, which accordingly he did at the next Convocation: Then did Doctor *Nottaris* move Doctor Barnes to make a recantation, which he refused to do. Thus in *Cambridge* did this difference continue, one preaching against another for about a quarter of a year, at the end whereof a Pursuivant at Arms was sent down from *London*, who, for the terror of others arrested Doctor Barnes in the Convocation-house, intending also to search for *Luthers* Books in all their studies that were suspected to favor his Doctrine: But Doctor *Farman* of Queens College sent word immediately to all their Chambers, so that when the Pursuivant came, the Books were all conveyed away.

Doctor Barnes  
brought to  
Cardinal *Wol-*  
*sey*.

The godly Scholars met together that night, and drew-up an answer for Doctor Barnes, which they gave him, and when he came to *London*, he was presently carryed before Cardinal *Wolsey*, where after long attendance, he was at last admitted into his Chamber, and caused to kneel upon his Knees: Then said the Cardinal to him, *what Master Doctor, had you not sufficient scope in the Scriptures to Preach on, but you must meddle with my Golden Shoes, my Polaxes, my Pillars, my Golden Cushion, my Crosses? did these so offend*



offend you that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people: Surely that Sermon was fitter for a Stage than a Pulpit, &c. Doctor Barnes answered, that he spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to his Conscience, and the ancient Fathers, and withal delivering him Six Sheets of writing to corroborate his sayings. The Cardinal said, *we perceive then that you intend to stand to your Articles, and to shew your learning*: Yes, said Barnes, that I do, by Gods grace, and your Lordships favor: Then said the Cardinal, *Such as you, bear us little favor. But whether do you think it better for us to have all this Royalty for the terror of the wicked, or to sell all, and give it to the Poor?* Barnes answered, *I think it is necessary to be sold, and given to the Poor*: For this is not comely for your calling, &c. Then the Cardinal said, *what say you, Master Doctor? do you not know that I am Legatus de latere? and that I have power to dispense in all matters of Religion?* Barnes answered, that he knew it: Then said the Cardinal, *will you be ruled by me?* &c. Barnes answered, he would stick to the holy Scriptures, according to that simple Talent that God had lent him. This angered the Cardinal, so that he would have sent him presently to the Tower; But at the request of Two Doctors, he was returned that night to the Sergeant at Arms, and the next day was carried to the Chapter-houle at *westminster*.

When he came thither, there were Five *Stilliard* Men in queſtion for *Lollar- dy*, and for bringing over ſome of *Luthers* Books, but as ſoon as they ſaw Doctor Barnes, they cauſed him to ſtand aſide whilſt they examined the Doctor, after which they committed him, with the *Stilliard* Men, all cloſe Priſoners to the Fleet. Afterwards he was again carried before them, and after many threats and ſcorns, they asked him whether he would abjure or burn? But he being in great Agony reſolved for the preſent rather to burn than to abjure: Yet afterwards by the crafty, and ſubtile dealing of ſome pretended Friends, he was drawn from his ſtedfaſtneſs, and brought to abjure, and to do a diſgraceful Penance in *Pauls* Church, together with the *Stilliard* Men: Yet neither then would they diſmiſs him, but kept him Priſoner, firſt in the Fleet, afterwards in *Auſtin-Friers* in *London*, and at laſt they ſent him to *Auſtin-Friers* in *Northampton*, ſending down after him a Writ for his burning, which he, having notice of from a Friend, privily made an eſcape, and getting on a Beggars cloaths, he went to *London*, and ſo by Sea to *Antwerp*, and from thence he travelled to *Wittenberg*, where he ſell hard to his ſtudy, and wrote his Book called *Acti Romanorum Pontificum*: And his ſupplication to King *Henry* the Eighth, wherein he gives an account of all the ſubtil, malicious, and injurious dealings of the Popiſh party with him, in this manner.

His frailty.

His eſcape.

His ſupplication to the King.

IN the year of our Lord 1525. (ſaith he) and the 24. of *December*, at the requeſt of the Pariſh, I preached a Sermon in *Saint Edwards* Church in *Cambridge*, out of which Sermon mine Adverſaries gathered ſome Articles againſt me, which when I knew of, I offered to preach again the next Sabbath, and to clear my ſelf: But Doctor *Ridley*, and Doctor *Preſton* (Chaplains and Kinſmen to the Biſhop of *London*) prevailed with the Vice-Chancellor to inhibit me, yet could I never learn any reaſonable cauſe why, but that he ſaid, it ſhould be for my profit to hold my peace; with this I was ſatisfied till the aforeſaid Doctors, and one Maſter *Tyrell* drew up Articles againſt me, and preſented them to the Vice-Chancellor, who ſending for me, asked me what I ſaid to them: I answered, that they were none of mine, only ſome Words and Sentences in them I had ſpoken, but what ſhould make for me, that was left out, for which I referred my ſelf to the Auditory: The Vice-Chancellor replied, that I muſt take heed what I denied, for if they brought witneſs againſt me, I muſt die. I answered, that ſuch witneſs ſhould be falſe, for I never ſpake them: To which he replied, that I could not prove a Negative, and were the witneſs true or falſe, I muſt ſuffer for it, if they came in, for that was the Law: To which I answered, that that was a piteous

Articles againſt him.

caſe,

case, for by that Law they might condemn *Christ* himself: He replied, that I should consider what I did, for the matter was so hainous, that I could be admitted in Law no Counsel: Then said I, God help me which knoweth all things. This was in the Schools, the Doors shut fast; none present on my party, but of my Adversaries, Doctor *Ridly*, Doctor *Preston*, Doctor *Watson*, and a Doctor of Law; with Master *Fooke*, and Master *Tyrill*, who was appointed to present these Articles against me.

The Vice-Chancellor when he could get no more of me, asked me what I would do? I answered, that he should hear their complaint, and I would make such an answer as God should put into my mind. Then did Master *Tyrill* present a Roll in which were certain Articles (as he said) gathered out of my Sermon, of which some were contentious, some seditious, some slanderous, and some Heretical: Then said I, Good Master *Tyrill*, will you present any of these Articles as Heretical? But the Vice-Chancellor moved me to submit my self, whereto I said, Whatsoever I have spoken against Gods Word, or the exposition of the holy Doctors, I will be content therewith to be reformed, and to submit my self: The other Doctors were not satisfied with this, unless I would add, *or if I have offended the Laws of the Church*: At this I stopped, and said, that it was too large, for I knew not what they meant by the Laws of the Church: It was sufficient for me to submit to Gods Word, and the exposition of the holy Doctors: But when they would not be satisfied, I yielded that I would agree to all Laws that were not against Gods Word, nor St. *Augustine*, *Jerom*, &c.

This was all that was done the first day; For by this time was the whole Body of the Univerſity gathered together, who knocked at the Doors, and said that they would hear my examination, seeing the cause was publick, and a matter of learning that concerned the whole Univerſity, and therefore these few Persons should not take upon them only, and privately to hear and determine such causes; and when the Vice-Chancellor could not satisfy them, he said, We must for the present give over this matter, for the Univerſity is in a tumult, and so we departed.

But Two or Three days after, I was called into *Clare-hall* to the Vice-Chancellors Chamber, where were also the aforesaid Doctors gathered against me; There did they intreat me with flattering words to submit to Master Vice-Chancellors counsel; whereupon I required to be indifferently heard by him, together with my Adversaries, and then if I had said any thing against the truth, I would submit: They replied, that it was for my good that he did sit in judgment, for if witnesses should come in against me (as certainly they would) I were a lost Man: To which I answered, that such must needs be false witnesses, for many learned Men heard my Sermon, who would certainly testify the truth: They replied, that if Three came in against me, Twenty three would not help me, for that was the Law, &c. After they had a while conferred together privately, the Vice-Chancellor came to me, and told me that on his Conscience they were all my Friends, and intended to save both my Name and Fame, which yet they could not do, except I followed their counsel: After a while upon their much urging, I said, Right Worshipful Masters, I trust ye be all my good Friends, and have so much charity in you, as that you will not cast me away except you find me obstinate, which I trust you shall not do. For I never intended to speak any thing against *Christs* truth; yet seeing the Law is so dangerous as you have shewed me, I had rather put my self upon your charity, than to stand to the danger of it: And therefore to these Articles, I thus answer, that here are many Words and Sentences which I did speak, and therefore I submit my self to you, intreating your favor not to take me in the worst sense: Then after they had given me my Oath to stand to their judgment, the Vice-Chancellor, as he said, absolved me *ab excommunicatione juris*.

But herein they dealt treacherously; For unknown to me, that had a Notary that wrote down all these passages, whereas they pretended to deal with me

His submission

Their treachery with him.



as Friends, and as private Persons, yet afterwards they made use of all, and put it into the Court as a witness against me, when I was brought before the Bishops.

Whilst these businesses were transacting, the Body of the University gathered together, and sent up certain Masters and Batchelors of Divinity to the Vice-Chancellor, requiring that they might be admitted to hear my examination, forasmuch as they heard my Sermon. Answer was made that there was no such matter in handling, but that they only conferred with me Friendly, and gave me advice for my profit; yet to satisfy them, I was dismissed for the present.

About a moneth after Doctor *Watson* and Doctor *Preston*, by the advice of the Vice-Chancellor, drew up a Recantation of every Article by it self, wherein they would have me confess whatsoever was alleadged against me, because (as they said) some men had understood me so: And herein they construed every thing in an evill sense, so that there was never an Article but it was either Heretical, Seditious, Contentious, Blasphemous, or *piis auribus offensivus*: I had a Friend that privately wrote out this Recantation, which when I had gotten, I sent for to my Chamber Master *Stafford*, Master *Bilney*, and six or eight more of the learnedest Men that were in *Cambridg*, whose counsel I asked about this matter: They answered, that seeing this Recantation was false, and uncharitable, I could not with a good Conscience agree to it; whereupon the Vice-Chancellor, and Doctors called me again, and would have me read this Recantation the Sabbath after publicly in the Church, where I had made my Sermon, without saying more or less than what was written; yea, and that I should promise, that if I were afterwards convented by the higher powers, I should be content to suffer all pain and punishment that they should lay upon me: I refused to agree thereto, telling them that it was neither agreeable to learning, equity, nor charity, seeing I neither spake nor thought these things, but they were only false collections made by malicious persons out of my sayings contrary to my meaning: Upon this they were divided amongst themselves, some saying that I was bound by my Oath to submit hereto, others saying that my Oath bound me not, because contrary to their promise, they had dealt so uncharitably with me, so that at last they gave me eight days time to return my answer what I would do.

Popish lies.

They urge him to recant.

In the mean time Master *Tyrrill* posted to *London*, and procured Cardinal *Wolsey* to send down a Serjeant at Arms, who arrested me in the University, and carried me away to *London*, and the Wednesday night after, I was carried before the Cardinal, who read over my Articles, and asked me divers questions about the same, after which I told him that these Articles were uncharitably gathered out of my Sermon: He asked me how I would purge my self from the suspicion of Heresie: I answered, that I would bring Twenty honest, learned Men that should be my Compurgators. He said, Can you bring Six or Ten Doctors of Divinity? I told him that was impossible, for there were but Two that heard my Sermon, and they belonged to Bishops, and therefore probably would not testify for me. Then said he, You must be burned, therefore consider with your self whether you will stand to a course of Law, or submit your self to my Grace. But having been formerly circumvented by submitting to the Vice-Chancellor, I resolved to be no more so hasty in doing the like again: After some other discourse he told me that I was a Fool, and perceived not how good he was to me, and therefore he appointed Fifteen or Sixteen Bishops and Doctors to hear, and examine me the next day. At which time the Bishop of *Bath* told me that I was defamed for Heresie, which I denied, and desired to know mine accusers. Nay, said he, we proceed after another form of Law, &c. They asked me also divers other questions not at all pertaining to my Articles, and after I had answered them, they laid their Heads together to find out other capitious questions, and thus they continued with me Three days together; at the end whereof there was a great long Roll, or Recantation offered me, and I

He is arrested, and carried to London.

His conference with the Cardinal.

Another Recantation offered on him; was

was commanded to read it, and not to speak one word more or less before the people than what was contained in that Roll ; For if I did, they would handle me well enough : Then I desired that I might first see what was contained in it ; But this would be by no means granted : Then I desired to know whether they laid Heresie to my charge in it ; They answered, Yea ; Then I desired to know what it was, for I had taught no other but what Saint *Augustine*, *Jerome*, and other Doctors of the holy Church had taught before me ; They said, If *Augustine*, *Jerome*, &c. were present, they should stand to the determination of the Church ; I replied, that they were so far approved, that if any Church should determine against them, I should suspect it : But they still urged me to give a positive answer whether I would read the Recantation or no ? Then said I, My Lords, I beseech you for *Christs* sake, deal charitably with me, remembering what *Paul* saith, *Your power is given for edification, not for destruction*. Tell us, say they, whether you will read the Roll or not ; this is the third and last time of asking ? I replied, I will not read it unless I may first see it, do with me as you shall please. When they had consulted together, they told me I should have one to read it to me ; And so appointed a Notary to go aside, and read it to me. In the beginning of it, it was said, that whereas certain Articles were gathered out of my Sermon, whereof some were Scandalous, some Seditious, some Foolish, and some Heretical : I asked him, Which be Heretical ? He answered, It belongs not to me, I can make you no answer : Hereupon I replied, Shall I be damned for an Heretick, and not be shewed my Heresie ? Read no more, returning to the Bishops, I kneeled down, and desired them for *Christs* sake to shew me which Article they condemned for Heretical : they answered, that I should read the Roll, or else be burnt : I have mercy on me, I will never read it : Upon this the others stood out upon me on all sides, saying, Remember your self, cast not away your life after this manner : To read the Roll is but a very small matter, and never the worse Man, and you shall see that my Lord Cardinal will be gracious to you, and we will all speak for you. So that I supposed that they would have required no more of me but to read the Roll, it did not seem to have the Victory over them ; which thing I regarded not, and in this opinion of them, and being overcome by their good, and flattering words, I consented to read it ; But then the Bishop of *Bath* said, It was too late ; others said the contrary : At last, all the people were called in (who were very many, and hitherto had been kept out) to hear me read it : Then was I commanded to sign it, and make a Cross on it : Then to kneel before the Bishop, and to desire Absolution : But he refused to grant it ; unless I would swear to perform the Penance which should be enjoined me : And when, relying upon their charity, I had done all this, they sent me back to Prison that night, and the next day being Sabbath, I should do Penance openly at *Pauls* : And to make the world believe that I was a notorious Heretick, the Cardinal came with all his pomp, and pride, and all the Bishops and Abbots about the City, almost Thirty in number, the more to advance their cause, and disgrace me : Then did the Bishop of *Rocheſter* preach a Sermon against *Lutherans*, as if I had been convicted for one : And yet after all this I must return to Prison, and there remain till my Lord Cardinals further pleasure, which pleasure I did abide first and last Two years and Three quarters, and yet could not be delivered : And whereas I sent to the Bishop of *London* certain worshipful Men of the City, who proffered to be bound for me, and much importuned him for my liberty, he dealt so with them, that when they came home, there was not any of them that durst so much as give me a bit of Bread to relieve me in my necessity, nor yet speak one word to me.

Immediately after this the Bishop caused me to be sent to *Northampton*, there to remain in perpetual Prison. Thus, most gracious Prince, have they handled me your poor Orator. I beseech your Highness to be good, and gracious to me, and to judge if this be charitable dealing, thus to condemn me for an Heretick, and

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His weakness.

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and never to shew me the cause why: But by violent Tyranny to compell me to do, and to confesse even what they please, or else I must be put to death: And if yet there be any of them that will come forth, and prove Heresie against me, I will submit to suffer any punishment that your Grace shall adjudge me to. The Lord *Jesus Christ* preserve your Noble Grace evermore. Amen.

Doctor *Barnes* whilst he was at *Wittenberg* repented much of his former back-sliding, and grew more strong in *Christ*. He was greatly esteemed by *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Pomerane*, *Justus Jonas*, &c. As also by the Duke of *Saxony*, and the King of *Denmark*, who sent him with some *Lubeckers* upon an Embassage to our King *Henry*, at which time he lay at the *Stilyard*. His repentance.

Sir *Thomas Moore* being then Lord Chancellor would fain have entrapped him, but the King would not suffer it, and so he departed again to *Lubeck* without restraint, *Cromwel* being yet alive, and his great Friend: After this he went again to *Wittenberg*, where he remained to set forwards his works in print, and King *Henry* having married the Lady *Anne Bullen*, he returned into *England*, and was a painful, and faithful Preacher in the City of *London* all her time: His return into England. After that he was sent Ambassador by the King to the Duke of *Cleve* about a marriage between the King and the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, and was well approved for his pains therein, and in all his other doings, till *Stephen Gardiner* returned out of *France*, after which time neither Religion, nor the Queen, nor *Cromwel*, nor the preachers of the truth prospered. For this *Stephen Gardiner* never rested till he had caused the King to be divorced from the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, whereupon began his Bloody broils.

He began with Doctor *Barnes*, against whom he presumed the dislike, because he had been an instrument in promoting his marriage with the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, and this occasion fell out fitly for him, as was now at hand; and Doctor *Barnes*, Master *Hierom*, Vicar, and Master *Thomas Garret* were appointed to preach at *Pauls*. Upon the hearing of it, sent his Chaplain to the Bishop of *London*, demanding a day before them to preach there: This was easily assented to, and he preached upon the Gospel appointed for the day, which was a temptation of *Christ*, wherein he inveighed against the new way (as he called it,) and the preachers of it, comparing them to the Devil in his temptations, &c.

Presently after came Doctor *Barnes* his turn, who preached upon the same text, and was as vehement on the contrary in setting forth the true Doctrine of *Christ*, as *Winchester* had been in laboring to impugn the truth, and to draw Men to error, from sincerity to Hypocrisie, from Religion to superstition, from *Christ* to Antichrist, and in the process of his Sermon he compared himself and *Gardiner* to Two fighting Cocks, but (said he) the Garden-Cock wants good Spurs: Adding that if he had answered him no better in the Schools than he had done in the Pulpit, he would have given him Six stripes, *Gardiner* was so nettled with this Sermon that he presently went to the King, complaining how he, being a Prelate of the Realm, had been railed on at *Pauls Cross*: This so incensed the King, that sending for *Barnes*, and taking him into his private Closet, before the Earl of *Southampton* and some others, he highly rebuked him, and after much debate, he appointed him to confer with *Winchester*: But after a while Doctor *Barnes* waxed weary of the Bishops House, and so withdrew himself: This being complained of with many aggravations to the King, he was greatly incensed against *Barnes*, enjoying him, and his Two companions to preach Two recantation Sermons at the *Spittle*, where *Stephen Gardiner* also was present to hear them. His Sermon at Pauls Cross.

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His Sermon at the Spittle

He is sent to the Tower.

His martyrdom unheard.

His Message to the King.

Master Thomas Garret.

A special Providence.

His apprehension.

His escape.

His second apprehension. He doth penance. His Martyrdom.

Master William Hierom.

from thence he should send *Barnes* to the Tower: But *Winchester* had rather that it should be the Kings doing, and therefore by himself and his Agents he so incensed the King, that they were all Three presently sent to the Tower; where they continued from *Easter* till *July*, and then Two days after the death of the Lord *Cromwel*, Process was made against them by the Kings counsel in Parliament, and within a few days after these Three servants of God, not coming to any answer, nor knowing the cause of their condemnation, and without any publike hearing were carried from the Tower to *Smithfield*, where at the stake Doctor *Barnes*, to clear himself from the imputation of Heresie, made a large, and excellent confession of his Faith, and afterwards he asked the Sheriff if he had any Articles against him for which he was condemned: The Sheriff answered, No: Then said he, *Is there any man else that knows wherefore I die? To which no man answered.* Then said he, *I am condemned to die, and as I hear, by an Act of Parliament, but wherefore I cannot tell: But it seems for Heresie, because I am to be burned: As for such as have been the occasion of it, I pray God to forgive them, as I would be forgiven my self, &c. I have been reported to have been a Preacher of sedition, and disobedience to the King; but I profess to you, that you are all bound by the Law of God, to obey your Prince with all Humility, &c. and that not only for fear of vengeance, but for conscience sake. Yea, if the king should command you to do any thing against Gods word, and you have power by force to resist him, yet you may not do it.* Then did he request the Sheriff to have him commended to the King, and to request him for Gods sake, to give at least, part of the Abbey lands for the comfort and relief of the poor: To see that Matrimony be had in more reverence, and that Men for light occasions do not put away their Wives, nor live in fornication, &c. To punish that abominable swearing that was so rife, and which otherwise would pull down vengeance: To set forwards *Christs* true Religion, and to perfect that Reformation which he had begun, &c. Then did he desire all Men to forgive him if he had any way offended them, and to bear him witness that he abhorred all false Doctrines against the word of God, and that he dyed in the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, by whom he doubted not to be saved: And so intreating them to pray for him, he prepared himself patiently to take his death, and resigned up his spirit into the Hands of God.

Master *Thomas Garret* Minister of *Honey-lane* in *London*, having gotten sundry good Books out of *Germany*, with *Tindals* New Testaments went to *Oxford* to sell them amongst divers godly students there: But Cardinal *Woolsey* having intelligence hereof by his spies, First made search in *London* for him, and afterwards sent down to *Oxford* to search for him: But Master *Garret* by some Friends had private notice beforehand, and therefore by the advice of his Friends he was sent towards *Dorsetshire* there to remain till he could convey himself beyond Sea: By the way as he went he was surprized with a great fear, and could have no rest in his spirit till he returned to *Oxford*, which accordingly he did, and the same night after his coming, he was by the privy search apprehended, and delivered to the Commissary, who kept him prisoner in his Chamber: But when the Commissary with all his company were gone to *Evensong*: *Garret* putting back the bolt of the lock, escaped, intending to go into *Wales*, and from thence to convey himself into *Germany*: But by the way (great search being made after him) he was again apprehended, and together with many other young students was enforced to do penance: Afterwards shifting from place to place, he escaped their tyranny, till at last he was again apprehended, and finally burnt with Doctor *Barnes* in *Smithfield*, where he holily, and constantly endured Martyrdom.

The Third that was burnt with them was Master *William Hierom*, Vicar of *Stepney*, who was a diligent preacher of Gods word, and one that labored to root out of the Hearts of his Hearers their superstitious practices, &c. And being called to preach at *Pauls Cross* he there maintained justification by Faith,



for which he was convented before the King, imprisoned in the Tower, and at last burned with the other Two in *Smithfield*, where he comfortably slept in the Lord. His Martyrdom.

At the same time Three others were burned in *Smithfield* for Popery, which raised a great doubt in the common people about Religion, not knowing which side to follow, and this was occasioned by reason of the discord in the Privie Counsel, one part being Protestants, and the other part Papists, and as one part called for the execution of Papists, so did the other of Protestants. Some burnt for Popery.

Yea by reason of the Six Articles such a number were apprehended in *London*, *Calce*, and other places, that all the prisons in *London* were too little to hold them, and many of them were imprisoned in Halls. A great Persecution.

Anno Christi 1541. there was one *John Porter*, who was cruelly handled for reading upon a Bible in *Pauls Church*, which in the dayes of the Lord *Cromwel* had been set there by *Bonner* Bishop of *London*: Whereof see more in my *Second part*, in the Life of the Lord *Cromwel*. John Porter.

This with five other Bibles being set up in that Church, divers well-disposed people used much to resort thither to read, and have them read, amongst whom this *John Porter* used sometimes to be occupied to the edifying both of himself, and others. He, by diligent reading of the Scriptures, and hearing the Sermons of those which set forth the truth of the Gospel, grew very expert: So that very many resorted to hear him read, the rather because he had a very audible voice: This at last so vexed *Bonner*, and his Chaplains, that he sent for *Porter* and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. *Porter*, answered that he trusted he had no way offended contrary to the Law thereby. *Bonner* charged him for making expositions upon the text, and for gathering multitudes about him to raise tumults: This *Porter* denied, yet did *Bonner* send him to *Newgate*, where he was miserably loaden with Irons both Hands, and Legs, with a great Collar of Iron about his Neck, whereby he was fastened to the wall in the Dungeon: After a while he sent for a Kinsman of his, who by bribing the Keeper, obtained that he was put amongst the Thieves, and Murtherers: But *Porter* hearing, and seeing their wickedness, and Blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, giving them such instructions as himself had learned out of the holy Scriptures. For this he was complained of, and carried down into the lowest Dungeon, where he was so cruelly oppressed with Bolts, and Irons, that within few days after he was found dead. Murthered in prison.

About the same time *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, burned Two godly Men upon one day; one *Thomas Bernard* for teaching the Lords Prayer in *English*, the other, *James Morton* for keeping the Epistle of *James* translated into *English* in his House. Also one Master *Barber*, Master of Arts in *Oxford*, a godly, and learned Man, that disputed stoutly, and accurately against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; through the iniquity of the times was at last brought to a recantation, after which he never prospered, but wore away with grief and sorrow till he died. Thomas Bernard.  
James Morton.  
Master Barber recanting wore away with sorrow.

Anno Christi 1544. There was in *London* one *Robert Testwood*, who was famous for his skill in Musick, whereupon the Musicians in *Windfor-Colledg*, desired Doctor *Sampson* their Dean, that he might have a place amongst them; But some of the Canons hearing that *Testwood* smelled of the new learning, (as they called it) opposed his coming: Yet at last, through the importunity of the former, a place being void, he was seat for, and after Four or Five days Trial, his voice and skill were so liked, that he was settled amongst them, and was in good esteem both with the Dean, and Canons a good while: But when they perceived by his discourse at their Tables that he was a *Lutheran*, they began to dislike him, and one day being at Dinner with Doctor *Ramson*, there was one Master *Ely* present, who took occasion to rail against Lay-men for studying of the Scriptures: *Testwood* could not bear it, but replied that he thought it no Robert Testwood.

hurt for them to study, and know the Scriptures: And after, falling into further discourse about the Supremacy of the Pope, *Testwood* in his heat of arguing affirmed that every King in his own Dominion ought to be the Head of the Church under *Christ*: This so nettled *Ely*, that he flung from the Table; and though *Testwood* assayed to pacifie him, yet he could not prevail, *Ely* laboring to incense all the House against him: But whilst he was seeking to destroy *Testwood*, the Act of Parliament came forth to abolish the supremacy of the Pope, and to make the King Head of the Church, by which means *Testwood* for the present escaped.

His zeal.

But not long after, *Testwood* walking in the Church, and seeing the Pilgrimes come by flocks from *Devonshire*, and *Cornwal* with Candles and Images to offer to King *Henry* of *Windsor*, his Spirit was moved at that great Idolatry, whereupon he went to them, and in a gentle manner exhorted them to leave that false worshipping of dumb creatures, and learn to worship the true, and everliving God aright, shewing them how God plagued his people for going a whoring after such stocks, and stones, and would plague them, and their posterities if they would not leave it: This, through Gods mercy, prevailed so far with some of them, that they said they would never go on pilgrimage more. Then going further, he saw another company licking, and kissing a white Lady of Alabaſter that stood behind the High Altar, wiping their hands upon it, and then stroking their own Heads and Faces, which so stirred up his zeal, that with a Key which he had in his Hand, he strook off a piece of the Images Nose, saying, *See good people, what it is, nothing but a piece of earth that cannot help it self, how then will you have it help you? For Gods sake be no more thus deluded, and so he went home to his House.*

He defaceth an Idol.

The rumour hereof presently was spread abroad, and many came to see it, and amongst the rest, one *Symonds*, a Lawyer, who seeing the Nose on the ground took it up, saying, It should one day be a dear Nose to *Testwood*.

Demetrius like.

Many were greatly offended with *Testwood*, the Canons for his speaking against their profit, the Wax-chandlers for hindring their Market, &c. Yea some of the Canons Men threatned to kill him: Hereupon *Testwood* kept his House, minding to send a relation of the whole business to the Lord *Crommel*, his especial Friend. The Canons hearing of his intent, sent their Verger to him to request him to come to Church, but he refused in regard of the danger: Then did they send for a Justice of Peace, who being come, and hearing the matter, was very loath to meddle with it: But at the Canons request, he at last went to *Testwood*, and upon his faithful promise for his security, he prevailed with him to go to Church: By the way one of the Canons Men drew his dagger at *Testwood*, but the Justice of Peace secured him: And after debate in the Chapter-House the business was so pacified, that *Testwood* might quietly come, and go to Church as formerly.

His danger.

After a while upon Relique-Sunday (as they called it) wherein every one was to carry a Relique in procession, *Testwood*, amongst others had *Beckers Rochet* proffered him, But he pushed it from him, saying, If they gave it him, he would wipe his tail with it: some other jests he put upon them, which much angered them.

Doctor *Sampson*, the Dean, being dead, and one Master *Francklen* succeeding him, one of the Canons in despite of *Testwood*, and his Sect, set up a Paper on the Church-door in commendation of our Lady, ascribing to her, Redemption, Justification, Salvation, &c. *Testwood* seeing this paper, plucked it down: The next morning such another was set up, and *Testwood* coming a little before the Dean, plucked it down again: Whereupon the Dean asked him, how he durst be so bold to pluck it down in his presence? *Testwood* answered, that he marvelled much more that he would suffer such a Blasphemous Paper to be set up, adding, that he would justify what he had done. This boldness

Popish Blasphemy.



so offended them all, that they said he was an Heretick, and would roste a fagot one day for this geer. Yet notwithstanding all the threats of his enemies he lived in peace, till after the death of the Lord *Cromwel*, and till *Winchester* had so far insinuated into the Kings affections, that he wholly ruled the roste; at which time *Testwood* being sick in Bed, was fetched out, and cast into Prison, together with *Anthony Person*, *John Marbeck*, and *Henry Filmer*, and after a while they were all brought forth to judgement before Doctor *Capon*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, and some others: *Testwoods* indictment was, for that when the Priest lifted up the Sacrament, he said: What wilt thou lift it up so high? what, yet higher? take heed that thou let him not fall: As also for that at such times he used to look down on his Book, or another way, that he might not see the Sacrament: Whereupon he said, I beseech you, my Lord, whereon did he look that marked me so well? Marry, quoth the Kings Attorney, he could not be better occupied than to mark such Hereticks that so despised the blessed Sacrament.

The Jury that went upon these Men was packed for the purpose; and therefore quickly brought in their verdict that they were all guilty. Then the prisoners being carried away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death, and passion of their Master *Christ*, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord who had enabled them to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but enable them with stedfast Faith, and power to overcome those fiery torments through his free mercy, and goodness: And so they spent the greatest part of the night in prayer, both for themselves and their Persecutors, who through blind zeal had done they knew not what: yea such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that they which watched them, whereof the Sheriff was one, with divers Gentlemen more, were constrained to shed great plenty of tears: In the morning came a pardon for *Marbeck*.

When the other three were to go to execution, *Anthony Person* seeing many People in the Prison, said the Lords Prayer, and so taking their leave of *Marbeck*, praising God for his deliverance, and praying for his increase in godliness, they desired his hearty prayers, kissed him, and so went out of the prison. As they passed through the streets they desired all the faithful to pray for them, to stand fast in the truth of the Gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, it being the happiest thing that ever befel them. When they came to the place of execution, which was under *Windsor-Castle*, *Person* with a cheerful countenance imbraced the stake, and kissing it, said, Now welcome mine own sweet wife, for this day shall thou, and I be married together, in the love and peace of God. When they were all bound to the stake, *Filmer* said, Be merry, my Brethren, and lift up your Hearts unto God; For after this sharp Breakfast, I trust we shall have a good Dinner in the Kingdom of *Christ*, our Lord and Redeemer. *Testwood* lifting up his Hands and Eyes unto Heaven, prayed to the Lord above to receive his spirit. *Person* pulling some straw unto him, laid some of it upon the top of his Head, saying, This is Gods Hat, now I am dressed like a true Souldier of *Christ* by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy. And so they yielded up their spirits into the hands of their Heavenly Father, with such humility, and stedfastness, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their Hearts to have dyed with them.

A while after King *Henry* seeing the Sheriff of *Bark-shire*, and Sir *Henry Foster* together on Horse-back in *Guilford Park*, he asked them how his Laws were Executed at *Windsor*: Then they beseeching his Grace of pardon, told him plainly that in all their lives they never sat on a matter which went so much against their consciences, as did the death of *Person*, *Testwood*, and *Filmer*, delivering to him a pitiful tale of the casting away of these Three Men: The King turning his Horse-head, rode away saying, Alas poor innocents: After which he withdrew his favor from the Bishop of *Winchester*, and caused Doctor *London* and *Simonds*, to be apprehended and examined before the Council, where it

His imprisonment.  
*Anthony Person*,  
*John Marbeck*,  
*Henry Filmer*:

Their condemnation;

They prepare themselves for death.

*Marbeck* pardoned,

Their courage and constancy;

Note:

Their Martyrdom.

was

Popish per-  
jury.

was proved to their Faces that they were both perjured, and thereupon they were adjudged to ride about *windsor*, with their Faces towards the Horle-tail, and to stand upon the Pillory, at *windsor*, *Reading*, and *Newberry*, with papers on their Heads for accusing the aforesaid Martyrs falsely, and for perjury : *This was written by John Marbeck, that should have been one of them.*

Adam Damlip.

About the same time there was one *Adam Damlip*, formerly Chaplain to *Fisber*, Bishop of *Rochester*, after whose death he travelled through *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, in which journey he conferred with many learned Men about the controversies in Religion, and at the last he went to *Rome*, where he thought to find much strictness in life, and sincerity in Religion, but instead thereof he met with such Blaspheming of God, contempt of the truth of *Christ*, looseness in life, and such abundance of all abominations, and filthiness, that in his Heart he abhorred to stay there any longer, though he was much solicited thereto by Cardinal *Pool*, who offered him good preferment. In his return homeward he came to *Calice*, and waiting there for passage into *England*, he fell into acquaintance, and conference with some honest Men, who finding him Learned, and well-affected to the truth, earnestly solicited him to stay there a while, and to preach Two or Three days, that he might do good to the people, and refresh himself after his tedious Travels. This he consented to, if he might have the license of those in Authority thereunto. Hereupon these honest Men brought him to the Lord *Lisle*, the Kings Deputy for the Town, and Marches of *Calice*, acquainting him what conference had passed between them : Which known, the Lord *Lisle* instantly desired him to stay there, and to preach Three or Four days, or longer at his pleasure, promising that he should have both his own, and the Commissaries license to authorize him therein. After he had preached Three or Four times, he was so liked both for his learning, utterance, and sincere Doctrine, that he had not only the approbation of the common people, and Souldiers, but the Lord Deputy, and most of the Counsel gave him much praise, and thanks for the same. The Lord Deputy also proffered him his table in his House, if he pleased to stay, and accept of it, and to accommodate him with whatsoever he lacked, if it could be had for money, either for Books, or any other things, if he would stay, and preach to them so long as it should seem good to him : Master *Damlip* heartily thanked his Lordship for his kind, and liberal offer : but refused to accept of the same, only desiring him to appoint him some quiet place in the Town, where he might have the opportunity of applying himself to his studies without disturbance, promising that he would Twice every day preach unto them, according to that Talent which God had lent him.

Romes pro-  
fanenels.

He preacheth  
at *Calice*.

The Lord  
*Lisles* piety.

He preacheth  
Twice every  
day.

The Lord Deputy much rejoiced hereat, and sending for an honest Man [*william Stevens*] requested him to receive Master *Damlip* into his House, promising to pay him with the most whatsoever he should demand, as also to send him every meal one of the best dishes from his own Mefs. Master *Damlip* desired his Lordship to forbear that kindness, telling him that a spare diet was most convenient for students : Yet this Noble Lord would not be restrained, but that very meal he sent it. Thus for the space of above Twenty days together he preached every morning learnedly, plainly, and holily about the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, enveighing against, and confuting the Popish errors about it : His opinions he confirmed by Scripture, and ancient Fathers : Exhorting the people to turn from Popery, declaring what a zealous Papist he had been, and how God wrought upon him by seeing the abominable wickedness which was universally practised in *Rome*, shewing, that if gain, or ambition could have prevailed with him, he might have been entertained by Cardinal *Pool* : But durst not do it out of conscience, being convinced of the truth by the holy Scriptures : His Auditory en-  
creasing

He preacheth  
against the  
Mass.



creasing daily, he was forced to preach in a larger place. And at last he spake against the Picture of the Resurrection, which was in Saint *Nicolas Church*, shewing that it was but a delusion set up by the *French* before *Calice* was *English*, whereupon there came a Commission from the King to the Lord Deputy, and some other Commissioners to search whether there were Three Hosts lying upon a Marble-stone besprinkled with Blood, as was commonly believed. Upon search no such thing was found, but Three white Counters instead thereof, which they had painted like Hosts, and with them a Bone that is in a Sheeps Tail, which the next day Master *Damlip* shewed to the people out of the Pulpit, and by the Lord Deputy they were sent unto the King.

And against  
an Idol.

Papish impos-  
tures.

The Devil envying the progress of the Gospel, stirred up the Prior of the *White-Friers*, to bark against Master *Damlip*, and privately to write letters against him to the Clergy in *England*, so that a while after he was sent for to appear before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*: There he met with *Gar- diner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and some others, before these he constantly affirmed, and defended the Doctrine that he had taught, answering, and confuting all their objections so that his Adversaries marvelled at it, insomuch as some of them said plainly, that the Scriptures knew no such term as Transubstantiation, yet did *Winchester* threaten him with fire, and fagot, if he persevered in defence of what he had spoken: Master *Damlip* answered, that the next day he would deliver to them in writing, what he had affirmed, and what he would stand to: That night Doctor *Cranmer* sent him word that if he appeared any more, he could not escape burning, whereupon the next day he sent them Four sheets learnedly written in *Latine*, containing a confession of his Faith, together with a defence of his opinion by testimonies of Scripture, ancient Fathers, &c. And then stept aside into the West-Country, and there lived obscurely whilest Gods people in *Calice* suffered great persecution: For the King being informed that there was great dissension in *Calice* by reason of diversity of opinions which might endanger the loss of it, at the motion of the Lord *Cromwel* he sent over Two godly and learned Divines, who in effect preached the same Doctrine that *Damlip* had done, and so quieted the people, that they left the Town in peace. After their departure one *William Smith*, Minister of one of the Churches, began to preach, and earnestly to inveigh against Papistry, exhorting Men obediently to hear the word, and no longer to oppose, or contemn the same. Some of the Council perswaded him that he should not be so violent, but to wait with patience till God should change their hearts, &c. To whom he answered in the Pulpit: Some saith he, advise me that I should not be so earnest against the contemnners of Gods word, &c. But let all such take heed; For I fear that God for their contemning of his word will not long bear with them, but make some of them that they shall not have an Head left upon their shoulders to bear up their caps withal; which afterwards also came to pass.

He is persecu-  
ted by a Frier.

He is sent for  
into *England*.

His confession  
of Faith.  
He fled into  
the West.

Persecution in  
*Calice*.

Master *Smiths*  
zeal.

A Prediction;

Thus Master *Smith* continued in the diligent employment of his Talent, till the Devil raised up some of his instruments to persecute him, and other godly Christians which were all sent over into *England*: They wrote letters to the privy Counsel, suggesting, that by the means of *Damlip* they were infected with horrible Heresies, and errors: of these persons thus accused, *Thomas Brook*, *Ralph Hare*, *James Cock*, and *James Barber* were first sent for over, and committed to prison at *Westminster*, afterwards they were brought before the Bishops: grievous letters were written against them from *Calice*, by their Adversaries, so that if God had not mightily preserved them, they had all certainly perished.

Persecution  
renewed in  
*Calice*.

*Ralph Hare*, though so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet through Gods grace was very zealous, and so holy, and inoffensive in his Life, that none of his Adversaries could accuse him for the same: He was charged for speaking against Auricular confession, holy Bread, holy water, &c. as also for

*Ralph Hares*  
zeal.

for that he would not swear an Oath, nor use any pastime, but used to be in a corner by himself looking on his Book when others were at play. This the Commissioners charging him withal, he said: *My good Lords, I take God to record that I would not willingly maintain any Error, or Heresie: wherefore I beseech you, let my accusers come before me Face to Face, for if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will not deny it: And if it be truth, I will stand to it: If an Error, I will with all my heart utterly forsake it; I mean if it be against Gods holy word, for the Lord is my witness I daily pray to God that I may know the truth, and shun Errors, and I hope God will preserve me from them: The Bishop of Winchester replied, I perceive now that thou art a naughty fellow. Alas! my Lord, said Hare, what evil have I spoken? The Bishop answered, Marry Sir, you said the Lord, the Lord, and that is Symbolum Hæreticorum: what is that my Lord, said Hare: For Gods sake tell me? Thou art naught, thou art naught, said the Bishop: This made Hare to tremble, which Winchester perceiving said, By my troth I pity thee: For in good faith I think thou art a good simple Man, and wouldst mean well enough if thou hadst not bad Schoolmasters, &c. Therefore I advise thee to submit thy self to us, it is best for thee so to do. Hare falling upon his Knees, said, That he submitted himself to them: Then did they give him his Oath to be obedient to all Ecclesiastical Laws: Which done, they enjoined him to abjure, and bear a Fagot: He hearing this harsh Sentence, cried out that he was rigorously dealt withal, having nothing proved to his face against him: But the Bishop told him, he must either do that penance or be burnt.*

His weakness.

He is enjoined Penance.

Thomas Brook.

Then was *Thomas Brook* called for, who was charged by letters from *Calice*, that he was a seditious fellow; that he had contributed towards maintaining of *Damlip*, and that he with some others had gathered money towards his entertainment. *Brook* proved this charge false. Then were some other witnesses produced, who testified that he should say, That that which the Priest held up at Mass was not the natural Body of *Jesus Christ*, &c. *Brook* denied the charge, yet confessed that he had some private talk with one of the witnesses, wherein he shewed him the right use of the Sacrament: After some further debate he was dismissed for the present.

Master Smith.  
John Butler.

During these Mens troubles at *London*, *Master Smith*, and *John Butler*, were under examination at *Calice*, and charged for denying the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament of the Altar, and presently they were sent for over by a Pursuivant into *England*, and there brought into the Starr-Chamber, and charged with Sedition, and Heresie, after which they were committed to the *Fleet*. The next day they were sent for, to come before divers Bishops, and first *Butler* was charged for speaking unreverently of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Gods judgments on persecutors.

Then did he require to have his charge in writing, and he would return his answer to it: But this would not be granted. After him was *Master Smith* called for, and charged with the like great crimes, as the other had been, as also for preaching against our Blessed Lady, and against praying to Saints, &c. But it pleased God that one of the witnesses that came against him, shortly after desperately drowned himself.

*John Butler* Commissary of *Calice*, being again called before them, was charged for suffering *Master Damlip* so long to preach there, and not punishing him for the same: His answer was, that he was so countenanced by the Lord Deputy and all the Council, and approved by them, that he could do no otherwise then he did: And so after long attendance, he was at last put out of his office, and so dismissed. Yet afterwards both he, and divers others were enjoined penance by bearing Fagots, &c.

Not long after, the King was again informed, that there were such divisions in his Town of *Calice* by reason of diversity of opinions, that it was in great danger of being lost to the *French*. This so incensed the King, that he



he presently sent over Commissioners, to examine the businels, and amongst the Commissioners, there was one Doctor *Currin*, who at his coming thither preached a Sermon to exhort all Men to charity; But whilst he had nothing but charity in his Mouth, there was such burning charity in his Heart, that it God had not wonderfully prevented, there had been an Hundred persons burnt, or hanged in that place; But through Gods good providence, the mischief returned upon the Heads of the contrivers of it; For Four of the chief accusers of the Brethren were sent over into *England*, whereof Two viz. *Clement Philpot*, and *Sir Edmund*, a Curat, were hanged, drawn, and quartered at *London*: But of all those that were accused, not one of them lost one hair of his Head.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

A Miracle of mercy.

Amongst those honest Men that were at this time persecuted, was one *William Stevens*, whose crime was for favoring, and entertaining Master *Damlip*, whereunto he answered, that what he had done, was at the earnest request, and command of the Lord Deputy, yet was he sent over into *England*, and made Prisoner in the Tower: The Lord Deputy was also shortly after sent for over, and imprisoned in the same place, who there continued till he died: But the wicked Lady his Wife, a great Enemy to the truth, immediately after her Husbands apprehension, fell distracted, and so continued for many years.

*William Stevens* and the Lord *Lisle* persecuted.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

Another that was troubled, was *Thomas Brook*, who was imprisoned; And a simple Man, one *George Bradway*, was grievously threatened with horrible punishments if he would not accuse him, which at last through fear he did, but within a day, or two after was so terrified in Conscience for it, that he attempted to cut his own throat, and being prevented of that, he fell mad: Twelve other honest Men were also imprisoned; But the good Lord *Cromwel* hearing of it, wrote immediately to the Commissioners in the Kings Name, requiring that that errand Traitor, and Heretick *Brook*, with his other Companions, should with their Accusers be immediately sent over into *England*: The Commissioners durst not refuse, but loading them with Chains, sent them over: As soon as the Lord *Cromwel* heard that they were arrived, he sent for them to his House, and smiling upon them, said, *Go your ways to the Fleet, and submit yourselves Prisoners there, and be of good cheer, for if God give me life, you shall shortly go home with as much honesty, as ye came with shame.*

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

The Lord *Cromwells* care of the godly Saints.

But it pleased God that shortly after, this good Lord was accused, and lost his Head at Tower-hill, so that these poor Men had great cause to fear, if they had not altogether depended upon the merciful providence of their Heavenly Father, but he so comforted them in their deep troubles, and miseries, that as their afflictions abounded, so their joys and consolations abounded much more: For when all hope was past, the Lord *Audley*, Chancellor of *England*, sent for them, and without further examination, discharged them of their imprisonment. Thus these godly Men, upon their release, gave most hearty thanks unto God for his mighty and merciful deliverance of them, and departed indeed in a poor estate; but not in so miserable a condition as those Eight Counsellors of *Calice*, their Adversaries, were within a little space after, who falling under the Kings displeasure, were some clapt up in Prison, and others of them died most desperate deaths. Amongst whom, one *Rockwood* came to an horrible end, who at his last breath staring, and raging, cried that he was utterly damned: And being willed to ask God mercy, he brayed, and cried out, *All too late; For I have maliciously sought the death of many godly Men, and though I so thought of them, yet I did what in me lay to bring them to an evil death; Therefore, All too late, all too late*: These words he had formerly used in scorn against those honest Men when they were sent bound into *England*, in Chains.

Gods wonderful mercy to the Saints in Prison.

Gods judgment on Persecutors.

*Rockwoods* despair.

Also the under Marshall suddenly fell down in the Council-Chamber, and never spake word more.

A great Persecution.

Anno Christi 1541. King Henry sent out a Commission for the apprehension of such as offended against the Six Articles, and when the Commissioners first sat at *Mercers Chappel*, being such as were chosen on purpose, they enquired not only of such as offended against the Six Articles, but of such as came seldom to Church, or that took not the holy Bread, or holy Water, &c. so that they indicted above Five hundred persons, most of which had either died in Prison, or fried a Fagot in *Smithfield*, but that the King, (being informed by the Lord *Audley*, that they were indicted of malice) granted them his pardon.

Richard Mekins.

About the same time one *Richard Mekins*, a Boy of Fifteen years old, was accused for speaking well of Doctor *Barnes*, and some unreverent words of the Sacrament of the Altar, and when the first Jury would not find the Indictment against him, they were soundly rattled by the Bishop of *London*, and another Jury was impanelled that found it, and so the poor Boy was burned in *Smithfield*.

Master Damlip imprisoned.

Master *Damlip*, who formerly made an escape into the West-Country, after he had taught a School there about a year, or two, was again apprehended, brought to *London*, and by *Winchester* imprisoned in the *Marshalsey* about Two years more: There he behaved himself so honestly, and blamelessly, that he was beloved of all the House, but especially of the Keeper himself, [Master *Massy*] who suffered him to have the liberty of the House, whereby he did much good amongst the common Prisoners, rebuking them for their wickedness, and keeping them in such order, and awe, that the Keeper had a great treasure of him: There was also one *Marbeck*, Prisoner for Religion, that received much comfort by him: But Master *Damlip*, considering how he lay there, and could not imploy his Talent to Gods glory as he desired, resolved to write a *Latin* Epistle to the Bishop of *Winchester*, earnestly desiring to come to his trial: For, said he to *Marbeck*, *I know the worst, I can but lose my present life, which I had rather do than lie here so useles.*

His Zeal.

Having prepared his Epistle, he delivered it to the Keeper, intreating him to present it to the Bishop of *Winchester*: The Keeper performed his request, and coming home late at night, the Prisoners, who had staid supper for his coming, seeing him look so sad, deemed something to be amiss: At last, casting his Eyes upon *Damlip*, he said, *I can tell thee tidings: This next day thou, and I must go to Calice*; and withal pulled out a piece of Wax, with a Label hanging at it: When Master *Damlip* saw it, he said, *well, well, I now know what is the matter, I shall die at Calice*: Nay, said the Keeper, *I trust it is not so*: Yes, yes, said Master *Damlip*, *I know it is so, and I praise God for his goodness therein*: At supper all were very heavy but Master *Damlip*, who eat his meat as well as ever he did in all his life; so that some asked him, how he could eat his meat so well, knowing that he was to die so soon after? To whom he answered, *Alb Masters, do you think that I have been Gods Prisoner so long in the Marshalsey, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein*: The next day the Keeper carried him to *Calice*, and committed him to Prison, and the Saturday following, he was hanged, drawn and quartered.

His Martyrdom.

Before his death, being told that his quarters should be set up in Four places: And where then shall my Head be, said he? Upon the *Lanthorn Gate*, answered the other; Then, said he, *I need not provide for my Burial*.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

At his execution Sir *Richard Ellerker*, Knight-Marshal, would not suffer him to declare his Faith, or the cause which he died for, but said to the Executioner, *Have done, dispatch the Knaves: For I will not away till I see the Traitors Heart out*: But shortly after, in a skirmish between the *French* and *English*, *Ellerker* was slain, and by the *French* was stripped stark naked, had his privy members cut off, and his Heart cut out of his Body, being thereby made a terrible example to all bloody, and merciless Persecutors.

William



*William Stevens* mentioned before, as Prisoner in the Tower, and the other Thirteen honest Men, were all pardoned by the King, and sent home again to *Calice*.

A poor Laborer at *Calice* that had been a hearer of Master *Damlip*, in some Company said, that he would never believe that the Priest could make the Lords Body at his pleasure; whereupon he was accused, and condemned by one *Harvey*, Commissary there, who with opprobrious words railed upon him, calling him Heretick, and saying, that he should die a vile death: The poor Man answered, That he was no Heretick, but one that held the true Faith of *Christ*, And said he, *whereas thou sayest that I shall die a vile death, thou thy self shalt die a vile death, and that shortly*: The poor Man was burnt, and *Harvey* within half a year after, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Calice* for Treason.

A poor Man martyred.  
A Prediction;  
Gods judgment on Persecutors.

Not long after there was one *Dod*, who coming out of *Germany* to *Calice*, was there apprehended, together with some Protestant Books which he brought with him, and upon examination, remaining bold, and constant in the truth, he was condemned and burnt.

*Dod* a Martyr.

There was also in the same place one *William Button*, a Soldier and Servant to the King, who being of a pleasant Wit, used to jeer the Priests when he met with them, and on a time a Fryer bringing pardons from *Rome*, whereby for Four Pence a piece, he said, he could deliver any Soul out of Purgatory; *Button* went to him, and asked him, If the holy Father the Pope could deliver Souls out of Purgatory? The Fryer answered, That there was no doubt of it: *why then* (said *Button*) *doth he not of charity deliver all the Souls out of it?* For this he was accused to the Commissary, who railed upon him, calling him Heretick, and enjoining him to carry a Fagot, and caused his Wages to be taken from him: But *Button* repairing to the King, and acquainting him with the whole business; the King restored him to his place, and mended his Wages.

*William Button* persecuted,

*Anno Christi 1546*. There was a Minister called *Saxie*, who was hanged in the Porters Lodg of *Stephen Gardiner*, as was thought not without his privacy.

Master *Saxie* murdered.

Also one *Henry* with his Servant were burnt at *Colchester*.

Two Martyrs at *Colchester*.

Also one *Kerby*, and *Roger Clark* were apprehended at *Ipswich*, and carried before the Lord *Wentworth*, and other Commissioners; whilst these Two Men were in the Jailors House, there came in one Master *Robert Wingfield*, and said to *Kerby*, *Remember the Fire is hot, and therefore take no more upon thee, than thou shalt be able to go through with: The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet; Therefore it's better for thee to accept of mercy whilst it may be had, than to shrink afterwards, &c.* *Kerby* answered, *Ah Master Wingfield, be at my burning, and you shall say, there stands a Christian Soldier in the Fire: I know that Fire, water, the Sword, and all other things are in the hands of God; and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give us strength to bear. If thou beest at that pass, said Master Wingfield, I will leave thee; For I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn; And so he bade him Farewel.*

*Kerby* and *Clark* Martyrs.

When *Kerby*, and *Clark* were at the Judgment-Seat, they lifted up their Eyes and Hands to Heaven, making their Prayers privately unto God, for a space. Then were Articles read against them, and it was demanded of them, Whether they believed that after the words of Consecration used by the Priest; the Bread was not turned into the very Body and Blood of *Christ*, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*? They answered, That they did not believe it, but that the Sacrament was instituted by *Christ*, to put us in remembrance of his precious death, and bloodshedding for the remission of sins, &c. Then was there much means used both by fair means and threatnings, to procure them to alter their opinions: But they continued faithful and constant, choosing rather to die, than to live. Then was Sentence given upon them both; *Kerby* to be

Faith.

Constant.

burned in the same Town of *Ipswich*; and *Clark* to be burnt at *Bury*: Sentence being passed by the Lord *wentworth*, *Kerby* reverently holding up his Hands, and bowing himself, said, *Praised be Almighty God*: The Lord *wentworth* whispering to one that sat by him, *Kerby* said, *Speak out my Lord, and if you have done any thing against your Conscience, ask God mercy, and we for our parts do freely forgive you, &c.* The Lord *wentworth* blushing, said, *I did speak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing but what the Law requires*; and so they were sent away: At their departure, *Clark* with a vehement voice said, *Fight for your God; For he hath not long to continue*: The next morning *Kerby* was brought forth into the Market place, where all things were ready for his burning: Then did he put off his Cloaths to his Shirt, and so was fastened to the Stake. Many were the Spectators, and amongst the rest, the Lord *wentworth*, and most of the Justices in the Country. *Kerby* stood trimmed up with Fagots, Broom, and Straw, as if he should be married with new Garments, nothing changing his Countenance; But with a meek Spirit glorified God: Then did a Monk of *Bury* begin to preach, and as often as he alleged Scriptures, and applied them rightly; *Kerby* told the people, that he said true, and bad them believe him: But when he did otherwise, he told him again: *You say not truly, Believe him not, good People.* Sermon being ended, the Monk said to him, *Thou good Man, dost thou not believe that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Flesh, and Blood of Christ?* *Kerby* answered, *I do not believe it*: Then, said he, *what dost thou believe?* *I believe*, said *Kerby*, *that Christ instituted his last Supper as a memorial of his death and passion, &c. Yet it is Bread, and more than Bread; For that it is Consecrated to an holy use*: This made the Monk hold his peace, Then did *Kerby* say, *Te Deum*, his Belief, and other Prayers in *English*: After which he said, *I have done, Execute your office, good Master Sheriff*: Then was fire put to him, in which he called upon God with a loud voice so long as his remembrance continued, and so ended his life, the People shouting and praising God for his constancy.

A Prediction.

*Kerby's* Martyrdom.*Roger Clark's* zeal.

His cruel Martyrdom.

*Mistress Anne Askew.*

Her boldness.

Popish ignorance.

*Roger Clark* of *Mendelsham* being carried to *Bury*, went barefoot to the place of his execution: By the way he met with the Procession, but would neither move his Cap, nor bow his knee to it; yea with vehement words he rebuked their Idolatry and Superstition: At the place of execution, he said the *Magnificat* in *English*, making a Paraphrase upon the same, shewing how the Virgin *Mary*, though she might have rejoiced in her holiness as well as another, yet humbled herself to her Saviour. When the Fire was set to him, he suffered intolerable pains, the Wood being green that it would not burn, at last he was choaked with smoak: And one pushing him on the Head with a Fagot-stick, he shrunk down into the Fire, and resigned up his Spirit unto God.

About the same time *Mistress Anne Askew*, born of worshipful Parents, and one that did attend upon Queen *Katherine Parre*, was apprehended for her Religion, and examined before one *Christopher Dare*, an Inquisitor, who asked her if she did not believe the Sacrament of the Altar to be the real Body of *Christ*? To this question she refused to answer. Then he told her, that she was accused for reading that God dwelt not in Temples made with Hands: Thereupon she shewed him the Seventh, and Seventeenth Chapters of the *Acts* for it: Then he asked her, how she understood those Texts? She answered, that she would not cast Pearls before Swine. Then he charged her for saying, that she had rather read Five Lines in her Bible, than hear a Mass: She said, The reason was, because one did greatly edifie her, and the other did not. After divers other questions, he carried her before the Lord Major of *London*, who asked her the same questions, and she gave the same answers as before. Then the Bishops Chancellor rebuked her for meddling with the Scriptures, saying, That *Paul* had forbidden Women to speak, or talk of the Scriptures:



Scriptures : To whom she answered, that she knew *Pauls* meaning as well as he, *1 Cor. 14. viz.* That Women ought not to speak in the Congregation by way of teaching : Hereupon the Lord Major commanded her to Prison : She asked, if Sureties would not serve turn : But he shortly told her, that he would take none. Being thus sent to the Counter, she was kept a close Prisoner for Eleven days ; and a Priest was sent to her to examine her, who after divers ensnaring questions, to which she answered warily, and wisely, asked her, if she would be shriven ? She answered, that if Doctor *Crome*, Sir *Guillam*, or *Huntington*, might come to her, she was contented, because she knew them to be wise Men : The Priest replied, *I would not have you think but that I, or any other that comes to you, is as honest as they.*

Her imprisonment.

Shortly after a Kinsman of hers [ Master *Britain* ] used great means to bail her, and going to *Bonner* Bishop of *London* about it, he told him that he would send for her, and examine her, wishing Master *Britain* to perswade her to utter to him the very bottom of her Heart, swearing by his fidelity, that none should take any advantage by her confession, or lay it to her charge to her prejudice : The like he himself perswaded her to, when she came before him : And then left his Arch-Deacon to talk with her, who asked her wherefore she was in trouble ? She bad him ask her Accusers, for she knew not. Then he took her Book out of her Hand, and bade her beware, for such Books as that had brought her into trouble, adding, that he that made that Book was an Heretick, and burnt in *Smithfield*, meaning *John Frith*. She asked him, if he were not ashamed to judg of the Book, before he knew what it was ; adding, that such rash judgment was an apparent token of a slender Wit. Then she opened the Book and shewed it to him, whereupon he said that he could find no fault with it, but thought it had been another.

Bonnors subtilty.

Her Courage.

The Bishop again perswaded Master *Britain* to exhort her to speak her mind freely to him ; And after a while, coming to her, he bad her hearken to the counsel of her Friends, ensuring her that she need not fear to speak any thing ; For that neither he, nor any other should take any advantage of her words, &c. She replied, that she had nothing to say, For she thanked God, her Conscience was not burthened with any thing : This angered the Bishop, whereupon he said, *Then you force me to charge you with what you have been heard to say ; You said, That he that receiveth the Sacrament at the Hands of an ill Priest, receives the Devil, and not God.* This she denied, but told him that she said, That the wickedness of the Priest should not hurt her, but in Spirit and Faith, she received no less than the Body and Blood of *Christ*.

After many other captious questions, he shewed her a Paper wherein she had written a confession of her Faith, bidding her to set her Hand to it ; whereupon she writ thus. *I Anne Askew do believe all things contained in the Faith of the Catholick Church, and not otherwise.* This made the Bishop to fling away in great fury. Master *Britain*, and some others followed him, intreating him to be a good Lord to her ; yet he sent her again to Prison, where she lay some days : But at the last, by the importunity of her Friends, he took of them a recognisance for her forth coming, and so she was delivered.

Her confession of Faith.

Her release.

Some time after she was again apprehended, and carried before the Kings Council, where having a question proposed to her by Master *Kime* : She answered, That my Lord Chancellor knew her mind already about that. Then some told her, that it was the Kings pleasure that she should open her mind to them : She answered them plainly, that she would not do it, except the King pleased himself to hear her. They told her, that it was not meet that the King should be troubled with her : She replied, that *Solomon* the wisest of Kings, was pleased to hear Two common Women. Then the Lord Chancellor asked her opinion about the Sacrament : She answered, that

Her examination before the Council.

Gardiners subtilty.

She is again  
imprisoned.

She falls sick.

Popish cruelty.

Her Trial.

Her condemnation.

Her confession  
of Faith sent  
to the King.

Her temptations.

She is sent to  
the Tower,  
and examined.

that she believed that so oft as she received the Bread in remembrance of *Christ's* death, she received therewith the fruits of his most glorious Passion: The Bishop of *Winchester* bad her answer directly: She answered, she would not sing the *Lords song in a strange Land*: The Bishop told her she was a Parrat; To which she replied, that she was willing not only to receive rebukes from him, but whatsoever should follow besides, and that gladly: After much other debate, she was imprisoned till the next day; At which time they asked her again, what she said to the Sacrament: She answered, that she had said what she could say: Then the Bishop of *Winchester*, with some others, earnestly persuaded her to confess the Sacrament, to be the Flesh, Blood, and Bone of *Christ*: She told Two of them, that it was a great shame for them to counsel her contrary to their own knowledge: After much other arguing, wherein she answered them acutely and holily, they dismissed her: The Sabbath following she was very sick and like to die, whereupon she desired to speak with Mr. *Latimer*, but it would not be permitted: But in the extremity of her sickness they sent her to *Newgate*.

After a while she was brought to her trial in *Guild-hall*, where she was required to recant, or else she was condemned by the Law for an Heretick: She answered, that she was no Heretick, nor deserved death by the Law of God: Then they asked her, if she would deny the Sacrament to be *Christ's* Body and Blood? She said, *Tea*; For *Christ* that was born of the blessed *Virgin* is now in *Heaven*, and will come from thence at the latter day, &c. That which you call your god, is but a piece of Bread, and after a time will grow mouldy, and turn to nothing that's good: Therefore it cannot be God. Then they wished her to thrive her self to a Priest: She said, She would confess her faults to God; for she was sure that he would hear her with favor: Hereupon she was condemned.

After her condemnation she wrote a confession of her Faith and sent it to the King, to this purpose.

**I** Anne Askew, of good Memory, though God hath given me the Bread of Adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known to your Grace, that forasmuch as I am by the Law condemned for an evil-doer, here I take Heaven and Earth to record that I shall die in my innocency: And as I ever said, so I shall continue to the end, that I utterly abhor, and detest all Heresies; And as concerning the Lords Supper, I believe so much as *Christ* hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed Blood: I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and believe so much as the Catholick Church of him doth teach; For I will not forsake the Commandment of his holy Lips. But look what God hath charged me with his Mouth, that have I shut up in my heart: And thus for lack of Learning I briefly end.

Anne Askew.

A few days after she was sent for from *Newgate* before the Bishop of *London*, and Master *Rich*, who with flattering words endeavored to withdraw her from God: Then one *Nicholas Shakston*, an Apostate, counselled her to recant; To whom she said, that it had been good for him if he had never been born: From thence she was sent to the Tower, whither came to her Master *Rich* and another of the Council, charging her upon her obedience, to discover what Men or Women she knew to be of her Sect, which she refused: Then they asked her of divers great Ladies: She said, if she should charge them of any thing, she was not able to prove it; Then they asked her, how she was maintained in Prison? She answered, that it was by means of her Maid, who as she went abroad made her moan in the Streets, and the Apprentices gave her money; Then they said that divers Ladies and Gentlewomen gave her money; She answered, that one brought her Ten Shillings, saying, that the Lady *Hereford* sent



sent it her, another brought her Five Shillings, and said, that the Lady *Deny* sent it her, but she knew not whether they said true or no: Then they put her to the Rack because she confessed no Ladies, nor Gentlewomen that were of her opinion: There they kept her a great while, because she lay still, and did not cry: The manner of it was thus, They led her down into a Dungeon, where the Rack was, and the Lieutenant of the Tower bad the Jailor pinch her on the Rack, which being done, he was about to take her out: But *wrisly* the Chancellor, bad the Lieutenant to Rack her again; But he, tendring her weakness, refused: Whereupon the Chancellor threatned to complain of him to the King: And himself and Mr. *Rich*, throwing off their Gowns, played the Tormentors themselves, first asking her whether she was with Child: she answered, that they need not spare for that, but do their wills upon her, and so quietly and patiently praying unto God, she abode their tyranny till her Bones and Joynts were all plucked asunder: Then the Lieutenant caused her to be loosed, whereupon she fell into a swoon: And when she had recovered again, she sat on the bare floor above two hours, reasoning with the Lord Chancellor, who with many flattering words perswaded her to leave her opinion; But, saith she, *my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and I hope will do to the end.* Then was she carried to an House and laid in a Bed, with as weary and painful Bones as ever patient *Job* had: Then the Lord Chancellor sent her word, that if she would leave her opinion she should want nothing; otherwise she should be sent to *Newgate*, and presently burned: She returned him answer, That she would rather die then deny her Faith; when she was returned to *Newgate*, she there wrote a confession of her Faith which she concluded with this Prayer, *O Lord, I have more Enemies now then there be hairs on my Head: yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight, Lord, thou in my stead, for on thee cast I my care; with all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me which am thy poor Creature; yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them which are against me; For in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy merciful goodness, forgive them that violence which they do and have done unto me. Open thou also their blind Hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight which is acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy truth aright, without the vain fancies of sinful Men: So be it, O Lord, so be it.*

She is racked  
cruelly.

Popish cruelty.

Her patience.

Her Constancy.

The day for her execution being come, she was carried in a Chair into *Smithfield*, being unable to go by reason of her former cruel Racking: There she was tied by the middle, with a Chain to the Stake to hold up her Body: Then did Dr. *Shaxton* preach a Sermon, and when he delivered the truth she confirmed it, but when he spake that which was false, she said, now he misseeth and speaks without Book. The Sermon being ended, *wrisly* the Lord Chancellor, who was there present, sent her letters, offering her the Kings pardon if she would recant, but she refusing to look upon them, said, that she came not hither to deny her Lord and Master. Then fire being put to her, being compassed with flames, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord, *Anno Christi 1546.*

Her Martyrdom.

There was burned at the same time with her *Nicholas Belerrian*, a Minister of *Shropshire*; *John Adams* a Tailor; And *John Lacels*, a Gentleman, one of the Kings Servants, who beholding her invincible constancy, and being stirred up by her exhortations were more emboldned in their sufferings.

*Nicholas Belerrian.*  
*John Adams.*  
*John Lacels.*  
Martyrs.

About the same time one *Rogers* was condemned, and burned in *Norfolk* for the Six Articles.

*Rogers.*

The same year the King being come from *Bulleine*, information was given to him, that his Queen *Katherine Parre* was much given to reading, and studying the holy Scriptures; And that she had entertained divers godly, and learned Men to instruct her in the same, with whom also she had frequent conferences about spiritual matters: As also that ordinarily, especially in *Lent* every afternoon one of her Chaplains preached to her, and her Ladies and

Queen Katherine  
being accused.

Her counsel to  
the King.

The pattern of  
a good Wife.

Popish malice  
and subtilty.

and Gentle-women, and to others that pleased to hear : In which Sermons they oft touched such abuses as were rife in the Church : At first the King seemed to like well of it, which made her the more bold, sometimes freely to debate with the King about points of Religion ; often beseeching him that as he had, to the glory of God and his own Eternal Fame begun a good work in banishing the Popes Supremacy, so he would perfect what he had begun, thoroughly cleansing the Church of the dregs of Popery, whereof much remained yet behind. The King though he was grown very teasty, and froward, yet out of his singular affections to her, was content to hear her : For never did Maid more seek to please her Mistris, then she did with all painful endeavor apply her self, by all vertuous means in all things to please his humour. She was also very beautiful, vertuous, and of a comely personage, which greatly delighted the King : But some subtle and malicious instruments of Satan, fearing what might be the issue of it, sought by all means to imbitter the King against her : These were the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Wrisley* the Lord Chancellor, and others of the Council and privy Chamber, hoping that if they could but take away her, that was the only Patroness of the Professors of the truth, they might by fire and sword without controul destroy the small remainder of Gods poor Flock.

The King growing sickly and froward, left of his accustomed manner of visiting the Queen : And therefore she, when she understood that it was a fit season, would visit him of her own accord, at which times she would earnestly solicit him, zealously to proceed in the Reformation of the Church.

Gardiners flat-  
tery.

Gardiners ma-  
lice and sub-  
ilty.

*Winchester* being present at one of these times, and perceiving the King not to be very well pleased with her ; when she was gone, he maliciously endeavored to stir up the Kings indignation against her, suggesting that the Queen did much forget her self to hold an Argument with his Majesty, and that it was not fit for any of his Subjects to reason so malepertly with him, who was the learnedst Prince in *Christendom*. He suggested also, that the Religion held by the Queen, did not only disallow and dissolve the Politick Government of Princes, but taught the People, that all things ought to be in common : so that he durst boldly affirm, that the greatest Subject in the land, speaking such words as she did, and defending such arguments, had with indifferent Justice by law deserved death : yet he pretended, that he durst not, without Warrant from his Majesty, speak his knowledg of the Queen, lest by her and her faction he should be destroyed : But if his Majesty would become their Patron, he with others of his faithful Councillors, could in a short time disclose such treason, cloaked with the veile of Heresie, that his Majesty should easily perceive how dangerous it was to nourish such a Serpent in his bosom, &c. And so with heavy countenance and whisperings he held his peace.

The King pro-  
voked against  
the Queen.

This much stirred up the Kings displeasure against the Queen ; The rather being jealous and mistrustful of his estate ; yea he was so far irritated by *Winchester* and his Consorts, that he gave them Warrant and Command to draw up Articles against her, which would touch her life : Having thus obtained their end, they departed.

The Popish  
design against  
the Queen.

Their next work was to suborn witnesses to accuse and betray her, and to find out what Books she had in her Closet, which were forbidden by law : They thought it best also to begin with those Ladies which were most familiar with her and of her Blood, as the lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Pembroke*, Sister to the Queen, the Lady *Jane*, and the Lady *Terwit*, who for their vertuous dispositions were much in favor with her, whose Closets and Coffers should also have been searched : The Queen her self also being apprehended, should by Barge be conveyed to the Tower. The King being made privy to this device by *Winchester* and *Wrisley*, he politickly seemed to approve it, that he might see how far the malice of the Bishop would carry him, and thus the day, time and place for the apprehensions of these persons was concluded of.

The Kings Po-  
licy.



The King at this time lay at *Whitehall*, and by reason of his distemper seldom stirred abroad, and the time approaching for the apprehension of the Queen; she, poor Lady, suspected nothing of it, and therefore used after her accustomed manner, when she came to the King, still to deal with him about Religion as formerly she had done: But one night after she had taken her leave of him, the King imparted the whole design to Doctor *wendy*, his Physician, pretending that he intended not any longer to be troubled with such a Doctress as she was, and withal, enjoying him upon his life not to utter it to any creature living: But behold the Providence of God! For as the Lord would have it, the Bill of Articles drawn up against the Queen, and subscribed by the Kings own Hand, fell from the Bosom of one of these Counsellors, which being found by a godly Person, was immediately carried to the Queen, who reading the Articles, and knowing the Kings Hand, was surprized with such a sudden fear, that she fell a wailing, making such pitious moan as was lamentable to see. The King hearing that she was in peril of her life, sent his Physicians to her: And Dr. *wendy*, knowing the cause better then the other, began secretly to break with her about the Articles, telling her that he knew well of them, though he stood in danger of his life by revealing them, yet to quiet his conscience he could not but give her warning of them, beseeching her somewhat to conform herself to the Kings mind, not doubting, but that by her humble submission she should find him favorable to her: Shortly after, the King hearing of her dangerous condition, came to her; To him therefore she uttered her grief, fearing, as she said, lest his Majesty had taken displeasure against her, &c. whereupon he, like a loving Husband with sweet and comfortable words somewhat eased her perplexed mind, so that she began to recover, and thereupon the King departed. After this the Queen commanded her Ladies to convey away all their Books which were against the Law: And so taking a fit season in an evening she went to visit the King, who was conferring with some of his Bedchamber; When he saw her, he entertained her very curteously; and of himself began to commune with her about Religion, seeming desirous to be resolved by the Queen of certain doubts, which he proposed to her: She perceiving his drift, with mild and reverend countenance answered him thus: *Your Majesty knows right well, neither am I ignorant what weaknesses attend our Sex, and therefore we are inferiour, and subject to Man our Head, whence all our directions must proceed. God hath made Man in his own likeness, endued him with more excellent gifts, &c. But he hath made woman of Man, by whom she is to be governed, and directed, &c. Seeing therefore God hath appointed such a natural difference, and your Majesty is so excellent in wisdom, and I a poor silly woman, so much inferior to you, why should your Majesty propose such difficult cases to me? Tea, when I have said what I can, I must, and will refer my self to your Majesties wisdom, as to my supream Head, and governor next unto God, by whom I must be directed. Not so by Saint Mary, said the King, you are become a Doctor, Kate, to instruct us, not to be instructed, and directed by us. If your Majesty, said she, take it so, you are much mistaken: For I have alwaies been of opinion, that it was very unseemly for a woman to take upon her the office of an instructor, but rather to learn of her Husband, and to be taught by him.*

A special providence.

The Queen is informed of the plot, and falls sick upon it.

Dr. Wendy's counsel to her.

The King visits and comforts her.

The Queens Prudence.

And what have I formerly discoursed of with your Majesties leave, wherein some seeming difference hath appeared; I have not done it so much to maintain my opinion, as to minister talk, that your Majesty might with the less grief pass over the painful time of your infirmities: As also that by your Majesties learned discourse I might reap some profit, wherein I have not missed my aim, alwaies referring my self to your Majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do.

Is it so, sweet Heart, said the King? Did your Arguments tend to no worse end? Then are we now as perfect Friends as ever we were heretofore: Then taking her in his Arms, and kissing her, he said, *It doth me more good to hear these words of thy mouth, than if I had heard of a Hundred thousand pounds that had*

The King is reconciled to her.

*fauln to me*: And so after many tokens of joy, and liking, and other pleasant discourse, he gave her leave to depart.

Her Adversaries knew nothing of this, and therefore were providing for her apprehension, which was to be the very next day, at which time they intended to carry her to the Tower. The day, and almost the hour being come, the King intending to take the Air, went into the Garden, whither the Queen also went to him, being sent for by him: At which time the King disposed himself to be as merry with her as ever he was in all his life before: When suddenly in the midst of their mirth, in came the Lord Chancellor with fourty of the Kings Guard at his heels, whom the King sternly beholding, went to him and upon private conference together, the King called him Knave, arrant Beast, and Fool, withal commanding him out of his presence. The King, after his departure, returned to the Queen, who perceiving him to be much chafed, with sweet words endeavored to qualifie his displeasure, saying that though she knew not what just cause his Majesty had to be offended with the Lord Chancellor, yet she besought him, if the cause were not very hainous, that for her sake he would pass it by. *Ah poor Soul*, said the King, *little dost thou know how ill he deserves this grace at thy hands: On my word, sweet Heart, he hath been towards thee an arrant Knave, and so let him go.* The Queen in few words made a charitable reply to this, and so they parted: By this it appears how by the merciful Providence of God, she escaped the dangerous snares of her Bloody Persecutors, and Enemies, which if God had not prevented had wrought her Ruine.

*Wrisly comes to apprehend her.*

*The King rates him.*

*The Queen interceeds for him.*

*Sir George Blage condemned.*

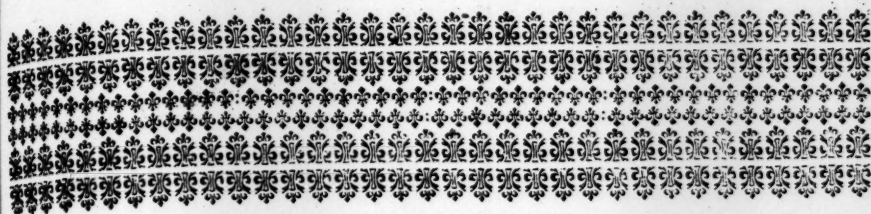
About the same time there was one *Sir George Blage*, of the Kings privy Chamber, against whom they suborned false witnesses to accuse him for speaking against the Mass: Whereupon *wrisly*, Lord Chancellor, sent him to *Newgate*, and the next day he was arraigned, and condemned at Guild-hall, and within a day or two after should have been burned in *Smithfield*: This being heard amongst those of the privy Chamber, they were whispering amongst themselves, which the King could never abide, and therefore asked them the cause of it? They told him the whole story, making suit to him for his pardon, the Earl of *Bedford* much promoting the same: The King being much offended that they should come so near him as into his privy Chamber without his knowledge and consent, sent for *wrisly*, commanding him presently to draw up his pardon himself, whereby he was set at liberty. *Sir George* afterwards coming into the Kings presence: The King said to him, *Ah my Pig* (for so he used to call him.) *Yea*, said he, *If your Majesty had not been better to me than your Bishops were, your Pig had been roasted before this time.*

*He is pardoned by the King.*

*Stephen Gardiners rage against the truth.*

Presently after, *Winchester*, and his complices, set forth a cruel Proclamation in the Kings name for the abolishing of the Scripture, and all other such *English* Books as gave any light to the setting forth of the truth. This being obtained, they much rejoyced at it, thinking that now they had for ever suppressed the Gospel, so that it should never rise again: And to strike the greater terror into Mens minds, they made a diligent search after the professors of the truth, took the names of many, of whom some were driven away, some apprehended, and laid up in prison, so that they made no question of attaining their wicked ends: But the Lord who had a care both of his truth, and people in the midst of these subtil devises, took away King *Henry* within Four moneths after the said Proclamation, whereby all their hopes were laid in the dust.





C H A P. VII.

*The Persecution of the Duke of Summerſet, in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.*



King Henry the Eighth being dead, his only Son Prince Edward, our English Josiah, ſucceeded him; under whom the Proteſtant Religion was eſtabliſhed, Popery, and Superſtition aboliſhed, and the Church, and people of God enjoyed peace. Only the Duke of Summerſet, a godly Man, (by the malice of ſome of the Nobility, who were either Popiſhly addiſted, or that fought to raiſe themſelves upon his ruine,) met with great troubles, and Perſecution, the ſtory whereof followeth. King Edward had Three Uncles by his Mothers ſide, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymer, whereof the eldeſt [Edward] was made Protector of the King and Realm: and the Second [Thomas] was made Lord high Admiral of England. Theſe Two Brethren, ſo long as they continued firmly knit together in the bonds of Brotherly love, preſerved both themſelves, the King, and Kingdom from danger. But the ſubtil old ſerpent envying their felicity, and the progreſs of the Goſpel thereby, by ſlanderous, and envenomed Tongues ſowed betwixt them, Firſt matter of diſcord, then of ſuſpition, and laſtly of extreame hatred: The Dutcheſs of Summerſet blowing the coals of contention between them: yet was this breach, by the mediation of Friends, for a time healed: But within a ſhort ſpace after, through the inſtigation of ſome that were back Friends to the Goſpel, it brake out again to the trouble of the Realm, and their own deſtruction: And firſt, the Lord Admiral, was attainted, and condemned for treaſon, and loſt his Head at the Tower-hill, March the Twentieth 1549. Preſently after inſurrections aroſe in the Kingdom, whereupon the Earl of Bedford, Lord privy Seal, was ſent into the Weſtern parts, and the Lord Dudley, Earl of warwick, was ſent with an Army into Norfolk, where with much difficulty, he appeaſed the Rebels, and ſo returned.

The benefit of unity,

After his return great conſultations were held by him, and ſome other Lords at London, againſt the Lord Protector, who was with the King at Hampton Court: Whereupon the Protector wrote to the Lord Ruſſel in the Weſt, giving him notice of their conſpiracy againſt the King and him, and of the falſe, and forged crimes which they laid to his charge, and which they ſcattered abroad to his diſhonor, and therefore he required him to haſten with all the forces that he could make, to windſor, for the defence of the King and him.

The Lords conſpire againſt the Protector;

To this meſſage the Lord Ruſſel returned anſwer, That he much lamented this diviſion, and looked upon it as a great judgment of God upon the Realm, and that he would haſten with his forces towards windſor; yet humbly beſeeched his Lordſhip, that the King might not be put into any fear, nor that their private quarrels might endanger the peace of the Kingdom.

From Hampton Court the King ſent Secretary Peters to the Lords at London, but inſtead of anſwering the Kings meſſage, they detained the Secretary, where-

The Lord  
Proteſtors  
mild offers to  
the Lords.

upon the Lord Proteſtor wrote to them that he wondered that they had ſtayed the Secretary, and not vouchſafed to return an answer to his Maſteſty, neither by him, nor by any other. That he was ſorry to ſee their doings bent with violence to bring the King, and him to thoſe extremities of uſing Arms for their own juſt defence : Yet aſſuring them that if any reaſonable conditions and offers would take place, he would be ready, for preventing the effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, to accept of them : Profeſſing that he preferred the Kings welfare, and the tranquillity of the Realm, before his own Life.

A Proclama-  
tion againſt  
him.

This reaſonable propoſal of the Lord Proteſtor, was little regarded by thoſe unreaſonable Lords, who ſtill reſolved to proceed in their purpoſe : And for this end, they called upon the Lord Major, and Aldermen to keep a good watch by night, and a good ward by day for their ſafety : Then they demanded of them Five Hundred Men to fetch the Lord Proteſtor from *Windsor* from the King, but that was denied them without the conſent of the Common Council : whereupon the Lords going to the Lord Majors Houſe, and ſending for the Sheriffs, drew up a Proclamation againſt the Lord Proteſtor, wherein they charged him with many, and grievous crimes : This coming to his eares, a letter was ſent from *Windsor*, Signed by the King and Lord Proteſtor, to the Lord Major, and Common Council, requiring them to ſend Ten thouſand well appointed Men out of the City to *Windsor* for their ſafety.

The Lords had a preſent notice of this letter, whereupon they alſo wrote to the Common Council, not only for a ſufficient guard to fortiſie the City : But requiring them not to obey any Proclamations or Injunctions that ſhould come to them from *Windsor*.

Good counſel  
of a Citizen.

The Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common Council receiving theſe Two letters at the ſame time, were in a great ſtrait what to do. The Recorder moved that they would aſſiſt the Lords : But a ſtout and wiſe Citizen, [Maſter *George Stadlow*] ſtanding up, minded them of the miſchief, and miſeries which beſet the City, for aſſiſting the Lords in the time of the Barons Warrs, though (as was pretended) juſtly undertaken : And therefore gave his advice, that the Kings command ſhould be obeyed, and that the Lords ſhould be moved to joyn with them in a Petition to the King, that it would pleaſe his Highneſſe to hear ſuch complaints againſt the government of the Lord Proteſtor as might be juſtly alledged, and proved, whereby he doubted not of a good iſſue, &c. The effect of this motion was, that the Lords ſent Sir *Philip Hobbs* to accuſe the Proteſtor to the King, whereupon he was made a Priſoner in a Port of *Windsor* Caſtle : The next day the Lords repaired to the King, and the day following they brought away the Proteſtor priſoner through the City to the Tower : Shortly after the Lords went to the Tower, where they charged him with ſundry Articles, maliciously purpoſing his ruine, but God in mercy was pleaſed to fruſtrate their expectation ; the King ſo laboring for his Uncle, that Three days after he was releaſed out of the Tower, and the Proclamation was called in, whereby he had been proclaimed a Traytor. And thus he was reſtored, though not to his Office, yet to his liberty, which he enjoyed two years after. At the end whereof his malicious Adverſaries ſo far prevailed, that he was again caſt into the Tower, and ſhortly after brought forth to his arraignment, and was carried through the City with the Ax before him, with many Bills, and Halberts. In *weſtminſter* Hall before the Lords which were his Judges, he was charged with Treason and Felony. The Lawyers without modeſty, or honeſty, according to their uſual cuſtome in the like caſes, uſed many unſeemly ſpeeches, vile taunts, and deſpiteful rebukes againſt him : All which he patiently, and quietly underwent, neither inwardly fretting, nor returning evil language to them again, but like a lamb, imitating the example of his Saviour, he meekly took all things at their Hands : His prudence alſo, and temperance was no leſſe ſeen in his an- ſwers

The Proteſtor  
accuſed, and  
imprisoned.

His releaſe.

Again imprifoned.

The Lawyers  
wickedneſs.  
The Dukes  
godly behavi-  
our.



swers to the Articles objected against him. His Peeres, after consultation, passed this Sentence: That they acquitted him from the charge of treason, but found him guilty of Felony.

He is condemned for Felony.

The people hearing the Lords say not guilty, shouted exceedingly for joy, thereby shewing their great affections to him.

But the people were greatly deceived; For the innocent Duke was condemned to die for Felony, and so was returned to the Tower again: The Felony that he was charged withal, was for seeking the death (as was pretended) of the Duke of Northumberland.

As he passed back through the City, great exclamations were again made by the people, some rejoicing for that he was acquitted, others lamenting for that he was condemned to die. In the Tower he continued for some days, till a Writ for his Execution came from the King and Council, whereupon he was delivered to the Sheriffs, and with a great Guard of Soldiers was carried to the Scaffold on the Tower-hill. The good Duke nothing changed either his voice, or countenance, but kneeling on his Knees, and lifting up his Hands, he commended himself to God; His Prayers being ended, he stood up, and with an unappalled spirit, and alacrity he thus spake.

His execution.

*Dearly Beloved Friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, though I never offended against the King in word or deed, but have always been as true and faithful to this Realm as any Man hath been. Yet seeing by the Law I am condemned to die, I acknowledge my self as well as any others to be subject thereto: wherefore to testify my subjection to the laws I am come hither to die, whereunto I willingly offer my self, with most hearty thanks unto God who hath given me this time of repentance, who by sudden death might have taken away my life, so that I neither should have acknowledged him nor my self. Something I must mind you of touching the reformed Religion, which so long as I was in authority I alwayes diligently set forth, and furthered to my power: neither do I repent of it, but rejoyce in it, seeing that it cometh so near to the order of the Primitive Church: This I look upon as a great mercy both to you, and me: Most heartily exhorting you all, that you will embrace it with all thankfulness, and set forth the same in your lives; which if you neglect to do without all doubt, great mischiefs will fall upon you.* As he spake these words, suddenly a terrible noise was heard which affrighted all Men: To some it seemed as the noise of a great tempest, to others as the crack of Gun-powder blown up, to others as a great company of Horsemen rushing upon them: This so astonished the people, that though they saw nothing, yet they all ran away, some into Ditches, others into Houses, some were so terrified that they fell grovelling to the ground: The very Soldiers fell down, crying, *Jesus, save us, Jesus, save us*: Such as tarried, through fear knew not where they were. In this confusion some of the people spied Sir Anthony Brown riding to the Scaffold, whereupon they conceited that the King had sent the Duke his Uncle a pardon: This occasioned great rejoicing, and casting up of caps, crying, *A pardon, a pardon is come; God save the King*. In the midst of all this hurly burly, the good Duke stood still, in the same place with a modest, and grave countenance, making a signe to the people with his hand to be quiet. And at length silence being obtained, he thus spake unto them:

His excellent Speech.

A remarkable providence.

*Dearly Beloved friends, there is no such matter as you expect, or believe: It seemeth otherwise good to God, whose will we must all obey, wherefore I Pray you be quiet, and contented with my death which I willingly suffer: and so let us joyn in prayer to the Lord for the preservation of the Kings Majesty, to whom I have been a faithful Subject, and have diligently sought the peace, and welfare both of him, and the Kingdom. The people cried out, and said it was true; Then the Duke proceeded: I wish continual health to his Majesty with all felicity, and prosperous success: Then the people cried, Amen: Moreover, (said the Duke) I wish to all his Councillors the grace, and favor of God, that they may rule in all things uprightly, and justly,*  
and

and I exhort you all to be obedient to them in the Lord, &c. Also, if in those great transactions which I have been employed in, I have offended or injured any Man, I most humbly ask forgiveness: But especially of Almighty God, whom through all my life, I have most grievously offended; And all that have offended me I do with my whole heart freely forgive them: And once again I beseech you that by your tumult you do not trouble me: For though the spirit be willing, yet the flesh is frail, and weak. I desire you also to bear me witness that I here die in the true faith of Jesus Christ. Then kneeling down he again prayed: Then shaking all upon the Scaffold by the Hand, he bad them farewell, gave the Executioner some money, and so prepared himself for the stroke. When all things were ready, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and covering his face with his Handkerchief, he lay down without shewing any manner of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, and so crying, *Lord, Jesus, save me*, the Third time that he repeated it, his Head was severed from his shoulders, and so he quietly slept in the Lord, *Anno Christi 1552.*

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## C H A P. VIII.

*The Persecution of the English Church under the Reign of Queen Mary.*



King Edward the Sixth being dead, the Lady *Jane Grey* was proclaimed Queen, of whom you may read the story in *my second Part*: The Lady *Mary* hearing of it, presently sent to the Lords of the Council, commanding, and requiring them presently to proclaim her Queen, which if they refused to do, she threatned by force of Armes to recover her right. The Lords returned answer, that the Lady *Jane* was invested, and possessed of the Crown by just right, and title, both by the ancient Laws of the Land, and by letters Patents signed, and sealed by the late King before his death. And therefore they declared that they would adhere unto her, and to none other; requesting the Lady *Mary* that she would surcease by any pretence to molest the peace of the Realm, promising that if she carried herself as a dutiful Subject they would be ready to do her any service, &c.

The Lady *Mary* having received this answer, speedily departed farther from the City: Which the Council hearing of, and knowing her stout and unquiet disposition, presently raised an Army, whereof they made the Duke of *Northumberland* General, and with which he departed from *London*: *Mary* in the mean time withdrew herself into *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, gathering such aid of the Commons as she could; keeping herself in *Fermingham* Castle: To whom *Suffolk*-Men first resorted, who being alwayes forward in promoting the Gospel, promised her their aid, and help, provided that she would attempt no alteration in Religion established by her Brother. To this she easily agreed, with such protestations that none could suspect her: With this power of the godly party she vanquished her enemies, yet afterwards when these very Men made supplication to her Grace to perform her promise: She answered, Forasmuch as you being members desire to rule your Head, you shall one day find that members must obey, not seek to rule; Yea one of the chief of them [Master *Dobb*] she caused, to the terror of others to be set in the Pillory sundry times: Divers others that presented supplications to the same purpose she caused to be committed to prison.

The Duke of *Northumberland* making but short marches, the Lady *Mary*, by his lingering, encreased her power, so that the Council at *London* understanding that the Commons flocked much to her, and that some of the Nobility inclined that way, they presently proclaimed her Queen.

The Duke of *Northumberland* in the mean time being deserted by his Soldiers, was left at *Cambridge* almost alone: Where being arrested, he was brought to *London*, and committed prisoner to the Tower for treason, and after a Month lost his Head at Tower-hill. After his condemnation he was promised his life if he would turn Papist, and hear Mass, which he consented to, denying in words the true Religion which he had formerly embraced, and professed; yea, he

Queen *Mary* gets the Crown by the help of Protestants,

Her perfidiousness.

The Duke of *Northumberland* beheaded. His Apostasy.

he exhorted the people to return to the Catholick Religion, which the Papists much rejoiced at, and yet his life was not spared.

Queen *Mary* being thus possessed of the Kingdom, presently began to discover her disaffection to Religion by displacing all the Orthodox Bishops, as *Retinet*, *Ridley*, *Scory*, *Hooper*, *Coverdale*, and by releasing out of the Tower *Stephen Gardiner*, making him Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Bonner*, making him Bishop of *London*, &c. Master *Hooper* was committed to the Fleet; and Doctor *Ridley* going to visit the Queen, was sent back upon a lame halting Horse to the Tower of *London*. Then did the Queen summon a Parliament, and sent forth a Proclamation, wherein she declared that she could not dissemble her Religion which she had been brought up in from her infancy, and which she was minded to observe and maintain, wishing that all her Subjects would quietly imbrace the same. She declared also, that whereas some evil-disposed Persons (as she called them) did take upon them to preach the word of God according to their own brain, &c. She therefore straitly charged, and commanded them, that they should not henceforth preach, read, or interpret any Scriptures or other points of Doctrine concerning Religion, nor print any Books, &c. without her Graces special license for the same, upon pain of incurring her Highness indignation, and displeasure: Requiring all Officers to see to the due execution of her pleasure herein, and if any one should wilfully transgress the same, to apprehend, and commit them to the next Jail without bail, or mainprize, till farther order should be taken for their punishment to the example of others. The Aldermen of *London* were also required to send for all the Ministers in every Ward, and to command them not only to forbear preaching themselves; but not to suffer any other to preach, read, or open the Scriptures, in their Churches, unless they were licensed by the Queen.

Anno Christi 1553. one *William Rutler* was committed to prison for speaking against a Popish Sermon preached by *Bourne* at *Pauls-Cross*: and one *Humphrey Palden* was committed to the Counter for the same: Also Master *Bradford*, Master *Vernon*, and Master *Beacon*, Preachers, were committed to the Tower, Master *Rogers* was commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own House without conferring with any: Then was Master *Coverdale* Bishop of *Exeter*, and Master *Hooper* Bishop of *Worcester* sent for up to attend the Council: *John Melvin* [a Scotchman] a godly Preacher, was sent to *Newgate*.

Master *Hooper* appearing was committed to the Fleet. A Pursuivant was sent for Master *Hugh Latimer*: Master *Simonds* Preacher in *St. Michaels*, and Master *Hugh Sanders* Pastor of the same in *Coventry*, were also sent for. Master *Latimer* appearing, was committed to the Tower: And so was Doctor *Cranmer* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; Then Master *Horne* Dean of *Durham* was sent for.

Shortly after the Parliament began, where Master *Harley* Bishop of *Hereford* was deposed for that he was married, and refused to come to Mass. Sir *James Hales* Justice of the Common Pleas, though he had ventured his life for Queen *Mary* in refusing to subscribe to her disinheriting by King *Edwards* will; yet for giving the Statutes in charge against the Popes Supremacy, &c. At the Sessions, was cast into prison, and there so cruelly handled, and terrified with the torments, which, they said, were in preparing for Hereticks, that partly by the flattery of the Bishops, partly by their threats, he was drawn to recant, after which he fell into such terrors of conscience, that he attempted to have slain himself with a Pen-knife, if by the special providence of God he had not been prevented: After which (his wounds that he had given himself being healed) he was delivered out of prison, and went home to his own House; yet neither there could he have any inward peace, so that setting his House in order, he drowned himself in a River not far from his House.

The godly Bishops displaced.  
Popish Bishops put in their rooms.  
The Queens Proclamation for Popery.

*William Rutler.*  
*Humphrey Palden.*  
*Mr. Bradford.*  
*Mr. Vernon.*  
*Mr. Beacon*  
imprisoned.  
*Mr. Melvin.*

*Mr. Hooper.*  
*Mr. Latimer.*

*Dr. Cranmer.*

*Mr. Harley.*

*Judge Hales*

Ingratitude.

The danger of Apostasie.



At the same time also there was a Convocation, wherein the Prolocutor [Doctor *Welfon*] presented a Bill to be signed for the natural presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, which was refused by Master *Philips* Dean of *Rocheſter*, Master *Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, Master *Philpot* Arch-Deacon of *Wincheſter*, Master *Cheney* Arch-Deacon of *Hereford*, Master *Elmar* Arch-Deacon of *Stow*, and one more. Master *Philpot* also, and Master *Cheney* maintained a learned diſputation for divers dayes againſt the real presence: Whereupon, by command from the Queen, Biſhop *Bonner* diſſolved the Convocation.

The Major of *Coventry* ſent up *Baldwin Clarke*, *John Careleſſe*, *Thomas Wilcks*, and *Richard Aſſlin* for oppoſing Idolatry, who were committed to priſon: Beſides the good Biſhops that were imprifoned, there were alſo many Arch-Deacons, Deans, and all other Beneficed Men that were married, and conſtantly adhered to their profeſſion, caſt out of their places, and Popiſh Priests put into the ſame. Shortly after Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* was arraigned for Treason at *Guild-Hall*, but was acquitted of that charge, only he was ſtill kept priſoner for Herelie.

*Baldwin Clarke*,  
*John Careleſſe*,  
*Thomas Wilcks*,  
*Richard Aſſlin*,  
imprifoned.

*Dr. Cranmer*  
arraigned.

Anno *Chriſti* 1554. Doctor *Crome* for preaching without licence on *Chriſtmas-day* was committed to the *Fleet*: Alſo Maſter *Thomas Wotton* Elquire, for matters of Religion was made cloſe priſoner there.

*Dr. Crome*.  
*Thomas Wotton*.

About this time the motion of Marriage went on between *Philip* King of *Spain*, and Queen *Mary*, which was ill reſented by ſome of the Nobility, and of the Commons: Amongſt whom, Sir *Thomas Wyat* in *Kent* raiſed ſome forces to oppoſe it, fearing that hereby the Kingdom would be miſerably inflaved to foreigners, and the Popiſh Religion eſta bliſhed: The Duke of *Suffolk* alſo went into *Warwickſhire*, and *Leceſtershire* to raiſe forces to oppoſe it: The Queen hereupon ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* againſt *Wyat*, who was forſaken by his Men when he came to *Rocheſter*, and ſo returned back to *London*. The Earl of *Huntington* was ſent into *Warwickſhire*, who entering *Coventry* before the Duke of *Suffolk*, diſappointed him: So that the Duke being in great diſtreſs, committed himſelf to a ſervant of his that dwelt in *Aſſley Park*, who like a falſe Traitor diſcovered him, and ſo he was carried to the Tower of *London*: *Wyat* in the mean time marched towards *London*, whereupon the Queen went to *Guild-hall*, and ſtirred up the Citizens againſt him. *Wyat* came with his Army into *Southmark*, and finding that he could not enter that way, he went about by *Kinſton*, and ſo marched as far as *Ludgate* into the City; But finding the gate ſhut againſt him, he returned, and at *Temple-bar* being reſiſted, he yielded himſelf up to Sir *Clement Parſon*, and being committed to the Tower, was afterwards beheaded at *Tower-hill*; Then was the Lady *Jane* beheaded, whoſe ſtory you may read in my ſecond Part, in her Life.

Sir *Thomas Wyat*,  
Arth. Duke  
of *Suffolk*.

Treachery!  
His imprifonment.

Sir *Thomas Wyat* beheaded.  
The Lady *Jane* beheaded.

Anno *Chriſti* 1554. *Bonner* ſent abroad his Injunctions to all the Miniſters in his Dioceſs, requiring them to return the names of all ſuch as the Lent following reſuſed to come to Auricular confeſſion. The Queen alſo ſent certain Articles to *Bonner*, to be put in execution for reviving the Eccleſiaſtical Laws made by King *Henry* the eighth; for reſtoring of the Popes Supremacy: For puniſhing Herelies, eſpecially in the clergy: For depriving all Miniſters that were married, and divorcing them from their Wives: For proceſſions to be ſaid in *Latine*: For the reſtoring Popiſh ceremonies, &c. The like command ſhe ſent alſo to the Lord Major.

The Queens  
Articles.

*Peter Martyr*, *John Laſco*, and other Proteſtant Forreigners were baniſht the Realm.

*Peter Martyr*,  
and *John Laſco* baniſhed.

Many godly *Engliſh* fled to *Freezland*, *Cleveland*, *Germany*, *Bazil*, *Zurich*, *Geneva*, and other places, where through Gods mercy, they were all provided for, and entertained with great favor, to the number of Eight Hundred perſons at the leaſt. Then was the Lady *Elizabeth* ſent to the Tower, of whoſe great afflictions read her Life in my ſecond Part.

The Lady *Elizabeth* imprifoned.

Dr. Cranmer  
Ridley, Latimer  
sent to Oxford.  
Dr. Taylor.  
Mr. Sanders.

Shortly after Doctor *Cranmer*, Doctor *Ridley*, and Master *Latimer*, were carried Prisoners to *Oxford*, and Doctor *Taylor* was sent for up to *London*, of whom see their *Lives in my first Part*.

Master *Sanders* for preaching against the Mass was committed to Prison, of whom see his *Life in my first Part*.

Duke of Suffolk  
executed.

About the same time *Henry Lord Gray*, Duke of *Suffolk* being condemned was brought forth to execution. Doctor *Wesley* would needs follow him up to the Scaffold, but he twice put him down with his Hand. The Duke spake to the people saying: I have offended the Queen, and her Laws, and therefore am condemned to die, and am willing to die, beseeching you all to bear me witness that I die in the true Faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his merits only, and by no other trumpery: Christ died for me, and for all that truly repent of their sins, and stedfastly trust in him: And I do repent, desiring you all to pray for me, that when breath departs out of my Body, he will be pleased to receive my Soul: Then he desired all Men to forgive him: And Doctor *Wesley* told the people that the Queen had forgiven him: To whom they answered, *Such forgiveness God send thee*. Then the Duke kneeling down prayed unto God, concluding, *Into thy hands, O Lord, do I commend my spirit*. Then prepared he himself for the stroke of death, and tying an Handkerchief before his Face, he kneeled down, saying over the Lords Prayer, and laying down his Head, said, *Christ, have mercy upon me*, and so he quietly and comfortably slept in the Lord.

Divers Housholders, Servants, and Apprentices, were committed to Prison for having, and selling some good Books that were sent over by the Preachers that were fled into *Germany*.

Scriptures  
blotted out on  
the Church-  
walls.  
The Universi-  
ties visited.

Bishop *Bonner* going his Visitation, commanded all the Sentences of Scripture that were painted on the Church-walls, to be abolished, and blotted out.

Visitors also were appointed for the Two Universities, to bring in their Popish trash amongst them, whereby many godly persons of their own accord forsook their fellowships, others were thrust out, and raw, and unworthy persons put into their places, to the great hindrance of Learning, and Religion.

It was reported that Queen *Mary* was quick with Child, whereupon, by publick order thanks were given in all Churches for the same, and afterwards many prayers were made that it might be a Male-child, beautiful, comely, witty, valiant, &c.

About the same time all the godly Ministers that were in prison, in, and about *London*, were sent for before the Bishop of *Winchester*, who asked them whether they would recant, and enjoy the Queens pardon, or else stand to that which they had taught: They all answered, that they would stand to that which they had taught: Whereupon they were made close prisoners that none might speak with them. Amongst these there was one Master *James George*, that died in prison, whom they buried in the Fields. Presently after, Master *Hooper*, *Rogers*, *Taylor*, and *Bradford*, were brought before the Bishop of *Winchester*, and other Commissioners, by whom they were excommunicated, and Master *Hooper*, and Master *Rogers* were condemned: Of whom see their stories in *my first part*. The next day Doctor *Taylor*, Doctor *Crome*, Doctor *Ferrar*, Master *Bradford*, and Master *Sanders*, were brought before them: Where Doctor *Taylor*, Master *Bradford*, and Master *Sanders* were condemned: Of whom likewise see the stories in *my first part*.

The constancy  
of the godly  
Ministers.  
Master *James  
George* dieth  
in prison.  
Master *Hooper*  
and Master  
*Rogers* con-  
demned.  
Dr. *Taylor*,  
Mr. *Bradford*,  
Mr. *Sanders*  
condemned.

Commissions also, and Inquisitors were sent abroad into all parts of the Realm, whereby a great number of godly people, especially in *Kent*, *Essex*, *Northfolk*, and *Suffolk*, were apprehended, brought to *London*, and imprisoned, most of which either died in prison, and were buried in dunghills, or were consumed to ashes in the flames.



Also *William Pigot*, *Thomas Hawks*, *John Laurence*, and *William Hunter*, were brought before the Bishops for the same cause of Religion: But when *Stephen Gardiner* perceived that all his threats, and cruel devices would not serve turn to dishearten Men from adhering to the truth, he gave over the business as utterly discouraged, meddling no more with condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bishop *Bonner*, who bestirring himself in that trust, presently called before him the persons above named, and read the sentence of death upon them. Also Doctor *Ferrar* was sent down to his Bishoprick of *Saint Davids* in *Wales*, there to be condemned, and executed.

The King of *Denmark* wrote Two Letters to Queen *Mary*, in the behalf of Master *Coverdal*, by whose intercession the Queen at last let him go to him.

*Thomas Tomkins* before named was a Weaver by profession: A Man of a very humble, and holy conversation, that would begin all his business with prayer: And so charitable, that if any came to borrow money of him, he would shew them all in his purse, and bid them take it; and when they brought it home, he would bid them keep it longer till they were better able to repay it. *Bonner* kept this Man in prison half a Year, and sometimes beat him cruelly about the Face, and plucked off a piece of his Beard, yet he bore it patiently: And when the Bishop could by no other means prevail to remove him from the truth, having Doctor *Harpsfield*, and some others with him, he sent for *Tomkins*, and endeavored to draw him to recant, which *Tomkins* denying, the Bishop having a wax Taper by him, took *Tomkins* by the Fingers, and held his Hand over the flame, and burnt it cruelly: Afterwards *Tomkins* reported to a Friend, that whilst his Hand was burning, he was so ravished in Spirit that he felt no pain; so that he never shrunk till the Veins shrunk, and the Sinews brake, and the Water spurt into Doctor *Harpsfield's* Face, who was so moved with pitty, that he requested the Bishop to give over, saying, That had he tried him enough. After this he was brought into the Bishops Consistory, and examined whether he did believe that *Christ's* Body was really in the Sacrament: To which he answered, that he believed the Sacrament only to be a remembrance thereof, and that the very Body, and Blood of *Christ* is only in Heaven, and no where else. Then being asked whether he would recant his errors: He answered, that seeing God had revealed his truth to him, he would continue therein to his death: Hereupon the Bishop read his sentence of condemnation, and delivered him to the Sheriffs, who carried him to *Newgate*, and from thence into *Smithfield*, where he sealed the Truth with his Blood, and quietly slept in the Lord, Anno Christi 1555.

Then *William Hunter*, a godly young man of Nineteen Years old, born of godly Parents, who instructed him in the truth, and was by them placed Apprentice in *London*, was commanded to go to Mass, and receive the Sacrament, which he refused to do, whereupon he was threatened to be complained of to the Bishop: *Hunter* therefore taking leave of his Master, went to his Parents at *Burntwood*, with whom he remained about Six weeks. Then one day going into the Chappel there, and finding a Bible upon the Desk, he began to read therein. Presently after came in a Summoner who said to him: What dost thou meddling with the Bible? Canst thou understand what thou readest, and canst thou expound the Scripture? *Hunter* answered, I take not upon me to expound the Scripture, but finding the Bible here, I read in it to my comfort. The Summoner replied, It was never a merry World since the Bible came forth in *English*. *Hunter* said, Say not so for Gods sake: For it is Gods Book, out of which every one that hath grace may learn how he ought to please God, and therefore I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually. The Summoner replied, I perceive

*William Pigot*  
*Thomas Hawks*  
*John Laurence*  
*William Hunter*  
*Stephen Gardiner* weary of persecuting gave it over to *Bonner*.  
*Dr. Ferrar*.

*Coverdal* released.

*Thomas Tomkins*, his piety, and charity.

*Bonnors* cruelty.

He burns *Tomkins* his hand.

His martyrdom.

*William Hunter*.

Papish profaneness.

your mind well enough, you are one of those that do not like the Queens Laws, but you and many more must turn over a new Leaf or you will broil for it: *Hunter* answered, Pray God give me grace that I may believe his word, and confels his name what ever comes of it. Confels his name, said the Summoner? No, no, you will all go to the Devil, and confels his name. Then did the Summoner go forth, and fetched a Priest, Vicar of that place, out of an Alehouse, who finding *William Hunter* reading, reviled, and rebuked him for it, and afterwards asked him what he said to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, whether the Bread, and Wine were not transubstantiated into *Christs* Body? *Hunter* answered, that he found no such thing in Scripture, and told him that he understood *Christs* words like the carnal *Capernaits* who thought that *Christ* would have given them his flesh to feed on, wherefore he said to them, *The words that I speak, they are Spirit, and Life:* Ah, quoth the Vicar, now I have found you out, now I see thou art an Heretick, &c. *Hunter* replied, Whereas you make question of my Faith, would we Two were fast tied to a stake, to prove whether of us should stick clefset to our Faith, &c. Then the Vicar departed, threatening to complain of *William Hunter*: Whereupon he went home, and took leave of his Father, and fled from the danger: Presently after Master *Brown* sent for old *Hunter*, and enquired for his Son, he told him he knew not where he was: Yet did *Brown* threaten to cast him into prison, if he did not bring forth his Son: The old Man therefore rode after him to look him, and after Two dayes met with him, telling him what had happened: Yet, said he, go thy wayes, and I will return home again, and say that I cannot find thee. No said *William*, I will go home with you, and save you harmles whatever comes of it. As soon as he came back, he was apprehended by a Constable, and carried before Master *Brown*, who reasoned much with him about the Sacrament of the Altar, and being extreamly enraged at his bold, and judicious answers, he immediately sent him up to London to Bishop *Bonner*. Then the Bishop understanding the business, began very mildly with him, and asked him what he thought of the Sacrament of the Altar, whether *Christs* Body was not present, the same that was born of the Virgin *Mary*? *Hunter* told him that what he had said before, he would not recant for all the good in the World: After some other conference the Bishop caused his Men to set him in the Stocks, in his Gatehouse, where he lay Two dayes, and had nothing but a Crust of brown Bread, and a Cup of cold Water. At the Twodayes end the Bishop came to him, and finding the Bread and Water still by him, he bad his Men to let him out, and to let him break his Fast with them: But they reviled him, calling him Heretick, and saying, that he should not come into their company: *Hunter* answered, that he was as loth to be in their company, as they in his.

*Hunter* fleeth.

And returneth.

His Constancy.

*Bonnors* cruelty to him.

His cruel imprisonment.

Presently after the Bishop sent for him, and asked him if he would recant: *Hunter* answered, that he would never recant that which he had confessed before Men concerning his Faith in *Christ*. Then the Bishop committed him to prison, and commanded the Jailor to put as many Irons upon him as he could: Threatning to burn him, whereupon *Hunter* said, God strengthen me in his truth: And so he was carried away, the Bishop allowing him but a half-penny a day, to live on.

He remained thus in prison Three quarters of a year, and was Six times before the Bishop, the last of them he asked him whether he would recant, and whether he believed *Christs* Body to be present in the Sacrament? *Hunter* answered, That he believed, that when he received the holy Communion rightly, and worthily, he fed upon *Christ* spiritually by Faith in his Soul, and was made partaker of all the benefits which *Christ* had brought to all faithful Believers, through his precious Death, Passion, and Resurrection. Hereupon the Bishop read the sentence of condemnation, appointing that he should



go back to Newgate, and from thence to Burntwood, to be burned. After which he said to him, if thou wilt recant I will make thee a Freeman of London, and give thee Forty pounds in money to set up thy occupation withal, or I will make thee Steward of my House: For I see thou hast wit enough, and therefore I will prefer thee, if thou wilt recant? Hunter answered, *I thank you for your offers, but if you cannot persuade my Heart by Scripture arguments, I will not turn from God for the love of the world: For I count all earthly things but Dung, and Dross, in respect of the love of Christ:* Then said the Bishop, *If thou diest in this Mind, thou art condemned for ever:* Hunter replied, *God judgeth righteously, and justifies those, whom Men condemn unjustly.* Thus was he sent to Newgate, and after a Moneth to Burntwood.

Tentation.

Whilest he was at Burntwood, his Father, and Mother came to him, desiring heartily of God that he might continue constant to the end, in that good way which he had begun: His Mother added, that she was happy that she had born such a Child, which could find in his Heart to lose his life for Christ's sake. William answered, *For the little pain which I shall suffer, which is but for a moment, Christ hath promised me a Crown of joy.* Then his Mother kneeling down, said, *I pray God strengthen thee, my Son, to the end. I think thee as well bestowed as any Child that ever I bore.* Whilest he remained there, many of his acquaintance came to him, whom he exhorted to come out of the abomination of Popery, and Idolatry. Three dayes after Master Brocket, the Sheriff, prepared all things for his burning, and in the mean time the Sheriffs Son came to him, and took him in his Arms, saying, William, Be not afraid of these Men that are present with Bills, and Bows, to carry you to the place of execution: William answered, *I thank God I am not afraid: For I have already cast my account what it will cost me:* With that the Sheriffs Son could speak no more for weeping. And so Hunter went on chearfully: His Father met him by the way, saying, *God be with thee, my Son.* William answered, *God be with you, good Father, and be of good comfort: For I hope we shall meet again where we shall be merry.* At the Stake he kneeled down, and read the Fifty one Psalm. Then said the Sheriff, *Here is a Letter from the Queen, if thou wilt recant, thou shalt live, otherwise thou shalt be burnt?* No, quoth William, *I will not recant, and so he went to the Stake, and was fastned in it:* Then he said to the people, *Good people, pray for me whilest you see me alive, and I will pray for you.* Master Brown standing by, said, *I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a Dog.* William answered: *Sir, now you have that which you sought for, I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day, But I forgive you:* Brown said, *I ask no forgiveness of thee:* William replied, *If God forgive you not, I shall require my Blood at your Hands:* And further said, *Son of God, shine upon me, and whereas it was dark till then, the Sun immediately shone out of a thick Cloud, so full in his Face, that he was forced to turn his Head aside.* Then a Priest brought a Book to him, to whom he said, *Away thou false Prophet. Beware of them good people, and turn from their abominations, lest yea partake of their plagues:* Then said the Priest, *Look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in Hell:* William answered, *Thou liest thou false Prophet, Away thou false Prophet, away.*

His parents  
rejoyce in his  
sufferings.

His constancy.

A special pro-  
vidence.

His Martyr-  
dom.

Fire being kindled, he lift up his Hands to Heaven, saying, *Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit,* and so he ended his life in the flames.

About the same time Master Higbed, and Master Causton, Two Essex Gentlemen, being zealous in the service of God, were complained of to Bishop Bonner, who ordered them to be imprisoned in Colchester, together with a Servant of Master Thomas Caustons, in Christian godliness nothing inferiour to his Master: But the Bishop perceiving that these Gentlemen were of great esteem in their Country, for fear of a tumult, he, with Master Fecknam, and some others

Mr. Higbed, &  
Mr. Causton.

Their constancy.

others went thither himself to see if he could reclaim them: And much diligence he used, both by terrors, and threatnings, as also by large promises, and flatteries, to reduce them to the Catholick Church: But when nothing would prevail to remove them from the truth, he returned to London, and carried them prisoners with him, committing them to strait imprisonment. Where he attempted sundry ways both by himself, and his Chaplains to draw them to revoke their opinions: But when he could not effect it, he brought them into the open Consistory, demanding of them if they would recant: To which they answered negatively: Then he proposed sundry Articles to them, to which they answered in writing: This answer satisfied not the Bishop, and therefore he sent for Master *Causton* to him, perswading him to recant: *Causton* answered, You go about to catch us in Snares, and Gins, but look what measure you meet unto us, expect that God should measure the same to you again. Then did the Bishop perswade Master *Higbed* to abjure: To whom he answered, *I will not abjure: Do what you can, you shall do no more than God will permit you to do, &c.*

Their condemnation.

After this the Bishop again attempted sometimes with fair promises, other sometimes with threatnings to divert them from the truth, and when he could by no means prevail, he read the sentence of death against them, after which they were delivered to the Sheriffs, and by them were carried to *Newgate*, where they remained in great consolation for Fourteen dayes, at the end whereof being bound fast in a Cart, they were carried and delivered to the Sheriff of *Essex*, who carried them to their own Parishes, viz. Master *Higbed* to *Horneden* on the Hill, and Master *Causton* to *Railly*, where they sealed their Faith with their Blood in the Fire to the glory of God and great rejoycing of the godly.

Their Martyrdom.

*William Pigot.*  
*Stephen Knight.*  
*John Lawrence.*

Also about the same time *William Pigot*, *Stephen Knight*, and *John Lawrence* were examined before *Bonner*, who asked them what their opinion was about the Sacrament of the Altar? They answered subscribing their Hands to it, that in it there is not under the forms of Bread, and Wine the very substance of the Body, and Blood of *Christ*, which was only in Heaven, and no where else: Then did the Bishop perswade them to recant, and deny their profession, which they refused to do. He added many fair flatteries, and cruel threatnings, which not prevailing, he condemned them, and so sent them to *Newgate*: There they remained together with great joy till they were carried down into *Essex* to be burnt.

Their Martyrdom.

*William Pigot* was burned at *Braintree*, *Stephen Knight* at *Mauldon*, who at the Stake kneeled down, and prayed thus.

Christ preferred before all.

O Lord Jesus Christ, for the love of whom I willingly leave this life, and rather desire the bitter death of thy Cross, with the loss of all earthly Goods, then to obey Men in breaking thy holy Commandments: Thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth, if I would worship a false God: I did rather choose the torment of my Body, and loss of my life, counting all things but Dung, and Dross that I might win thee: For whose sake death is dearer to me than Thousands of Gold, and Silver: Such love (O Lord) thou hast laid up in my Breast that I hunger for thee, as the wounded Deer desires the soil: Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, strengthen, and comfort this weak piece of earth, which of it self hath no strength. Thou remembrest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing of my self that is good, and therefore as of thine accustomed goodness, and love thou hast invited me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect: Even so give me strength, O Lord, against this element of the fire, which though terrible to sight, yet let it be sweet, and pleasant to my mind, that by the strength of thy Spirit I may pass through the rage of it into thy bosome, &c. O Heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world: O sweet Son of God, My Saviour, spread thy wings over me: O blessed holy Ghost, through whose blessed conduct



conduct I am come hither, guide me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy Hands I commend my spirit, Amen.

Also John Laurence was sent up to Colchester, whose Legs being lame with Irons, and his Body weak with cruel usage, he was carried in a Chair to the Stake, where being constant in the Faith he was consumed in the fire. At his burning many young Children cried out: Lord strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise, Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise.

Doctor Robert Ferrar, Bishop of Saint Davids in Wales, who was preferred to that Bishoprick by the good Duke of Somerset in the dayes of King Edward the Sixth, met with much opposition by some covetous Canons of the Church of Carmarthen, by whose instigation sundry Articles were exhibited against him to the King and Council; whereupon he was sent for up, and required to give in his answer to those Articles to Doctor Wotton and Sir John Mason, which accordingly he did: Yet the Duke of Somerset being shortly after beheaded, by whom he had been promoted to the Bishoprick, and the good Bishop finding few friends to support him against those that hunted for his Bishoprick, he was detained in custody under sureties all the dayes of King Edward: And in the beginning of Queen Maries Reign he was examined of his Faith and Doctrin before the Bishop of Winchester: Who told him that the Queen and Parliament had altered Religion, and therefore required him to imbrace the same: To which he answered, that he had taken an Oath never to consent, or agree that the Bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction in this Realm: Winchester called him froward Fellow, and false Knave, and so returned him to Prison again. Afterwards he was examined before Henry Morgan pretended Bishop of Saint Davids, who Ministred sundry Articles to him, requiring him to subscribe thereunto, which he refused: Then he exhorted him to recant, which he also refused; whereupon he read the sentence of condemnation against him: Then was he degraded, and delivered to the secular power, by whom he was carried to Carmarthen, there to be burned.

Doctor Ferrar

His imprisonment.

A little before his execution there came to him one Richard Jones, a Knights Son, who much lamented the painfulness of the death that he was to suffer: To whom Doctor Ferrar answered, that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, that then he should give no credit to the Doctrin which he had taught: And accordingly what he said, that he performed, standing so patiently in the midst of the flames, that he never moved, holding up his stumps, till one with a Staff dashed him on the Head, throwing him down into the fire, where quietly he resigned up his spirit unto God.

His condemnation.

His Martyrdom.

About the same time there was one Rawlins White, a Fisher-man in Wales, of the Town of Cardiff, who when God raised up the light of the Gospel in the dayes of King Edward the Sixth, this Rawlins began to mislike his former superstitious courses, and became a diligent hearer and searcher out of the truth: And because himself was ignorant, and illiterate, he set his Son to School to learn to read English, which when he had attained to, he caused him every night to read to him a portion of the Holy Scriptures, and sometimes some other good Books: By these helps, and conference with others he attained to such a measure of knowledg, that he was able to instruct others, and thereupon he used sometimes to go from place to place to instruct such as he found most tractable: So that he became an instrument of much good in that Country: He never used to go without his little Boy to read to him; God gave him also an excellent memory, whereby he could quote Scriptures very readily.

Rawlins White;

When Queen Mary came to the Crown, and had altered Religion, he was not so open as formerly he had been: But would sometimes privately call his trustiest Friends together, and with earnest prayer, and great lamentation for the sins of the Land, passed away the time with them.

But the enemies of the truth growing violent, Rawlins looked every day when

Flight refused.

when he should be dragged to prison: Hereupon some of his dearest Friends perswaded him to retire himself into some place where he was not known: he was nothing moved with these fleshly perswasions, thanking them for their good will, but told them plainly that he had learned, that if he denied *Christ* here, *Christ* would deny him at the last day: *And therefore*, said he, *I will by his gracious assistance confess, and bear witness of him before Men, that I may find him in everlasting life.* Yet his Friends continued to importunate him much for his departure, but he was resolute, and so continued till he was apprehended upon suspicion of Heresie, and carried before the Bishop of Landaffe.

His constancy.

The Bishop and his Chaplains often set upon him to remove him from his faith, but could not prevail: He had many opportunities of escaping, but would not make use of them: At last he was removed to the Castle of Cardiffe, where he remained prisoner for a year. When his Friends resorted to him, he used to spend the time in prayer, and exhortation, admonishing them to beware of false Prophets, that come in sheeps clothing.

His courage.

At last the Bishop sent for him, and assayed both by flatteries, and threatenings, to remove him from his stedfastness; But *Rawlins* remaining resolute, he appointed a time for his condemnation: which being come, the Bishop sent for him, and told him that it was well known that he held many Heretical opinions, and that he had seduced many others, &c. *Rawlins* answered boldly: *My Lord, I thank God I am a Christian Man, I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; if I do, I desire to be reformed by Scripture.* After much debate, the Bishop told him that if he would not recant, he must proceed to condemn him: *Proceed*, said *Rawlins*, *according to your law, but for an Heretick you shall never condemn me:* Then said the Bishop, *Before we proceed any farther, let us pray unto God that he would send some spark of grace upon him: It may be God will turn his heart.* Now, said *Rawlins*, *you deal well, and if your request be according to the will of God, and that you pray as you ought, no doubt but God will hear you: Therefore do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God: For I know God will hear my prayer and perform my desire:* By and by the Bishop and his company went to prayer, and *Rawlins* prayed by himself, and when they had done, the Bishop said to *Rawlins*, *How is it with thee now? wilt thou revoke thy opinions?* No surely, said he, *Rawlins* you left me, and *Rawlins* you find me, and by Gods grace *Rawlins* I will continue. *If your Petitions had been good, God would have heard you, but you worship a false God, and you pray not as ye ought, and therefore God heareth you not, but God hath heard my requests, and I trust will strengthen me to the end.* Then the Bishop being angry, reproved him sharply, and afterwards went to Mass: Whereupon *Rawlins* said, *Good people, if there be any Brethren amongst you, or but one Brother, bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not the Knee to this Idol.* After Mass the Bishop seeing that nothing would prevail, proceeded to condemn him. After which the Bishop sent him to Cardiffe to be put into a dark Dungeon: There *Rawlins* passed away his time in prayer, and singing of *Psalms*.

His Martyrdom.

The night before he was to be burned they sent him word of it: Whereupon he sent to his Wife for his wedding Garment, meaning his Shirt, which he received next morning with great joy: When he was had forth to execution, he was guarded with Bills, and Staves: Whereupon he said, *Alas! what needs all this ado? By Gods grace I will not start away: But I heartily give thanks to God who hath made me worthy to abide all this for his Names sake.* At the Stake he found his Wife, and Children drowned in tears, which on the sudden drew some tears from him, but presently recollecting himself, he said, *Ah flesh! sayest thou me so? would'st thou fain prevail? I tell thee do what thou canst, by Gods grace, thou shalt not have the victory:* Then falling down to the ground he kissed it, and said, *Earth to earth, and dust to dust, thou art my Mother, and to thee I shall return.* Then went he chearfully to be bound to the Stake: And seeing a Friend, he said to him: *I feel a great fighting between the flesh, and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his swinge:*



*swinge: Therefore when you see me any thing tempted, pray you hold up your Finger, and I trust I shall remember my self.* When he was fastened with the Chain, he gave God thanks with a loud voice; and then said to the Smith, *I pray you good Friend, knock it in fast, for it may be the flesh will strive mightily: But, God of thy great mercy give me strength, and patience to abide the extremity.* Then did he pull the Reeds, and Straw about him with such a chearful countenance, that all wondred at him. Then stood up a Priest to preach to the people, and Rawlins attended till he spake about Transubstantiation, which he went about to confirm by Scripture, alledging that Text: *This is my Body:* whereupon Rawlins said, *Come hither, good People, and hear that false Prophet no longer:* And to him he said, *Ah thou naughty Hypocrite, dost thou presume to alledge Scripture to prove thy false Doctrin? Look what follows, Do this in remembrance of me:* This put the Priest to silence: Then was fire kindled, and Rawlins bathed his Hands in the flame, till the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped out: And all the while he cried out, *O Lord, receive my soul; O Lord, receive my Spirit:* And thus he abode quietly, and patiently, till his Spirit returned to God that gave it. It was further observed of him, that whereas formerly through infirmity of age he went stooping, with a sad countenance, and feeble Body; When he went to his death, he went bolt upright, with a fresh, and chearful countenance, shewing much courage, and vigour, both in speech, and behavior.

About the same time the Queen restored all the Lands that were in her possession, to the Abbeyes, and Monasteries: And a Bull came from the Pope, requiring that all others should do the like: But none were found that would either obey the Pope, or imitate the Queen therein.

Abbey Lands  
restored by the  
Queen.

There was about the same time a Popish Priest called *Nightingal*, Parson of *Crondal*, near *Canterbury*, who boasted in the Pulpit, that he had been with *Cardinal Poole*, who had made him as clean from his sins, as he was at the *Fontaine*: Boasting also of the Popes Bull that was come into *England*. But whilest the words were in his mouth, he fell down out of the Pulpit, and never stirred more.

Gods judg-  
ment on a Po-  
pish Priest.

In the same moneth, *John Alcock*, a godly Man died in Prison, and was buried in the Fields: Also Letters were sent to the Sheriff of *Kent*, to apprehend *Thomas Woodgate*, *William Mainard*, and one *Harwich*, for preaching up and down that Country.

*John Alcock*  
died in Prison.

Other Letters were sent to Two Knights to examine Master *Flower*, why he wore about his Neck written, *Deum time, Idolum fuge: Fear God, Fly Idolatry*; and whomsoever else they knew to wear the like. Praying them to speak to Bishop *Bonner*, that they might speedily be proceeded against, according to Law.

*George Marsh*, born at *Deane* in *Lancashire*, was well educated in Learning, and Religion by his Parents; Afterwards he married a Wife, by whom he had some Children: But his Wife dying, he left his Children well disposed of, and went to *Cambridge*, where he studied, and much encreased in learning and godliness, and at last was made a Minister, and served as Curate under Master *Laurence Sanders*; Afterwards he preached in *Lancashire*, where he earnestly set forth Gods true Religion, and beat down Antichristianism. At length he was apprehended, and kept close Prisoner by *Cotes*, Bishop of *Chester*, for about Four moneths space, being not permitted to have the relief, and comfort of his Friends. Then the Bishop sending for him, asked him about the Sacrament of the Altar: Master *Marsh* utterly denied Transubstantiation, allowed not the abuse of the Mass, nor the Sacrament in one kind: The Bishop labored to draw him from his opinions, but all in vain, so he returned him to Prison again.

*George Marsh.*

His Constancy.

Many resorted to him in Prison, laboring to divert him from the truth, but the Lord upheld him in his integrity, giving him a mouth, and wisdom,

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which

which all his Adversaries were not able to resist: The Bishop had divers conferences with him, giving him many taunts, reviling speeches, and odious names. At last he was brought forth to his condemnation, before the Bishop and some others: There they objected many things against him, as seducing the People, holding Heretical opinions, &c. To which he answered, That he utterly abhorred all kind of Heresie, desiring all the People present to bear him witness thereof: Professing that he held nothing but the truth, which had been established in King Edwards days, in which pure Religion, and Doctrine, he would by Gods grace, stand, live, and die. Then the Bishop began to read the definitive Sentence: But stopping in the midst, he asked him if he would have the Queens mercy in time? He answered, That he did gladly desire the same, but yet he durst not deny his Saviour *Christ* for fear of being deprived of his everlasting mercy, and of gaining to himself everlasting death. Many Priests, and ignorant People, called hard upon him to recant, and save his life: To whom he answered, *I would as faine live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my Master Christ, and thereby cause him to deny me before his Father in Heaven.* Then the Bishop finished his Sentence of condemnation; After which he said, *Now I will no more pray for thee, than I will pray for a Dog:* yet said Master *Marsh*, *I will pray for your Lordship,* and so he was delivered to the Sheriffs of the City of *Chester*, who imprisoned him closely, so that he had no relief, or comfort from any worldly creature, only some few Citizens in the Evening at a hole in the Wall would call to him, and ask him how he did? To whom he used to answer very chearfully, that he did well, and thanked God most highly, that he vouchsafed of his mercy, to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoyce, beseeching him to give him grace not to faint under the Cross, but patiently to bear the same to his glory, and comfort of his Church. When the time came that he should suffer, the Sheriffs, accompanied with many Billmen, fetched him out of the Dungeon: All the way he went with a Book in his Hand, whereon he looked, so that the people said, *This Man goeth not to his death, as a Thief, or as one that deserveth to die:* At the place of execution, one shewed him a Pardon, if he would recant; hereupon Master *Marsh* said, That he would gladly accept of the same, but seeing it tended to pluck him from God, he would not accept of it upon that condition: Then he began to exhort the people to stick to *Christ*; whereupon one of the Sheriffs said, *George Marsh, we must have no sermoning here:* Then kneeled he down, and made his prayers, and so stripping himself to his Shirt, he was fastened to the Stake: The fire being unskillfully made, and the Wind driving the flame to and fro, he suffered much extremity in his death, which yet he abode very patiently. Having been thus long tormented without moving, his flesh broiling, and puffed up insomuch that all the People thought he had been dead, he suddenly spread abroad his Arms saying, *Father of Heaven, have mercy upon me.* And so he yielded up his Spirit into the Hands of God.

His condemnation.

His Martyrdom.

William Flower.

His Zeal.

His conference with Robert Smith.

*William Flower*, was born in *Cambridge-shire*, brought up in learning till he was admitted into a Monastery in *Ely*: There he remained till he was made a Priest, and often sung Mass: But some injunctions coming out from King *Henry* the eighth, he left the Monastery, and went to the place of his nativity, where he used to sing Mass, and taught a School, and after his serving in some other places, he went to *Tewksbury*, where he married a Wife, and betook himself to the practice of Physick, and Chirurgery; At last he settled at *Lambeth*, and on *Easter* day in the Morning he crossed the Water to *Margarets* in *Westminster*, where he found a Priest giving the Sacrament to the People: But Master *Flower*, being much troubled in Spirit to see his superstition, went to him, and wounded him with his Wood-knife in several places: For this being apprehended, and carried before *Bonner*, he confessed that he did not well therein, and therefore submitted willingly to punishment: By the Bishop he was sent to *Newgate*, where one *Robert Smith*, a Prisoner, questioned with him concerning



his Fact at *Westminster*: Asking him, Whether he had formerly known the Priest, and whether he did not bear him ill will? To which he answered, That he had never seen him before, nor did not owe him any evil will. Then said *Smith*, Do you think you did well, or after the rule of the Gospel? *Flower* answered, I confess all flesh to be subject to the power of God, whom he maketh his Ministers to do his will, as *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Phineas*, *Jehu*, *Zimri*, &c. Planting in them zeal for his honor against all order, and respect of Flesh, and Blood: For his ways are past finding out: By whose Spirit I have given my Flesh unto such order as it shall please him to appoint, in death, which before I did the act, I looked for.

*Smith*. Do you think that I, or another may do the like by your example?

*Flower*. No verily, neither do I know whether I could do it again, if it were to do: For I once went to *Pauls* with a purpose to do it, yet could not: I was now compelled by the spirit to go thither, being fully content to die for the Lord, and therefore gave over my flesh most willingly without all fear, I praise God, and I beseech you judge the best of the Spirit, condemne not Gods doings: For I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath shewed on me in this thing, which I repent not.

*Smith*. Do you not believe that you shall die, and that with extremity for this fact?

*Flower*. Yea, before I did the fact I adjudged my Body to die for the same: Therefore I carried about me in writing mine opinion of God, of the holy Scriptures, &c. That if I had been presently slain, they might have seen the Faith and Hope, which, I praise God, is laid up safe within my Breast: Being assured of everlasting life through Christ my Lord, what death soever I die.

*Smith*. I bless God for that good estate which I find you in: I beseech him for his Mercies sake to spread his wings over you, and as you have been zealous for him to the loss of this life, so that he will give you his holy Spirit to conduct you through death to a better life, which I think will be shortly.

*Flower*. I hunger for the same, knowing that they can but kill the Body, which I am sure shall receive everlasting life again: Therefore I pray you, and all that fear God, to pray for me, &c.

After this *Bonner* sent for him, and Proposed many Articles to him, to which he made a stout, and godly answer: Then did the Bishop much press him to return to the unity of the Popish Church, promising to forgive what was past, and to bestow many favors upon him: To whom *Flower* answered, That he thanked him for his kindness: And whereas it was in his power to kill or not to kill his Body, he was content that he should do what he pleased therein, yet over his Soul he had no such power, which, saith he; Is in the hands of God, not of Man, to save, or destroy, but for his opinions he neither would, or could go from them; and therefore desired that the Law might proceed against him. Then the Bishop proceeded to the Sentence of condemnation, and committed him to the secular power: By them he was carried into *Saint Margarets Churchyard*. At the Stake he made a confession of his Faith, and Prayed fervently. Afterwards one exhorted him to recant, or else he would be damned: To whom he answered, Sir, I beseech you for Gods sake be contented: For I have been of this Faith from the beginning, and I trust that the living God will give me his holy Spirit to continue therein unto the end. Then he desired all to forgive him, as he forgave all the world: Then his Hand that did the Fact was cut off, he not so much as shrinking at the same. After which was fire set to him, and he Three times repeated, O Son of God have mercy upon me; O Son of God, receive my Soul; and so he resigned up his Spirit unto God.

*Master John Cardmaker*, a godly Minister, who in King *Edwards* days was a Preacher in *Pauls Church*, with whose Doctrine the Papists were so angry, that in the time of his preaching they used to cut, and slash his Gown with their Knives: This Man being apprehended in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign,

His constancy.

His cruel Martyrdom.

Mr. Barlow.

with Master Barlow, Bishop of Bath, they were both cast into Prison. And after a while they were brought before the Bishop of Winchester, and other Commissioners, where they had divers things objected against them; To which they answered so learnedly, and cautiously that the Lord Chancellor [Gardiner] allowed of their Answers, yet returned them to Prison; whence after a while, Master Barlow was dismissed, and went into voluntary Exile, where he constantly bore witness to the truth of the Gospel.

His voluntary Exile.

Master Cardmaker's Martyrdom.

Master Cardmaker during his imprisonment was often baited by the Papists, who by reasonings, persuadings, and threatnings sought to withdraw him from the truth, but all in vain; whereupon Bishop Bonner called him before him, objecting many things against him, especially about the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; To which he gave sound, and godly answers: And when the Bishop could not draw him to a recantation, he passed the Sentence of condemnation upon him, delivering him over to the Sheriffs of London, by whom he was carried into Smithfield. There the Sheriffs talked a great while in private with him, so that the People which heard that Master Cardmaker would recant, seeing this his carriage, were much sated at it. The discourse being ended, Master Cardmaker withdrew himself, and was long in private Prayer: After which he stripped himself to his Shirt, and went with a bold courage to the Stake, and kissed it, and so was bound to it. The People hereby being delivered from their fears, cried out with joy, saying, *God be praised: The Lord strengthen thee Cardmaker; The Lord Jesus receive thy Spirit: And so fire being put to him, he finished his life, and went to receive his everlasting Crown of glory.*

John Warne.

At the same time there was a Citizen burnt with him, called John Warne, who denied the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, &c. For which he was brought before Bonner, who labored much to withdraw him from the truth: But Warne answered, That he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thereunto persuaded by the holy Scriptures: For this he was condemned, and burnt with Master Cardmaker, where he finished his course with much constancy, and joy.

John Symphon,  
John Ardely.Their courage,  
and Martyrdom.

At this time came a Letter from the King and Queen to Bonner, complaining that Hereticks were not so reformed as they should be, and therefore they exhorted him to be more diligent, either in reclaiming them, or proceeding against them according to Law: This easily prevailed with him, who was propense enough before to cruelty; whereupon he first began with John Symphon, and John Ardely, both of Wigborow in Essex, whom he called before him, objected divers things against them, especially for denying Transubstantiation, exhorted them to recant, &c. But John Ardely answered, *My Lord, neither you nor any of your Religion is of the Catholick Church; For you have a false Faith, which will deceive you in the end. You have shed much innocent Blood, and still go on to do the same: If every Hair of my Head were a Man, I would willingly suffer death for the opinion I am in:* Then did the Bishop proceed to condemn them both, and so delivered them to the secular power, who carried them down into Essex; where, upon one day, they both finished their course with joy.

Thomas Hauks.

Thomas Hauks, born in Essex, was brought up a Courtier, and was tall, comely, and endued with such excellent qualities, as made him to be much beloved: But that which was most commendable, was his fervent study, and singular love to true Religion, and Godliness. This Master Hauks following the Court, entred into service of the Earl of Oxford, where he was much esteemed, and beloved of all, all King Edwards days: But in Queen Maries Reign, Religion growing odious, he left the Court, and retired to his own House, where he might more freely exercise himself in the study, and practice of Godliness. Whilest he thus remained at home, he had a Son born, whom he would not suffer to be Baptized after the Popish manner: This his Adversaries taking notice of, apprehended him, and carried him before the Earl of Oxford. The Earl not willing



willing to meddle with him, sent him to London to Bishop Bonner: The Bishop understanding the cause, asked him why he would not have his Child Baptized? He answered, *Because he was commanded to do nothing contrary to the word of God, as the Papists did, using Oil, Spittle, Cream, Salt, &c.* After much other conference, the Bishop left him for a while, and then one of the Bishops Kinsmen, called Master Darbishire said to him, *You are too curious, you will have nothing but your little pretty Gods Book.* To which Hawks answered, *Sir, Is not that sufficient for Salvation?* Yes, said the other, *but not for our Instruction.* Hawks replied, *God send me the Salvation, and you the Instruction.* Then the Bishop again asked him, *If he would be content to have his Child Baptized, and he should not know of it?* To which he answered, *That if he would have done so, he needed not have come to him, for he had the same Counsel given him before.* Why, said the Bishop, *do you not think that the Queen, and I can command it to be done in despite of your teeth?* Hawks answered, *I question not what the Queen, and you can do: But you shall never have my consent to it.* Afterwards the Bishop said to him, *Hawks; I would be glad to do thee good, thou knowest that I am thy Pastor, and must answer for thy Soul if I teach thee not well.* To which Hawks answered, *what I have said, I will stand to; There is no removing me from it.* well, said the Bishop, *what saist thou?* The Scripture saith, *I am the Bread of life, and the Bread that I will give is my flesh, &c.* Do you believe this? Yes, said Hawks, *I believe what the Scriptures say.* well, said the Bishop, *let us go to Evensong.* But Hawks refused to be present with them, saying, that he would not pray in that place, and that he thought himself best at ease when he was furthest from them, and so walked into the Court. Afterwards the Bishop again examined him about the Sacrament of the Altar: To which he answered, *That he knew not what it was:* But, said the Bishop, *we will make you know it: A Fagot will make you do it. A point for your Fagot,* said Master Hawks; *what God thinks fit to be done, you shall do, and no more.* Much other conference he had with the Bishop and his Chaplains, in all which he answered them very judiciously, and resolutely, so that he was committed to Prison.

Popish Blasphe-  
my.

At last he was brought forth to condemnation, where great means was used to draw him to recant; But he still answered that he would never go from the belief which he was in, so long as he lived: Then the Bishop read his Sentence of condemnation, and delivered him over to the Lord Rich, who carried him to Coxhall in Essex: By the way he used much exhortation to his Friends, who were much confirmed in the truth by his example and constancy: Yet being very fearful of the torments of the fire, they intreated him that in the midst of the flame, he would shew them some token if he could, that the fire was not so intolerable, but a Man might therein keep his mind quiet, and patient: This he assented to, and promised that if the rage of the pain were tolerable he would lift up his Hands above his Head before he gave up the Ghost. At the Stake he mildly, and patiently addressed himself to the fire, and after his fervent prayers made to God, fire was put to him: In it he continued long, and when his Speech was taken away by the flame, his Skin drawn all together, and his Fingers consumed with the fire, so that all Men thought that he had been dead, contrary to their expectation, he being mindful of his promise, suddenly lift up his Hands burning of a light fire, and with great joy clapped them Three times together, whereupon there was such shouting amongst the People, especially by those that knew the meaning of it, as the like hath scarce been heard, and so the blessed Martyr presently sinking down into the fire, gave up his Spirit unto God, *Anno Christi. 1555.*

His courage,  
and constancy.

His Martyr-  
dom.

He gives a  
sign to the  
godly.

Thomas Watts of Billerica in Essex, was by trade a Linnen-Draper, and a godly, and zealous Professor of the truth, who foreseeing his apprehension, disposed of his estate to his Wife, and Children, and gave much of his cloth to the Poor, and according to his expectation he was shortly after apprehended, and carried before

Thomas Watts;

His Constancy.

before the Lord *Rich*, and other Justices ; where he was accused for not coming to Church, to hear Mass, but resorting to Conventicles in corners, and disobeying the Laws. To this *Watts* answered, *If I have offended the Law I am here subject to it ;* And after further examination, they sent him up to Bishop *Bonner*, who examined him about the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. *Watts* answered, That he believed *Christs* Body to be in Heaven, and no where else ; and that he would never believe that it was in the Sacrament : That he believed the Mass to be abominable Idolatry, &c. The Bishop advised him not to cast away himself, or at least, not wilfully to cast away his Soul, by adhering to such Heresies : To which *Watts* answered, *My Lord I am weary to live in such Idolatry, as you would have me to live in.* Other flatteries, and endeavors were used to draw him to a recantation, but they could not prevail ; whereupon at last he was brought forth to be condemned : At which time the Articles were read against him, and he was required to deny his Profession : But he said, *God keep me from the Doctrine that you would have me to embrace, and I beseech God that I may persevere in that I have hitherto held, for I will stand to mine answers.* Hereupon the Bishop condemned him, and delivered him to the Sheriffs, who kept him a while in *Newgate*, and then sent him down to *Chilmsford* : After he had spent there some time in Prayer, he came to his Wife, and Six Children, saying to them, *wife, and my good Children, I must now depart from you ; and therefore henceforth know I you no more : As the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you back again to the Lord, whom I charge you to fear, and to obey, and beware that you turn not to this abominable Papistry, against which I shall anon, by Gods grace, give my Blood. Let not the murdering of Gods Saints, cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be stronger in the Lords quarrel, and I doubt not, but he will be a merciful Father unto you : And so bidding them farewell, he kissed them all, and went to the fire, where he patiently, and cheerfully ended his days.*

His Speech to his Wife and Children.

His Martyrdom.

Thomas Osmond. William Bamford. Thomas Osborn.

At the same time there were *Thomas Osmond*, *William Bamford*, and *Thomas Osborn*, all of *Coxshall* in *Essex*, who were apprehended for not receiving the Sacrament at *Easter*, and sent up to Bishop *Bonner*. Against these Men many things were objected, to which they made answers after a godly sort : And being often urged to recant, they stiffly refused the same ; whereupon the Bishop proceeded to condemn them, and delivered them over to the secular power, by whom they were carried down into *Essex*, and there burnt at several places.

Their Martyrdom.

Mr. Bradford.

John Leafe.

About the same time that holy Martyr of God, Master *John Bradford* suffered Martyrdom, of whom see the Story in my First Part. With him also suffered *John Leafe*, an Apprentice of Nineteen years old, who being examined before *Bonner*, gave a firm and Christian testimony of his Profession : The Bishop assayed by all manner of ways to revoke him from the truth, to error : But notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, *Leafe* continued constant, so planted upon the rock of truth, that neither words, nor deeds could remove him from the same. Hereupon the Bishop proceeded to his condemnation, and delivered him over to the Sheriffs of *London*, by whom he was carried into *Smithfield*, to be burnt with Master *Bradford*, where he finished his days with much comfort, and joy. At his execution there was one Master *Woodrofe*, one of the Sheriffs, who used Master *Bradford* very churlishly, as he had done Master *Rogers* before. He used also to laugh, and make himself sport at the sufferings of these innocent Servants of *Jesus Christ*, and to beat away the People which were desirous to take them by the Hands. But the Lord (who usually punisheth such cruel Persecutors,) shortly after strook him with a lameness on one side, that he could never turn himself in his Bed afterwards, but as Two Men in a Sheet used to stir him : He had also such a doglike appetite to his Food, that he could never be

Their Martyrdom.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.



be satisfied with the same: Both which judgments continued Eight years upon him, even till his death.

The next day after, Master *William Minge*, Minister, died in Prison at *Maidstone in Kent*, lying there in bonds for Religion; He yielded up his Spirit with great constancy, and boldness. Mr. Minge.

There was also one *James Trevisam*, dwelling in *Lothbury* in *London*, who being lame, and sick, kept his Bed; He caused his Servant to read to him in the Bible, and one day as he was reading, there came in a Promoter, and went up into his Chamber, where he found the young Man that read, and Three others, all which he apprehended, and carried to Prison: He would also have carried away the sick Man in a Cart, but that the neighbors by importunity prevented it, yet he caused him to put in sureties for his forth coming. The sick Man shortly after dying, they would not suffer him to be buried, so that his Wife was fain to carry him out upon a Table into *Moorfields*, and to bury him there. James Trevisam.

About the same time there was in *Kent* one Master *John Bland*, a godly Minister, who had spent his younger time in training up Children in learning, and virtue: Afterwards being called to the Ministry, he was inflamed with an incredible desire to profit the Church of God. Two or Three times he was cast into Prison for it in *Canterbury*; and being delivered by the mediation of Friends, he still returned to the work of the Ministry, for which being again imprisoned, he might have been delivered, if he would have promised to abstain from preaching; But he would not accept of liberty upon those terms, Then was he examined by Doctor *Harpsfield*, Dean of *Canterbury*, who charged him for Preaching that the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, was not the very Body and Blood of *Christ*. Master *Bland* answered, That he perceived that he intended to ensnare him, and therefore he thought not himself bound to make an answer: The Doctor replied, That Saint *Peter* commands him to make an answer to every Man that asked a reason of the Faith that is in him. well, said Master *Bland*, I know what the Apostles meaning is: But for arguments sake, I am content to commune with you: And so they reasoned a long time about the Sacrament. A few days after he was again brought before *Harpsfield*, who charged him for holding divers hainous errors, and for infecting, and deceiving many with his evil Preaching. Then Master *Bland* said, I protest before God and you all, that my Conscience is not guilty of any error, or Heresie, or that willingly I have taught any such thing. *Harpsfield* replied, whereon dost thou ground thy Conscience? Let me here what thy Faith is. John Bland.

*Bland*. I know no reason why you should examine me of my Faith, more than any other Man here present.

*Harpsfield*. why, thou Heretick, art thou ashamed of thy Faith? If it were Christian, thou wouldest not be ashamed of it.

*Bland*. I am not ashamed of it: For I believe in God the Father Almighty Maker of Heaven and Earth; and in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord, &c. And I believe all the holy Scriptures of God to be most certain, and true. More than this I will not confess.

*Harpsfield*. why, thou Heretick, I will proceed against thee, because thou wilt not confess thy Faith to me: Thou hast taught that the Body, and Blood of Christ, is not in the Sacrament, after Consecration. How saiest thou? Hast thou not?

*Bland*. Sir, you promised to confer with me about this, out of the Scriptures: But now I see you seek to bring me into trouble, rather than to win me. But pray you tell me: Is there in the Sacrament after the Consecration, Christs natural Body, with all the qualities of a natural Body, yea, or no?

*Harpsfield*.

His apprehension, and examination.

Papish subtilty.

His condemnation.

Harpfield. *The same natural Body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and is glorified, is also in the Sacrament: But I perceive, thou arrogant Heretick, thou asked me the question, but wilt not answer thy self: And so after much other railing, and reviling language, he was remanded to Prison: And after divers other examinations he was at last brought forth to his condemnation, at which time Articles were exhibited against him, to which he gave his answers; yet they proceeded to read his Sentence, and so delivered him to the secular power.*

His Prayer.

At the time of his death he made this Prayer: *Thou Lord Jesus, for whose love I willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy Croſs, and the loſs of all earthly things, then to abide the Blaſphemy of thy Holy Name, or to obey Man in the breach of thy Commandments: Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth, if I would worſhip false Gods, I chuſe rather the torments of Body, and loſs of this my life, and have counted all things but droſs, and dung, that I might win thee: which death is more dear unto me, than Thouſands of Gold, and Silver: Such love, O Lord, haſt thou laid up in my Breſt, that I hunger for thee as the wounded Dear deſires the ſoil: Send thy holy Spirit, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weak piece of earth, which of it ſelf is void of all ſtrength: O Lord as thou of thy goodneſs haſt bidden me to this Banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own Cup amongſt thine Eleſt, give me ſtrength againſt the fire, that as it's terrible to my ſight, ſo to my mind it may be at thy Commandment, as an obedient Servant, ſweet, and pleaſant: And through this fire let me paſs into thy Boſom, for this mortality, receiving immortality, and for this corruptible, putting on incorruption. Accept this burnt-offering, O Lord, not for the Sacrifice ſake, but for Jeſus Chriſt my dear Saviours ſake: For whoſe testimony I offer this free-will-offering with all my heart, and with all my Soul. O Heavenly Father, forgive me my ſins, as I forgive the whole world. O ſweet Saviour, ſpread thy wings over me: O God, grant me thy holy Spirit, through whoſe merciful inſpiration, I am come hither: Conduſt me into everlaſting life: Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit: Lord Jeſus receive my Soul: And ſo he ſweetly, and quietly ſlept in the Lord.*

His Martyrdom.  
Nicholas Sheterden.

At the ſame time there was one *Nicholas Sheterden*, his fellow priſoner, examined before Harpfield, who asked him the meaning of thoſe words, *This is my Body*. Sheterden replied, *That they muſt be taken ſpiritually, elſe when Chriſt ſaith, This Cup is my Blood, the ſubſtance of the Cup muſt be changed into Blood*: After much other conference he was at laſt condemned to be burnt, together with *Humphrey Middleton*, and *John Frankeſh*, Miniſter, who were both condemned alſo for the truth. *Nicholas Sheterden* at the Stake made an excellent Prayer, wherein amongſt other things he hath theſe expreſſions. *Thou knoweſt Lord, that if we would but ſeem to pleaſe Men in things contrary to thy word, we might enjoy the commodities of life as others do, as Wiſe, Children, Goods, and Friends. But ſeing, Lord, the world will not ſuffer me to enjoy them, except I ſin againſt thy holy Laws: Behold, I give unto thee my Soul, Spirit, and Body; and lo, I leave here all the pleaſures of this life for the hopes ſake of Eternal life purchaſed by Chriſts Blood, and promiſed to all them that fight on his ſide, &c. And grant, Lord, that at the Reſurrection of the Juſt, I may enjoy again theſe Members then glorified, which now be ſpoiled and conſumed by the fire: O Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit into thy Hands: And ſo they all Three quietly ſlept in the Lord.*

Humphrey Middleton.  
John Frankeſh.

Chriſt preferred before all.

Their Martyrdom.

Nicholas Hall,  
Chriſtopher Waid, Joane Beach, John Harpole, Margery Boley, Martyrs.

A few days after *Nicholas Hall*, *Chriſtopher Waid*, *Joane Beach* Widow, *John Harpole*, and *Margery Boley* were all condemned for the truth by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and burned in Kent. *Waid* at Dartford: At the time of whoſe burning, a Fryer going up to preach, *Waid* called out to the People to take heed of the Doctrin of the Whore of *Babylon*, and exhorted them to imbrace the Doctrin of the Goſpel preached in King *Edwards* days: This cauſed the



the Friar to withdraw himself: When the fire was kindled; *Waid* cried, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*, without any sign or token of impatience: Thus he continued holding up his Hands over his Head, not only whilest he was living, but even till his Body was roasted to a Coal, to the great astonishment of his Adversaries.

Shortly after *Dirick Carver*, and *John Launder* of the County of *Surrey*, were apprehended, as they were at prayer together, and sent up to *London*, where they were committed to *Newgate* till *Bonner* could attend to examine them. After a while, the Bishop sent for them, and caused them to swear truly, and directly to answer to such *Articles* as should be objected against them: This they did, and *Bonner* after many persuasions asked them, whether they would stand to their Answers? Yea, said they, we will never go from our answers so long as we live: Afterwards they had sundry *Articles* objected against them; whereunto they made such answers that *Bonner* proceeded to condemn them, and so delivered them to the Sheriffs, by whom they were conveyed into *Surrey* to be burned. *Dirick* was a rich Man, yet his riches were no clog to him to hinder him from Heaven: He was so industrious that though at his apprehension he knew not a letter of the Book, yet before his execution he could read any Printed *English*. When he came to the Town of *Lewes* to be burned, the People called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the Faith of *Jesus Christ*. At the Stake he stripped himself, and having made his fervent Prayers unto God, went into the barrel: They threw in his Book also, but he threw it out again to the People: whereupon the Sheriff charged them in the Queens name to throw it into the fire. Then spake he with a joyful voice, saying: Dear Friends, bear witness that I am come to seal with my Blood the Gospel of Christ, because I know that it is true: you all know, that it hath been truly preached to you, but now is not: And because I will not deny that Gospel, and be obedient to mans Laws, I am condemned to die: Dear Friends, so many of you as do believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost unto everlasting life, see that you walk answerable to your profession: But such as believe in the Pope, or any of his Laws, do believe to their utter condemnation, and without Gods great mercy they shall burn in Hell for ever. Then said the Sheriff, Except thou believe on the Pope thou art damned both Body, and Soul: Adding further, Pray now to thy God that he may deliver thee, or else to strike me down to the example of this People. The Martyr answered, The Lord forgive your sayings. He also prayed, saying, O Lord God, thou hast said, He that forsaketh not wife, Children, House, and all that he hath, and takes up his Cross to follow thee, is unworthy of thee: Thou knowest, Lord, that I have forsaken all to come unto thee: Lord, have mercy upon me, for to thee I commend my Spirit, and my Soul doth rejoyce in thee; And so the fire being put to him, he cried, O Lord have mercy on me, and ended his days.

At the same time there was examined before *Bonner*, one *Thomas Iveson* of *Godston* in *Surrey*, Carpenter, before whom he made a good confession of his Faith: The Bishop labored by all means to draw him to a recantation: To whom he answered; I would not recant, and forsake my opinion for all the goods in *London*. I appeal to Gods mercy, and will be none of your Church, nor submit my self to the same: Yea, though there should come an Angel from Heaven to teach me any other Doctrine, than that which I have received I would not believe him: Hereupon he was condemned for an Heretick, and being delivered to the secular power, was burned, finishing his course with much joy.

Presently after there was *John Aleworth* that died in Prison at *Reading* for the Testimony of the truth of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, and was buried in the Fields.

In these troublesome times there was one *James Abbes*, a godly young Man, who for his safety was forced to shift from place to place: But when God had ripened him for himself, he was caught and carried before the Bishop of *Norwich*, who after examination so labored with him, partly by threats, and partly

His recantation.

His recovery.

His Martyrdom.

John Denley.  
John Newman.

Their Martyrdom.

Dr. Stories  
Blasphemy.Patrick Pack-  
ingham.

Richard Hook,

William Coker, William Hooper, Henry Laurence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, William Stere, Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hale, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, John Laysford, Martyrs.

partly by fair promises, that at last the poor young Man yielded to him; whereupon the Bishop gave him some money, and dismissed him: When he was departed, his conscience began to accuse him, and to shew him how he had displeased God, by yielding to their beastly illusions: So that being upon the rack of conscience, he went back to the Bishop and threw him his money, saying, *that it repented him for that he ever gave consent to their wicked persuasions, or that that he took any money of him.* Then did the Bishop with his Chaplains labor a fresh to win him again, but all in vain; For though he had played Peter before, through infirmity, yet now he was resolved, through Gods grace, to stand manfully in his Masters quarrel unto the death, which accordingly he did, being shortly after burned in *Bury*.

In the midst of these troubles there was one *Edmund Tyrel*, Esquire, and Justice of peace in *Essex* who coming from the burning of some godly Persons, upon the way, met with Master *John Denley*, and *John Newman*, both of *Maidstone* in *Kent*, going to visit some of their Godly Friends in *Essex*: *Tyrel* suspecting them, caused them to be searched, and finding about them the Confessions of their Faith, sent them up to the Commissioners in *London*, who seeing they could prevail nothing by their persuasions, they sent them to Bishop *Bonner*, who examined them of their Faith, and used many persuasions to withdraw them from the truth: But Master *Denley* answered, *The Lord deliver me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, which you count Heresie; but I know it to be the truth*: Thereupon he sent them to Prison. Afterwards they were brought forth into the Consistory, had Articles objected against them, and when they could not be removed from their steadfastness, were condemned; Master *Denley* was sent to *Uxbridge* to be burned, where in the midst of the flames he sung a Psalm: Whereupon Doctor *Story* commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a fagot at him, which hitting him on the Face, made it to bleed, so that he gave over singing: Truly, said Doctor *Story*, to him that hurled it, *thou hast marred a good old song*: Then did Master *Denley* sing again till he yielded up his Spirit.

A few days after suffered Martyrdom at the same place *Patrick Packingham*, against whom amongst other things wherewith he was charged, this was one; that being at Bishop *Bonnors* Chappel at *Mals*, he would not put off his Hat till it was taken from him: The Bishop laboring to draw him to recant, he protested that the Church wherein the Bishop believed, was no Catholick Church, but a Synagogue of Satan, and therefore he would not turn to it.

Also *John Newman* was burnt at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*. *Richard Hook* at *Chichester*.

About the same time *William Coker*, *William Hooper*, *Henry Lawrence*, *Richard Collier*, *Richard Wright*, and *William Stere*, *Kentish* Men, were all examined before Doctor *Harpfield*, and some others, who all of them sticking close to the truth, were condemned, and burned at *Canterbury*.

The Prisons of *London* being now filled with Gods Saints, the Queens Commissioners intending to make quick dispatch with them, took out these Ten, viz. *Elizabeth Warne*, *George Tankerfield*, *Robert Smith*, *Stephen Harwood*, *Thomas Fust*, *William Hale*, *Thomas Leyes*, *George King*, *John Wade*, and *John Laysford*, and sent them to *Bonner*: He willingly received them, and examined them upon the usual Articles, especially about the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament; and when they confessed, and constantly adhered to the truth, he proceeded to condemn them: *Elizabeth Warne* said to him, *Do what you will with me; For if Christ was in an error, than am I in an error, otherwise not*: She was burned at *Stratford-Bow*, *Tankerfield* at his condemnation said to the Bishop; *I will not forsake my opinions, except you confute them by the scriptures, and I care not for your Divinity; For you condemn all Men, and prove nothing against them*: And turning to the People he said, *Good People, beware of him, and such as he is, for these be they*



*they that deceive you:* He was burnt at Saint *Albans*, where with much patience, and constancy, he ended his life. The rest were all burnt in several places, only *George King*, *Thomas Lyes*, and *John Wade*, sick'ned in *Lollards Tower*, by reason of their cruel usage, and dying in Prison were cast out into the Fields, and so were buried by night by the Faithful Servants of God.

Also *William Andrew*, being by *Bonner* cast into Newgate for Religion, died there, was cast out into the Fields, and privily buried by good Men.

*William Andrew* died in Prison.

Master *Robert Samuel* Minister of *Barfold* in *Suffolk*, instructed the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, faithfully, and fruitfully in King *Edwards* days, and in Queen *Maries* till he was put from his place: But when he could no longer preach publicly to his People, he did not give over the care of them, but instructed them privately, and by stealth. And when the Queen set forth an Act that all married Ministers should put away their Wives, yet Master *Samuel* would not do it, but kept her in *Ipswich*; instructing all about him as he had opportunity: This, Master *Foster* a neighbor-justice, and a cruel Persecutor, hearing of, sent forth his Emisaries to apprehend him, who watching their time, beset his House, took him, and put him into the Jail, where he meekly passed away his time with his godly Brethren whilst he stayed there: But shortly after he was carried to *Norwich*, to Doctor *Hopton* the Bishop, by whom, and his chancellor *Dunnings*, he was most mercilessly used with out all pity: For in Prison he was chained upright to a great Post in such sort, that standing only on tip-toe, he was fain to bear the whole weight of his Body thereby: They kept him also without meat or drink, so that he was cruelly tormented with hunger, and thirst; only they allowed him every day Two or Three mouthfulls of Bread, and Three spoonfulls of Water, rather to preserve him to further torment, then to save his life thereby. Oft would he in this miserable condition have drunk his own Water, but his Body was so dried up with long emptiness that he was not able to make one drop of Water: At last when he was brought out to be burned, which was an easie pain to what he had suffered before, he related to some Friends what had happened to him in Prison, viz. That after he had been some days pinched with this hunger and thirst, he fell into a sleep, at which time one, cloathed all in white, seemed to stand before him, which ministred comfort to him, saying, *Samuel, Samuel, be of good chear, and take a good Heart unto thee; For after this day shalt thou never be hungry or thirsty any more.* Which thing also came to pass: Yea, he said: *That he had such wonderful comfort from Christ in his afflictions, as he could not through modesty utter the same.* As he was going to execution, a Maid met him, took him about the neck, and kissed him, for which she was sought after to have been imprisoned, but it pleased God that she escaped: During Master *Samuels* burning his Body did shine as bright, and lookt as white as new tried Silver.

Master *Robert Samuel*.

Popish cruelty.

A. Miracle.

His glorious Martyrdom.

The next day after his Martyrdom, Two godly Women, *Anne Potten*, and *Joane Trunchfield*, were apprehended, and imprisoned in *Ipswich*; One of them before her apprehension was perswaded to fly from the danger, but she said, *I know that it is lawful enough to fly away, but I am tied to an Husband, and have many young children at home: And I know not how my Husband, being a carnal Man, will take my departure from him, and therefore I am resolved for the love of Christ, and his truth to stand to the extremity of the matter.* At their first imprisonment, one of them especially was much troubled in mind, by reason of her sufferings: But *Christ*, beholding the weakness, and infirmity of his Servant, came in with seasonable comfort to her, so that both of them remaining constant in the truth, suffered Martyrdom.

*Anne Potten*, *Joane Trunchfield*.

Seasonable comfort.

Also *William Allen* being imprisoned for the truth, and adhering constantly thereto, was condemned by the Bishop, and burned at *Walsingham*; In the fire he stood quietly without moving till he died.

*William Allen*.

Roger Coo.

Also Roger Coo, being apprehended and carried before the Bishop of Norwich, had with him divers conflicts, and at last was committed to the fire at Teynford in Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his days.

Thomas Cob.

Thomas Cob of Haverhil, Butcher, being carried before Dunning, the Bloody Chancellor of Norwich, was by him examined whether he believed *Christ's Body* to be really, and substantially in the Sacrament of the Altar? To which he answered, *That he was taught in the Scriptures, that Christ's Body ascended into Heaven, and he never read that he descended since, and therefore he did not believe it to be in the Sacrament*: For this he was condemned, and burned in the Town of Thetford.

George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, James Turvy, Thomas Hayward, George Goreway.

In the Diocess of Canterbury, George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Turvy, were apprehended, and carried before Thornton, Bishop of Dover, who examined them of *Christ's* presence in the Sacrament, of Auricular Confession, &c. To which they made such answers, that they were all Five condemned, and burned in Canterbury.

In the Diocess of Lichfield, and Coventry, Thomas Hayward, and George Goreway, were condemned for the truth, and burned in Lichfield.

Robert Glover.

In the same Diocess there lived Two godly, and worthy Gentlemen, Master Robert Glover, and John Glover, his Brother, who being noted for Religion, process was awarded for the apprehension of John Glover, who was Heir to his Father, dwelling in the Town of Manceter. He was especially enriched with Gods Heavenly grace, which so wrought in him, that he, with his other Two Brethren, Robert, and William, not only embraced the light of the Gospel, but zealously professed the same. Yet it pleased God to lay his heavy Hand of affliction upon John, in inward troubles of mind; yea his pangs were so great, his torment so grievous, the boiling heat of Hell-fire in his spirit was so intolerable, that no Tongue is able to express it.

John Glovers  
spiritual af-  
flictions.

Master Fox saith thus of him: *In his youth I was twice, or thrice with him, whom partly by his talk I perceived, partly with mine Eyes I saw, to be so worn, and consumed by the space of Five years, that neither almost any brooking of meat, any quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea almost no kind of senses were left him: So that if it had not pleased Christ sometimes to have relieved his poor Servant so far worn, with some seasonable consolations now and then betwixt times, it had been impossible for him to have sustained such torments, yet the matters for which he was so tormented, were of no great moment.*

This was the chief; That he having been graciously called by the light of the Gospel, and having felt wondrous sweet tastes of *Christ's* Heavenly Kingdom, his mind after that having fallen into some cogitation about his wordly buisnesses, was affrighted with that Text, *Heb. 6. 4. For it is impossible that they which were once enlightened, and have tasted the Heavenly gift, &c.* Upon consideration of which words he was fully perswaded that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost: This so wrought upon him, that if he had been in the deepest Pit of Hell, he could almost have despaired no more of his salvation. In this is intolerable grief of mind, though he never had, nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat against his appetite, that thereby he might defer the time of his damnation as long as could be, thinking no less but that he must needs be thrown into Hell, so soon as Breath departed out of his Body: And though *Christ* as he thought, did pity his case, and was sorry for him: yet he thought he could not help him, because that truth must be fulfilled, *It is impossible for such a one to be renewed by repentance.*

But though he suffered for many years such sharp temptations, and strong buffetings of Satan, yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all that while, not only at last did free him from his discomforts, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, as the like hath scarce been seen, in such sort, as he being like one already placed in Heaven, and dead to this World, both in words and affections, led a life altogether celestial, utterly abhorring all profane doings.

His unspeak-  
able joy.

Neither



Neither was his talk differing from the rest of his life, never using any idle, vile, or vain language.

The Bishop of *Lichfield* hearing of his zeal, and ardency in the profession of the Gospel, wrote to the Major and Sheriffs of *Coventry*, to apprehend him so soon as might be: But the Lord of his infinite mercy disposed otherwise of it, for his faithful Servant, who had for many years endured such extream torments, he would not heap more sorrows upon him, neither would deliver him to the flames of fire, who had been so forely scorched already with the sharp fire of inward affliction. So that the Major having received the Bishops Letter, sent privately to *John* to convey himself away from the danger; who with his Brother *William*, were no sooner departed, but the searchers came into his House to look for him: At last coming into an upper Room, they found *Robert* lying sick upon his Bed of a long disease; yet presently they carried him before the Sheriff, who would fain have dismissed him, saying, That he was not the Man they sought for: Yet at the importunity of the Officer, he carried him away with him to *Coventry* till the Bishop came.

Master *Robert Glover* writing to his Wife about this his apprehension, saith thus, *At the first sight of the Sheriff, nature a little trembled; but before I came to the Prison, through the working of God, and his goodnesse, my fears vanished: And when I was called before them I found little justice at their hands: But the less justice they shew, the more consolation I find from God, so that when I had been a while in Prison, I wept for joy, and gladnesse my Belly-full, wondering much at the great mercies of God, and saying thus to my self; O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this great mercy of being numbered amongst thy Saints, that suffer for thy truths sake! And thus, saith he, considering Gods infinite goodnesse, and my own vilenesse, and unworthinesse of so high a promotion, I was as it were amazed for a while, and overcome with joy, and gladnesse, concluding thus within my self: O Lord, thou shewest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishnesse, mercy in sinfulness, who shalt hinder thee from choosing when, and where thou wilt? As I always zealously loved thy truth, so I always thought my self unworthy to suffer for the same.*

Master Robert  
Glovers Letter  
to his Wife.

Joy in tribu-  
lation.

Whilest he was prisoner in *Coventry* some of the Aldermen would have released him if he would have put in sureties for his forth coming, but he refused it: And when they were gone, he said thus to himself; *I take God to record that I have from time to time moved all such as I conferred with to be no dalliers in the matters of God: But to shew themselves after so great means of grace, zealous, earnest, and constant in the truth, not giving place one jot to the contrary; and therefore if I shall withdraw my self, or by any shifts pull my Neck out of the Coller, I shall give great offence to the weak Brethren, and open the mouths of the Adversaries to slander Gods word, who will be ready to say, he hath encouraged others to be fervent notwithstanding any perils, but will give no such example himself: And therefore he thought it is duty, that setting aside all fear, and worldly respects, he should, by the mighty assistance of Gods Spirit, by his own example ratifie, and confirm what he had taught others, and with peace of conscience, willingly sustain whatsoever the Romish Antiehrift should do against him. And thus he continued Prisoner till the Bishops coming, and then he was had before the Bishop, who amongst other things charged him for his not coming to Church, concerning which himself thus writes: *Here, saith he, I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs: For that I had been long out of his Diocesse, &c. But I answered him, through Gods merciful help, that I neither had nor would come to their Church so long as the Mass was used there, to save Five hundred lives, if I had them. After some other conference the Bishop commanded Master Glover to be put into some Tower; saying, That he would weed out such Wolves.**

His Constant-  
cy.

A day or two after the Bishop would have Master *Glover*, and some other Prisoners to be carried to *Lichfield*, there to be disposed of at his pleasure. Whereupon Master *Glover* was much troubled, fearing that by reason of his sickness, and their cruel usage he should die in Prison before he came publickly to his answer:

He checks his infidelity.

answer: But, said he, I rebuked immediately, with Gods word, this infidelity of mine, saying, what do I make of God? Is not his power as great at Lichfield, as at Coventry? Doth not his promise extend as well to the one place, as the other? was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, and Jeremiah, &c. in their dangerouslest imprisonments? He hath numbered the Hairs of our Head. A Sparrow falls not on the ground without his will: Much more will he care for us if we be not Faithless, whom he hath accounted worthy to be witnesses to his truth, &c. These meditations so cheered up, and refreshed his Spirits, that hearing one say, that he could not get Horses for them; he said, *Let them then carry us in a Dung-cart if they please, for my part I am contented.*

They were sent forth of Coventry on the Friday in the midst of the Market, that so they might be the more gazed, and wondred at. At Lichfield they were delivered to one Jephcot, the Chancellors Man, who having the same night gathered a multitude to stare and wonder at them, had them presently to Prison.

Popish cruelty.

Master Glover he put into a dark narrow Room, next unto the Dungeon, giving him a bundle of Straw instead of a Bed, neither allowing him Chair, Stool, or any thing else to sit on. That night, saith he, God through Prayer, gave me great patience, so that if it had been his pleasure, I could have been content to have ended my life at that time. Yet afterwards Jephcot was content that he should have a Bed of his own providing: But notwithstanding his sickness, none were allowed to come to him to help him in any thing, neither were Pen, Ink, Paper or Books allowed him: only he had the comfort of a New Testament, and Prayer-Book, which he had privily stoln into Prison; Most of his time he spent in Prayer and meditation of the merciful promises of God made unto all that call upon him in the Name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. Yea saith he, I found in my self daily amendment of my health, increase of peace of Conscience, and many consolations from God by the help of his holy Spirit, and sometimes a taste, and glimmering of the life to come, all for his only Son Jesus Christ his sake, to him be all praise for ever and ever.

A Miracle of mercy.

His temptations and victory.

An excellent Meditation.

Indeed some temptations he was troubled withall, as that he was unworthy to be counted in the number of those which suffered for Christs and the Gospels sake; But he answered the Tempter thus, Were not those whom God formerly chose to be Witnesses, and to bear his Name to the world, Men subject to the like sins and infirmities as other Men be? What have any of us but what we receive? Have we not all received of his fulness? They were no bringers of any good to God, but altogether receivers; They chose not God first, but he chose them first: They loved not God first, but he loved them first; Yea, he loved, and chose them when enemies, full of sin and corruption: He is still as rich in mercy, as mighty, willing, and ready to forgive sins without respect of persons to the worlds end as ever formerly. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any to mind God of his promise, to challenge and claim his aid and assistance in all dangers and distresses; to call upon him in confidence not of our own works, but in his promises made in Christ, in whom, by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever approacheth to the Mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient and necessary for Body and Soul in a more ample manner than he can either ask or think: He cannot deny his own promise; *Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear, and thou shalt glorifie me.* Psal. 50. 15.

I answered the enemy also in this manner, saith he, I am a sinner indeed, and therefore unworthy to witness to his truth. What then? must I deny the Word, because I am unworthy to profess it? What shall I get hereby, but to add sin to sin? What greater sin is there then to deny the truth of Christs Gospel: as Christ himself testifies; *He that is ashamed of me and my words before Men, of him also will I be ashamed before my Father, and his holy Angels.* By the same reason I might as well forbear to do any of Gods commandments; These are Satans delusions which must be overcome by Prayer and by the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.

Shortly



Shortly after, the Bishop coming to *Lichfield*, sent for him, who when he came and saw none but the Bishop and his Chaplains and Officers, he was somewhat amazed, wherefore he lifted up his Heart to God for his merciful assistance: *His courage, and constancy.* The Bishop perswaded him to return to the Church of *Rome*, telling him, That his Church was not known till lately in King *Edwards* time: To which he answered, That he was a member of that Church which is built upon the foundation of the Prophets; and Apostles, *Jesus Christ* himself being the Head Cornerstone, and this Church, said he, hath been from the beginning, though it bear no glorious thew before the world, being usually under the Cross and affliction, condemned, despised, and persecuted.

The Bishop was so nettled at this, That he commanded him upon his obedience to hold his peace: Then did Master *Glover* desire him to convince him by the Scriptures; But he instead thereof, propounded sundry questions to him, which he refused to answer in private, but told him that he was ready to answer in publick: *If thou wilt not now answer*, said the Bishop, *thou shalt to Prison again, and shalt neither have meat nor drink till thou hast answered me.* Then Master *Glover*, lifting up his Heart to God desired that he might be enabled to answer according to the truth: And so they fell into a disputation about the Sacraments, how many they were, and whether *Christ* was really in the Sacrament of the Altar: After which he was returned to Prison, where he had divers conflicts with the Bishops Chancellor, and at last was brought out and condemned by the Bishop.

Two or Three days before he was to be burned, his Heart was very lumpish, and destitute of all spiritual comfort, so that he felt in himself no aptness, nor willingness, but rather a great heaviness and indisposition to bear the bitter cross of Martyrdom now ready to be laid upon him: Hereupon he much feared that the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favor from him, and made his moan to a godly Minister that privately came to him, how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no glimmerings of comfort from him; The Minister exhorted him patiently to wait Gods leasure and pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same and to play the Man, nothing doubting but that the Lord in his due time would visit him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation, whereof, he said, he was right certain and sure; and therefore desired him, that whensoever any such feeling of Gods Heavenly mercies should begin to appear in his heart, that he would shew some sign thereof, that so he might witness with him the same; And so he departed for the present.

The next day as Master *Glover* went to Martyrdom, and was now come within the sight of the Stake, although all the night before, praying for strength and courage, he could feel none, yet suddenly he was so mightily replenished with Gods holy comfort, and Heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his Hands together; *Oh Austin* (for so was the Minister called) *he is come, he is come &c.* And so went on with such joy and alacrity, that he seemed rather to be one delivered from some deadly danger to life, then one that was passing out of the world by a painful death. *His seasonable comfort.*

In the same fire there was burned with him one *Cornelius Bonney*, a Capper, *Cornelius Bonney of Coventry*, condemned by the same Bishop for the truth, which he cheerfully sealed with his Blood. *87.*

Master *John Glover* seeing his Brother apprehended for him, was so afflicted with sorrow, that he had small joy of his life, and would gladly have put himself into his Brothers stead, but that his Friends would not suffer him, shewing him that by so doing he might entangle himself, but could do his Brother no good; And thus he continued in much perplexity till towards the end of Queen *Maries* Reign; At which time there was a new search made for him.

Master John  
Glovers won-  
derful deliv-  
erance.

The Sheriff with his Officers came to his House, and bursting open the Doors, searched every Room for him; At last they came to the Chamber-door where he was; which was only latched, and he held down the Latch with his Finger; There one of the Officers had his hand upon the string to draw the Latch, but another coming by, bade him come away, saying, That he had searched that Chamber already, whereupon they departed, and went to search other corners of the House, and at last they found his Wife, and carried her away to *Lichfield*; where after much ado she was constrained to give away to their Tyranny

Popish cruelty  
against the  
dead.

Master John Glover in the mean time, partly with care for his Wife, and partly by cold taken, when he was forced to lie out in the Woods for shelter, fell sick and died, and was privately buried, in the Church-yard. This the Chancellor hearing of, sent for the Parson of the Parish, and commanded him to take up the body, and to throw it into the High-way; The Parson answered, That having been buried Six weeks, the Body did so stink that none could abide the favor of it; Then said the Chancellor, *Take this Bill, and pronounce him in the Pulpit a damned Soul, and at the years end, when the flesh is consumed, take up his Bones, and throw them into the High-way for Carts and Horses to pass over them.* And thus though he escaped their malice in his life, yet could he not escape it after his death.

The like usage *William*, the third Brother found at their Hands, who dying at *wem* in *Shropshire*, they would not suffer his Body to be buried either in Church or Church-yard, so that his Friends were forced to bury him in a Broom-field.

The like usage found one Master Edward Barton, Esquire, who departing this life the very day before *Queen Elizabeth* was crowned, the Popish Curate would not suffer him to be buried in Consecrated ground, so that his Friends were fain to bury him in his Garden.

Oliver Richard-  
dine.

There was also burned in *Hartford-west* in *Shropshire*, one *Oliver Richardine*, of *Whitchurch*.

William Wolsey  
Robert Pigot.

About the same time *William Wolsey*, and *Robert Pigot*, dwelling in *Witch*, being apprehended for Religion, were carried to the Jail in the Isle of *Ely*: Doctor *Fuller* the Chancellor, with two other Doctors came to them in Prison, and said to *Wolsey*, That he was out of the Catholick Faith, and much more to the same purpose: *Wolsey* gave them the hearing a great while, and at last said to Doctor *Fuller*: *Good Master Doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean when he said; Matth. 23. Wo be to you Scribes, and Pharisees, Hypocrites; For ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against Men, ye your selves go not in, neither suffer ye them that would to enter? Fuller answered: You must understand, that Christ spake to the Scribes and Pharisees. Yea, said Wolsey, Christ spake to you, and your Fellows here present, and to all other such like as you be.* Then did the Doctor give him a Book to read, and so departed.

About Three weeks after he came to him again, and asked him how he liked the Book? *Wolsey* answered; *I find it just as I expected.* Afterwards a little before the Sizes, Doctor *Fuller* the Chancellor, came to him again, saying: *Thou dost much trouble my conscience. wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy Tongue, that I may have no more complaints of thee, and go to Church when thou wilt, and if thou beest complained of, I promise thee so far as I may that I will not take notice of it.* *Wolsey* answered, *Master Doctor, I was brought hither by a Law, and by a Law I will be delivered.*

*Pigot* was imprisoned for refusing to go to their Church: Whilst they lay together in Prison, there came to them the Bishops Chaplain, a French Man, called *Peter Valentius*, who said thus to them. *My Brethren, I am come to talk with you, not to dissuade you from your Faith, but to desire you in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the Gospel, and I beseech Almighty God for*



his Son's sake, Jesus Christ, to preserve you in the truth to the end. And to this purpose he so enlarged himself, that he caused all that were present to shed tears. A few days after, these Two godly persons were called forth to judgment, before Doctor Fuller, Shaxton, Christopherson, and some others; who charged them especially for not believing in the Sacrament of the Altar: They answered, that it was an Idol, and that the natural Body, and Blood of Christ was not really in the same, and to this opinion they said they would stick, believing that the same was no Heresie, but the very truth. Doctor Shaxton said to them: Good Brethren, remember your selves; For I my self was of this fond opinion that you are, but now I am a new Man. Ah, said Wolsey, are you now a new Man: Wo be to thee, thou wicked new Man, for God shall justly judge thee.

Wolsey could  
sage.

After this, judgment was pronounced upon them both, and they were sent back to Prison: Upon the day appointed for their execution, one Peacock was appointed to Preach, after which they were bound to the Stake: Then came there one Collison, a Priest and said unto them: Brother Wolsey, the Preacher hath openly reported in his Sermon this day that you are out of the Catholick Faith: That you deny Baptism, and some part of the holy Scriptures; wherefore I beseech you for the satisfying of my Conscience, and the Consciences of some others here present, that you declare what part of the Scriptures you find fault with: Wolsey answered, I take the eternal and everliving God to witness that I do erre in no point, nor part of Gods Book: But hold, and believe the same to be most firm, and sound Doctrine, in all points for our salvation, and for the salvation of all other to the end of the world, whatsoever mine Adversaries report to the contrary, God forgive them for it: Then came one and brought a whole Sheet full of New Testaments to burn them: O said Wolsey, give me one of them, and Pigot desired another, which they clasped close to their Breasts: and so fire being set to them, they finished their course with joy.

New Testaments  
burned.

Their Martyrdom.

This Wolsey was full of zeal, and so desirous to glorifie God by suffering Martyrdom, that being very ill in Prison, he feared nothing more than that he should die before the day of his execution, which he called his glad day, came. A Friend came to visit him in Prison, to whom he gave some money to be distributed, according to his appointment: And amongst the rest, he sent a noble to one Richard Denton, a Smith in Cambridgeshire, desiring his Friend to commend him to him, saying, That he marvelled that he stayed so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered the Book of the Holy Scriptures into his Hand, and told him, that it was the truth, and therefore he desired him to make hast after him as fast as he could. This Six shillings and Eight pence being afterwards delivered to Denton according to his desire, together with the message which Wolsey sent to him, his answer was: I confess it is the truth, but alas I cannot burn: But he that could not burn for the cause of Christ, was afterwards burnt against his will: For his House being set on fire, whilst he busied himself to save his goods, he was burned in the House with two others that were with him.

Gods judgment  
upon  
cowardise.

Presently after, Doctor Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer suffered Martyrdom at Oxford, of whom see the story in my first part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History.

Doctor Ridley,  
Master Latimer.

About the time of the burning of these eminent Servants of Jesus Christ, a very remarkable judgment fell upon Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of England, who having been an active instrument of much mischief in the Church, I shall here briefly set down his Story.

Gods Judgment  
on Persecutors.

He was born in Bury in Suffolk, and in his youth trained up in Cambridge, he had very good natural parts, especially a firm memory, so that he profited exceedingly in the knowledge of the Arts and Tongues, especially applying himself to such studies which had a prospect towards honor, and preferment. Yet together with these qualities, he had many, and great vices. He was very proud, and self conceited, crafty, and subtle; Towards his Superiors of a flattering,

Stephen Gardiners  
life, and  
woful death.

and fawning disposition: Towards his Inferiors, cruel: Towards his Equals, stout, and envious. He stood much upon his credit, and estimation. In his Religion he was variable, and changing, so that it was hard to say whether he was a protestant, or Papist. He was a great stickler about King Henry the Eighth his divorce from the Lady Katherine of Spain; whereupon he was made Bishop of Winchester.

At the abolishing of the Popes supremacy, who was so ready to swear, so forward to write against the Pope as he? Afterwards, in emulation of the Lord Cromwells Estate, he was an utter Enemy both to him, and his Religion. In King Edwards time, he smelled of the Gospel and seemed to preach for it, but afterwards he turned from it, and became a cruel Persecutor of it to his dying day, for which he escaped not the just judgment of God in this life: For the same day that doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer were burned at Oxford, the old Duke of Norfolk came to Dine with this Bishop of Winchester: The Bishop deferred dinner till about Four a clock in the afternoon, at which time came one of his Servants, posting from Oxford to bring him the news of their death: Hereupon he came out rejoycing to the Duke, saying, *Now let us go to dinner.* The Table was immediately furnished, and the Bishop began to eat merrily: But he had eaten but a few bits, when a sudden stroke of Gods terrible Hand fell upon him, so that being carried from the Table, he was laid in Bed, where he continued for Fifteen days in such intolerable anguish, and torments, that he could neither avoid any thing by order or urine: His Tongue was swoln, and black, that his Mouth could not contain it, and his Body being miserably enflamed, he so ended his accursed life.

In the beginning of his sickness Doctor Day Bishop of Chichester coming to him, began to speak to him about the merciful promises of God, and free justification by the Blood of Christ: To whom he answered, *what my Lord, will you open that gap now? Then farewel altogether: Open this window to the people, and farewel altogether.*

About the same time John webb was brought before the Bishop of Dover, [Doctor Harpsfield] and some others, where such common Articles were objected against him, as against others, to which he answered, That he did believe that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper was left in commemoration of his death, and not that it was transubstantiated into his Body, &c. After which he, with George Roper, and Gregory Park, and Two other godly Men, were all brought forth together, who all constantly adhering to the truth, were condemned, and carried to the place of their Martyrdom: By the way they said divers Psalms. Roper at the Stake putting off his Gown, fetched a great leap; And so they all Three were consumed in the flames at Canterbury, abiding their torments most patiently, and rejoycing that they were counted worthy to suffer for Christs Gospel sake.

William Wiseman, a Clothworker of London, being cast into Lollards Tower, for the testimony of Jesus, was there, by the cruel Papists made away, and cast out into the fields, all being forbidden to bury him; yet did some godly Persons privately bury him in the night.

At the same time Master John Philpot after much cruel usage in Prison suffered Martyrdom, whereof read the Story in my first part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History.

Anno 1556. They still continue their Bloody rage against the poor Servants of Jesus Christ, and in January, the first moneth of the year, these Seven Persons, Thomas Whittle Minister, Bartlet Greene Gentleman, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Brown, Isabel Foster, and Joane warne, were all burned together in one fire in Smithfield. The Articles objected against them were all the same. This Thomas whittle was a Minister in Essex in King Edward the Sixths days: And in the beginning of Queen Mary was driven from his place; whereupon he went up and down preaching the Gospel, as he had occasion, and opportunity: At last

Gods judgment on Stephen Gardiner.

His profaneness.

John Webb.

George Roper, Gregory Park, and two other Martyrs.

William Wiseman, murdered in Prison.

Master John Philpot.

Thomas Whittle, Bartlet Greene, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Brown, Isabel Foster, Joane Warne, Martyrs.



last he was apprehended; upon hope of reward, by one *Edmund Ablaster*, and carried before the Bishop of *Winchester* in the beginning of his last sickness: The Bishop instead of rewarding him, asked this *Ablaster*, whether he had no Body else to carry such rascals to but him? *Get thee gone, thou Variet, out of my sight*, said he, *and trouble me with no such matters*. Yet did this *Ablaster*, still gaping after a reward, carry Master *Whittle* to *Bonner*, Bishop of *London* and by the Bishop he was laid in the Porters lodg all night upon the bare earth: The next morning he sent for him to his Chamber and asked him many questions about the Sacrament, &c. to which Master *Whittle* returned such answers, as much angered the Bishop: whereupon he told him that he should go to Prison, where he should be fed with Bread, and Water: And not content therewith, he fell upon him, and beat him with his fists, and then put him into a little Room, where he lay upon a Table Two nights: Yet saith he, *I slept very soundly, thanks be to God*.

*Bonner* buffers  
Master *Whittle*.

A few days after, the Bishop sent for him again, and gave him many fair words, appointing Doctor *Harpsfield*, to draw up some Atticles, unto which if he would subscribe, he should be dismissed. Doctor *Harpsfield* drew up the Bill very subtilly, only to this purpose: That he should detest all Heresies against the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Sacraments, and that he should believe the Faith of the Catholick Church, and live accordingly. To this Bill Master *Whittle* set his hand being much importuned, and counselled thereunto. *The flesh*, saith he, *being desirous to have liberty, I considered not throwly, the inconveniences that might come thereby*. But, saith he, *after I had done it, I had little joy: For by and by, my Conscience told me by Gods word, that I had done evil, by so slight a means to shake off the sweet Cross of Christ*. Oh the crafty subtilty of Satan in his members. Let every Man whom God shall deliver into their hand, take heed of them, and cleave fast to Christ: for they will leave no corner of his conscience unsearched, but will attempt by all guileful, and subtil means to corrupt him, and to cause him to fall from God and his truth.

Master *Whittle*'s weakness.

His terrors of conscience.

The night after he had subscribed, he was greatly troubled, and through affliction of Conscience, could not sleep: For saith he, *though I might have delivered my Body out of bonds, yet I could have no joy, nor comfort: but still my Conscience was tormented more and more, being assured by Gods Spirit, and his word, that through evil advice, and counsel, I had done amiss: And so, partly through my cruelty, and partly through dissemper of mind, I was very ill, lying upon the ground when the Keeper came: whereupon I desired him to send Doctor Harpsfield to me which accordingly he did*.

When he came, Master *Whittle* told him that he was very much grieved in his Conscience, because he had subscribed: Adding, that his Conscience did so accuse him through the just judgment of God, and his Word that he felt an Hell in his Conscience, and Satan ready to devour him; and therefore he intreated him to let him have his Bill again, for that he would not stand to it. The Doctor courteously sent for it, and gave him it: Whereupon Master *Whittle* tore out his Name, and professed that now he was satisfied, and much rejoiced though he should die for it. After which he thus writeth: *Being condemned to die, my Conscience, and mind, I praise God is quiet in Christ, and I by his grace am very willing, and content to give over this Body to the death for the Testimony of his truth, and pure Religion against Antichrist, and all his false Religion and Doctrin*: And accordingly, within a few days after, he, with the other Six, sealed up the Testimony of his Doctrin with his Blood, which he willingly, and chearfully gave for the witness of the truth. This Master *Whittle* is the Essex Minister mentioned in my first part in Master *Philpots* Life.

His recovery.

His Martyrdom.

Mr. *Bartlet Greene*, above mentioned, when he was condemned, spent all his time in *Newgate* either in prayer, which he was much addicted to, or in Godly meditations, and exercises. When he was to die he went chearfully to the place of his torments, often repeating this Distich.

*Christe Deus, sine te spes est mihi nulla salutis :  
Te duce vera sequor, te duce falsa nego.*

O Christ my God, sure hope of health.  
Besides thee I have none :  
The truth I love, and falsehood hate  
By thee my guide alone.

Mr. Greens  
humility.

His charity.

John Lomas,  
Anne Albright,  
Joane Catmer,  
Agnes Snoth,  
Joane Sole,  
Martyrs.

He was a man of admirable modesty so far abhorring pride, and arrogancy; that he could not abide to have any thing spoken in his praise. When he was beaten, and scourged with Rods by Bishop Bonner, he greatly rejoiced in the same; yet was his modesty such, that he would never speak of it, till a little before his death, when he declared it to a bosom Friend. He was very charitable, and merciful, visiting, and relieving the poor Prisoners, that were with him in Prison.

Immediately after followed in *Canterbury*, the Martyrdom of *John Lomas*, *Anne Albright*, *Joane Catmer*, *Agnes Snoth*, and *Joane Sole*. *John Lomas* being examined about his Faith, answered, That he believed so much as is contained in Gods Book, and no more. *Agnes Snoth* being examined about the Sacrament of the Altar, answered, That she believed that so many as received the Sacrament as *Christ* and his Apostles ministred it, received it to their comfort: But as now, said she, *it is used in the Church, no Man can receive it otherwise than to his damnation, as I think.* *Anne Albright* being examined about Auricular confession, and the Sacrament of the Altar, answered, That she would not be confessed; Saying that the Priests were the Children of Perdition, and could do no good by their Absolution. And for the other, she said, That the Sacrament of the Altar, was a naughty, and abominable Idol. The like said the other Two Women; whereupon they were all condemned: And when the fire flamed about their Ears, they sung *Psalms* till they resigned up their Spirits to God.

Dr. Cranmer.

Presently after followed the Martyrdom of Doctor *Cranmer*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Story whereof you may read in *my first Part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*.

Agnes Potten,  
and Joane  
Trunchfield.

Presently after in the Town of *Ipswich* *Agnes Potten*, and *Joane Trunchfield* were examined about their Religion, and their opinion about the Sacrament; whereto they answered, That in the Sacrament was the memorial only of *Christ*s death, and passion: For, said they, *Jesus Christ is ascended into Heaven, and there sits at the right hand of God, according to the Scriptures; And therefore he is not in the Sacrament:* For this they were condemned, and burned; At which time, with comfortable words of the Scriptures, they earnestly intreated the People to entertain, and believe the truth of God, and not to trust the inventions, and devices of Men, and institutions of the *Romish* Antichrist: But to abominate him with all his Superstitions, and rotten Religion. In the fire they held up their Hands, and called upon God earnestly so long as life did endure, yielding up their Spirits with much joy and comfort.

John Maundrel.

His study of  
the Scriptures.

About the same time, in the Diocess of *Salisbury*, *John Maundrel* of the Parish of *Revel* in *Wiltshire*, after the Scriptures were translated into *English* by Master *Tindal*, became a diligent hearer, and a fervent imbracer of the truth, delighting in nothing so much as in hearing, and conferring of Gods Word, always carrying a New Testament about him: And because he could not read himself, when he came into any Company that could read, his Book was always ready, and having a very good memory, he could recite by Heart most places of the New Testament: His Life, and Conversation was very honest, and full of charity: And thus he continued till *Queen Maries* days: And then when Popery was again restored, and Gods true Religion persecuted, he left his House,



Houſe; and went into *Gloceſterſhire*, going up and down to ſuch as he knew feared God, and ſometimes remained as a Servant with ſome of them. At laſt he went to a Friend of his at the *Vizes*, declaring to him his purpoſe of returning to his own Houſe; His Friend would have diſſwaded him, but he told him that he muſt needs go home, and ſo did.

There he uſed to meet with *William Coberley*, and *John Spicer* to confer with them: Theſe Three agreed the Sabbath following to go to the Pariſh Church, where ſeeing the People to follow the Proceſſion, and to worſhip the Idol, they exhorted them to leave the ſame, and to turn to the living God: Afterwards the Prieſt going into the Pulpit, where he prayed for the Souls in Purgatory, &c. *John Maundrel* ſpeaking to him ſaid, That Purgatory was the Popes pinfold, which his other Two Friends affirmed alſo: For this, by the command of the Prieſt, they were put into the ſtocks; Then had before a Juſtice of Peace, who ſent them to *Salisbury* to the Biſhop, Doct<sup>r</sup> *Capon*; The Biſhop examined them of their Faith, and caſt them into Priſon: When they were brought to a publick hearing, they were examined about the Sacrament of the Altar &c. They answered, That the Popiſh Maſs was abominable Idolatry, and injurious to the Blood of *Chriſt*, &c. For this they were condemned, and ſo delivered to the Sheriff; whereupon *John Spicer* ſaid, *Oh Maſter Sheriff, now muſt you be their Butcher, whereby you will make your ſelf guilty of innocent Blood.* When they came to the place of their Martyrdom, they kneeled down and prayed together; Then having ſtrippt themſelves to their Shirts, *Spicer* ſaid, *This is the joyfulleſt day that ever I ſaw*; and ſo in the flames they chearfully gave up their Souls to God.

*William Coberley, John Spicer.*

Their Martyrdom.

Preſently after *Robert Drake*, and *William Tims*, Miniſters; *Richard Spurg*, *Thomas Spurg*, *John Cavel*, and *George Ambroſe*, Tradefmen, all of *Effex*, were apprehended, and ſent up to *London* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who ſent them to Priſon, where they lay almoſt a year till after the Biſhops death; and Doct<sup>r</sup> *Heath* ſucceeding in the Chancellorſhip of *England*, Four of theſe Men being weary of Priſon, petitioned *Heath* for their enlargement. Hereupon Sir *Richard Read* was ſent to the Priſon to examine them; Before him they confeſſed that they had not been at Church ſince the *Engliſh* Service was taken away. *Robert Drake* was alſo examined, and *William Tims*, who answered boldly according to the truth, and ſo ſhortly after theſe Six perſons were brought forth before Biſhop *Bonner* in his Conſiſtory.

*Robert Drake, William Tims, Richard Spurg, Thomas Spurg, John Cavel, George Ambroſe, Martyrs.*

The Biſhop began with *Tims*, and told him that he was the ring-leader and ſeducer of the reſt, &c. Then ſaid *Tims*, *My Lord, I marvel that you dare begin with a lie; For there are none of theſe, but before their imprisonment held the ſame opinions that they do now, ſo that they learned not their Religion in Priſon; And for mine own part, I never knew them till we met in Priſon; How then could I be their Teacher?* The Biſhop then asked him if he would ſubmit to the Catholick Church, otherwiſe he ſhould be condemned for an Heretick? Then ſaid another of the Priſoners, *My Lord, you judg us according to your own luſt, but if you will judg us according to the Holy Teſtament of Chriſt, which is the Word of Truth, we will ſtand to it; This ſo angered the Biſhop, that he called him buſie Knave, and bid him hold his Tongue; Then ſaid *Tims*, *My Lord, I doubt not, but I am of the Catholick Church whatſoever you judg of me: But as for your Church, you your ſelf have formerly renounced it, and by your Oath promiſed never to conſent to the ſame; contrary to which you have now ſubmitted to the Popes Authority, and therefore all of you are falſly ſorſworn and guilty of perjury; Yea, you have both ſpoken and written earneſtly againſt the Popes power, and yet you now burn Men that will not acknowledge it.**

*Tims courage.*

*Bonner.* where have I written any thing againſt the Church of Rome?

*Tims.* My Lord the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* wrote learnedly againſt it in his Book *De vera obedientia*, to which you prefixed an *Epistle*, inveighing largely againſt the

Biſhop

## The Persecution of the English Church

Bishop of Rome, reproving his Tyranny and falshood, calling his power false and pretended, &c.

Indeed, said Bonner, my Lord of Winchester wrote a Book against the Supremacy of the Popes Holiness, and I prefixed a Preface before it, but this we did because of the perillous world that then was; For then it was treason to maintain the Authority of the Pope, and therefore fear compelled us thereunto: But since the coming in of the Queens Majesty, we have acknowledged our faults; Do thou also as we have done.

My Lord, quoth Tims, that which you then wrote was agreeable to the holy Scriptures; But that which you now do is against the Word of God, as I can well prove. After other such like conference, the Bishop fell to intreating, and perswading them earnestly to revoke their Errors, and to conform themselves to the Church of Rome: To which Tims answered, The See of Rome is the See of Antichrist, and therefore to that Church I will not conform my self, nor once consent unto it. The like said all the rest; whereupon the Bishop proceeded to their condemnation, and delivered them over to the secular power.

Out of Prison Master Tims wrote many godly Letters to his Friends in Hockley, and elsewhere, in one of which he hath these passages. I give hearty thanks to GOD for you, that he hath given you such loving Hearts to CHRISTs Gospel, and to his poor afflicted Flock: Remember, I beseech you, what I have taught you, and then I doubt not, but we shall shortly meet together with a most joyful meeting; I am now going to the Bishops Coalhouse, but I hope I shall not long tarry there, before I be carried up to my dear Brethren and Sisters, that are gone before me to Heaven in a fiery Chariot; Hie you after me, I have tarried a great while for you; and seeing you are so long making ready, I will tarry no longer; you shall find me singing merrily, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabbath, at my journeyes end; Therefore now, my dear Hearts, make haste, and loiter not by the way, lest night overtake you, and so ye be shut out with the Foolish Virgins; And now in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, I here write my Name with my Blood, for a Testimony unto you, that I will seal my Doctrin with the rest: And thus fare you well, and God defend you from Antichrist, and all his Ministers, the false Priests, Amen. Continue in Prayer; Ask in Faith, and obtain your desires.

Shortly after in the flames they quietly and joyfully resigned up their Spirits unto God.

John Harpool, and Joane Beach, being brought before the Bishop, were examined of the like Articles, and persevering in the truth, were condemned, and suffered Martyrdom together in the same fire, at Rochester in Kent.

Also Master John Hullier, Minister, first brought up in Eaton School, and then in Kings Colledge in Cambridge, suffered under Thurlbey, Bishop of Ely, for the sincere preaching of the Gospel.

At Colchester these Six persons Christopher Lyster, John Mace, John Spencer, Simon Foyn, Richard Nichols, and John Hammond, were examined by the Bishop, and sent up to London to Bonner, who examined them of sundry ordinary Articles; To which they answered according to the truth: And when neither by flattery nor fear, they could be brought to recant, he condemned them, and so delivered them to the secular power: Then were they sent to Colchester, where they ended their lives to the glory of Gods Holy Name, and the great encouragement of others.

Hugh Laverock, an old lame Man, and John Ap-Rice, a blind Man, being accused by some of their Neighbors to Bishop Bonner, were sent for, and by him examined about the Sacrament of the Altar. To which Hugh Laverock answered, that he would stand to his first Answer, and that he could not find in the Scriptures, that the Priest should lift over his Head a Cake of Bread: Then the Bishop asked Ap-Rice, what he said to it? Who answered, The Doctrin which you teach is so agreeable to the world, and embraced of the same, that it cannot be agreeable to the Word of God, neither are you of the true Church; For you make Laws

His godly  
Letters.

John Harpool,  
and Joane  
Beach.

Mr. John Hullier.

Christopher  
Lyster, John  
Mace, John  
Spencer, Simon  
Foyn, Richard  
Nichols, John  
Hammond,  
Martyrs.

Hugh Laverock, John Ap-Rice, lame and blind cured by Martyrdom.



to kill Men, and you make the Queen your Hangman. Then did the Bishop denounce the Sentence of condemnation against them, and delivered them to the temporal power, and so they were carried in a Cart from Newgate to Stratford-Bow.

When they were chained to the Stake, *Laverock* threw away his Crutch, and comforting *Ap-Rice*, said unto him, *Be of good comfort, my Brother, For my Lord of London is our good Physician, he will heal us both shortly; Thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness: And so patiently suffering the pains of the fire, they resigned up their Spirits unto God.*

About the same time *Katherine Hut*, *Joane Hornes*, *Elizabeth Thackvel*, and *Margaret Ellis*, were sent up to Bishop *Bonner* out of *Essex* by Sir *John Morant*, and *Edmund Tyrel*, Esquire: The Bishop received, and examined them, especially about the Sacrament of the Altar; To which *Katherine Hut* answered, *I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb God, and made with Mens Hands: The like said all the rest, whereupon they were condemned, and being carried into Smithfield, they there joyfully suffered Martyrdom.*

*Katherine Hut,*  
*Joane Hornes,*  
*Elizabeth*  
*Thackvel,*  
*Margaret Ellis.*

In my first Part, mention is made of a blind Boy, that came to Bishop *Hooper* at *Glocester* a little before his Martyrdom: This poor Boy being shortly after apprehended, and cast into Prison, was at last brought forth before the Chancellor of *Glocester*, who examined him whether he believed *Christs* Body to be really present in the Sacrament of the Altar? To which he answered negatively. Then said the Chancellor, *who taught thee this Heresie?* The Boy answered, *You, Master Chancellor, when in yonder Pulpit you taught us, that the Sacrament was to be received spiritually by Faith, and not carnally and really as the Papists teach.* But said the Chancellor, *Do thou as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning.* The Boy answered, *Though you can so easily dispense with your Conscience, and mock God and the World, yet will not I do so.* Then said the Chancellor, *God have mercy upon thee, for I will read the Sentence of condemnation against thee. Gods will be fulfilled,* said the Boy. So the Chancellor condemned him, and another called *Thomas Croker*, delivering them over to the secular power, by whom they were both burned, constantly, and joyfully yielding up their Spirits into the hands of God.

A blind Boy;

*Thomas Croker.*

About the same time *Thomas Spicer*, *John Dennis*, and *Edmund Poole* being apprehended for not coming to Church, and receiving the Sacrament, were carried before *Dunnings*, Chancellor of *Norwich*, who assayed by all means to turn them from the truth; But when he could not prevail, he condemned them, and delivered them over to the Sheriff, Sir *John Silliard*, who burned them at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*: At the Stake when they had made their prayers, and said the Belief, fire was put to them, and in the flames they praised God with such an audible voice, as was wonderful to all that heard them. Hereupon *Robert Bacon* willed the Tormentors to throw a Fagot to stop the Knaves Mouths, as he called them: But these good Men not regarding his malice, confessed the truth, and yielded their lives as a testimony thereunto constantly, and very joyfully.

*Thomas Spicer,*  
*John Dennis,*  
*Edmund Poole.*

Their Martyrdom.

Popish cruelty.

A great Persecution was raised up at the same time, against many godly persons of *Winson* and *Mendlesham* in the County of *Suffolk*, who by the rage of their Enemies were forced to leave their Houses, and Estates, and to fly for their lives.

A great Persecution.

There was an honest poor Man of *Maulden*, called *Gregory Crow*, who with his Man and Boy was going over into *Kent* to fetch *Fullers* Earth: But by the way, meeting with a storm, his Boat was driven upon the Sand, so that it sunk, and the Men were forced to hold upon the Mast: At which time *Crow* seeing his New Testament in the Water, caught it up, and put it into his Bosom: The tide being gone, they were left upon the Sands at least Ten miles from the Land: There they made their prayers together, that God would send some Ship that way: For within half an hour, it would be flood: In which time they found their

*Gregory Crow.*

A Miracle of mercy.

their Chest wherein was Five pound Six shillings Eight pence: But Crow cast it into the Sea, saying; *If the Lord will save our lives he will provide us a living, and so they went up the Mast where they hung by the Arms, and Legs for Ten hours together, in which time the Boy was so weary, and beaten with the Sea that he fell off, and was drowned.*

The Water being gone, and the Sand dry, Crow said to his Man, *Its best for us to take down our Mast, and when the Flood comes to sit upon it, and so it may please God to bring us to some Ship that may take us in:* This they did, and rid upon the Mast Tuesday night, Wednesday, and Wednesday night, in which time the Man was so tired out with hunger, watching, and cold, that he died. Then was Crow left alone, who being driven up and down in the Sea, prayed to God for help, but durst not sleep lest the Sea should beat him off: When he was almost spent, his Flesh being foddren with the Water, and his Mouth and Eyes almost closed up with salt, behold the providence of God! A Ship that was going for Antwerp, the Wind being not good, was driven out of the way, whereby they spied something afar off in the Sea; But supposing it to be a Fisher-Boy, they steered from it: This Crow seeing, held up his Cap, and shook it above his Head, whereby at length they were moved to go to him, and so they took him in: When he came into the Ship, though half dead, yet careful of his New Testament, he pluckt it out of his Bosom, and gave it to them to dry. The Ship-men were very careful of him, and at last recovered him, and carried him to Antwerp; where the People, hearing of his miraculous deliverance, came to see him; some giving him Clothes, and others Money, so that he was no loser by his dependance upon God.

*William Slech*  
died in Prison.

*William Slech* being Prisoner in the Kings Bench for the truth of the Gospel, died there, and was buried in the Back-side of the said Prison.

*Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas Avington, Thomas Read, Thomas Wood, Thomas Mills, Martyrs, William Aderal, John Clement,* died in Prison.  
A young Man.  
Eleven Men,  
and Two Women.  
Popish cruelty.

At Lewis, in Suffex were burned *Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas Avington, and Thomas Read,* for their constant adhering to the truth.

Shortly after them were burned in the same place, Master *Thomas Wood,* Minister, and *Thomas Mills* for the same cause.

In the Kings Bench Master *William Aderal,* Minister, and *John Clement,* dying were buried in the Back-side of the Prison.

A godly young Man, Servant to a Merchant, suffered grievous persecution, and at last was burnt at Leicester.

Presently after Eleven Men, and Two Women, were condemned by Bonner, and sent to Stratford-Bow to be burnt. The Sheriff divided them into Two parts, and went to the one, and told them that their Fellows had recanted, wishing them to do the like, whereby their lives might be saved: To whom they answered, That their Faith was not built on Man, but on Christ Crucified. When he could not prevail with them, he went to the other part, telling them that their Friends had recanted, desiring them to do the like, and not wilfully to cast away themselves: But they answered, as the other, that their Faith was not built on Man, but on Christ, and his sure Word. Thus seeing that he could prevail with none of them, he carried them to the fire. There they prayed earnestly unto God, and went joyfully to the Stake, embracing, and kissing it, and so cheerfully yielded up their Souls to God.

Constancy.

A great persecution.

*Thomas Flier*  
murdered.

*Thomas Parret, John Norrice, Martin Hunt,* died in Prison.  
*Roger Bernard.*

About the same time a great Persecution was raised in the Diocess of Litchfield, by Doctor Bane, the Bishop thereof, whereby many were forced to do penance, and amongst the rest one *Thomas Flier* of Utoxiter, was slain by a desperate Papist.

In the Kings Bench *Thomas Parret, John Norrice, and Martin Hunt,* died in Prison for the truth, whereof the latter was famished to death, and were all buried in the Prison-yard.

At Saint Edmundsbury, *Roger Bernard* being brought before Doctor Hopton, the Bishop, was examined whether he was shriven at Easter? To which he answered, That he had not confessed his sins to the Priest, but he had confessed them



them to Almighty God, who he hoped had forgiven them. The Bishop told him that he must confess them to the Priest: To which he answered, That by Gods grace he would not do it. Then the Bishop called him Heretick, &c. Bernard answered, That it grieved him not to be called Heretick by him; For so his Fore-fathers had called the Prophets, and Confessors long before him. After some other conference, the Bishop bad the Jailor take him away, and lay Irons enough on him; For he would tame him before he had done. Then went divers Priests to him, who with flattering, and enticing words, sought to pervert him from the truth: And when that would not prevail, they threatned him with stocking, Whipping, and burning: To whom he answered, *Friends, I am not better then my Master Christ, and the Prophets, whom your Fathers served after such sort; And I for his Names sake am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God shall so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same, according to his promise, in spite of the Devil, and all his instruments.* Then carried they him to the Bishop, who condemned him, and delivered him to the secular power.

A brave  
Speech.

Adam Foster of Mendlesham in Suffolk was apprehended by Thomas Mowse and George Rivet for not coming to Church, and carried before Sir John Tyrel, who sent him to Norwich to the Bishop; But it pleased God, that immediately Mowse was stricken by God with a grievous disease, and died shortly after: And Rivet not warned thereby, but persisting in his ways, had a great swelling in his Legs, which grievously vexed, and troubled him, and at length falling into a fearful disease, he died most miserably, and in so impatient a manner that it terrified all that heard thereof.

Adam Foster.

Gods judg-  
ment on Per-  
secutors.

Robert Lawson being also apprehended for not going to Church, was by Sir John Tyrel sent to the Bishop, and so all these Three godly Men being condemned, were to be burnt at Bury: At the Stake they made their prayers unto God, and died with much chearfulness: About the same time one John Fortune, a godly and zealous Professor of the truth, was made away by the Bishop and his Ministers.

Robert Law-  
son.

John Fortune  
murdered.

John Carelesse of Coventry, Weaver, was there imprisoned for the truth; But in the Jail he so carried himself, that the Jailor would sometimes let him go abroad upon his word, he returned at the hour appointed to Prison again: At length by a Writ, he was removed to London, and imprisoned in the Kings Bench, whither came one Doctor Martin to examine him, betwixt whom there passed such like communication.

John Carelesse.

Martin. *What is thy name?*

Carelesse. *My name is John Carelesse.*

Martin. *It will appear by that I have done with thee, that thou art a true carelesse Man indeed. Where wast thou born?*

Carelesse. *At Coventry.*

Martin. *How camest thou hither?*

Carelesse. *By a Writ I was sent hither by the Lord Chief Justice.*

Martin. *I wish thou wouldst play the wise Mans part: Thou art an handsome Man, and its pitty but thou shouldst save that which God hath bought.*

Carelesse. *I thank your Mastership, and I put you out of doubt that I am most sure, and certain of my Salvation by Jesus Christ: So that my Soul is sure already, what pains soever my Body suffer here for a time.*

Martin. *Yea marry. For thou art so predestinated to life, that thou canst not perishe in what soever opinion thou dost die.*

Carelesse. *That God hath predestinated me to eternal life in Christ I am most certain: And even so I am sure that his Holy Spirit, wherewith I am sealed, will preserve me from all Heresies, and evil opinions, that I shall die in none at all.*

Martin. *Let me hear your Faith about Predestination?*

PPP

Carelesse.

Careleffe. *I believe that Almighty God, our most dear, and Heavenly Father, of his great mercy, and infinite goodness through Jesus Christ, did elect, and appoint in him before the foundation of the world was laid, a Church which he doth continually guide, and govern by his grace, and Holy Spirit: So that not one of them shall finally perish.*

Martin. *Why? who will deny this? Pray thee, Careless, prove thy self a wise Man, and do not cast away thy self wilfully.*

Careleffe. *The Lord knows I would gladly live, so that I may do the same with a safe Conscience.*

Martin. *Thou art a tall Fellow, and mayest do the Queen good service in Ireland; wilt thou go thither, and serve Her Majesty there?*

Careleffe. *Wheresoever I am, I am ready to do her Grace the best service I can with Body, Goods, and life: And if she, or any under her require me to do any thing contrary to Christs true Religion, I am ready also to do service in Smithfield, as my Bed-fellow, and other Brethren have done: Praised be God for it.*

Martin. *By my troth thou art as pleasant a Fellow as ever I talked with, of all the Protestants, &c. And so after some other discourse they parted.*

During this his imprisonment, he fell into some heaviness, and perplexity of mind; whereupon he wrote to Master Philpot, lying then in the Bishops Coal-house; From whom he received a consolatory Letter, which through Gods mercy, gave him great satisfaction. He wrote also divers other Letters during his imprisonment, which continued about Two years; At the end whereof he fell sick, and died, being thereby deprived of that Crown of Martyrdom which he so much longed after.

He died in  
Prison.





## THE LIFE OF

## Mr. JULINES PALMER.



*Julines Palmer* was born in *Coventry*, where his Father had been Major; He was carefully brought up in learning, and sent to *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*; where he profited very much in the knowledge of the Arts and Tongues. At last he fell to the study of Divinity, recompensing his short time therein with the greatness of his diligence; And his late coming to the knowledge of the truth, with his earnest, and zealous progress in the same. He was of a civil behavior. Of manners courteous, of countenance chearful, of speech pleasant; quick-spirited, yet humble: Apter to be deceived than to deceive: A great contemner of reproaches, and injuries: Using to say, That none were to be accounted valiant but such as could despise injuries. In his studies he was indefatigable. He rose early, and went to Bed late: Getting so much credit in the Colledge, that he was chosen Fellow, and Reader in the same. At first he was addicted to Popery, and kept company only with such as were Enemies to the Gospel of *Christ*. Sermons he would not hear himself, nor by his good will suffer any of his Pupils to hear them, believing that they might be better occupied at home. The Preachers, and all such as were setters forth of sound Doctrin in King *Edward* the Sixths time, he despised; For which obstinacy he was oft punished by the Officers in the Colledge, sometimes in his Purse, sometimes in his Commons.

His Character;

Not long before King *Edwards* death, certain scandalous Verses were scattered abroad against Doctor *Haddon*, President of that Colledge: Whereupon *Palmer* was suspected, and examined about them: But he did not only stoutly deny them, but also gave such reproachful Language to the Officers, that upon further consideration, he was expelled the House. After this to provide himself a subsistence, he betook himself to teach Children in the House of Sir *Francis Knolles*, where he continued till the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, and then, when Visitors were sent to *Oxford* to expel Protestants, and to put Papists, in their rooms, Master *Palmer* repaired to them, and acquainting them with his former expulsion for his zeal to that cause, he was by them again restored to his Fellowship.

He is expelled the Colledge,

After a while it pleased God, that he met with *Calvins Institutions*, and read it over: After which, meeting with an old companion of his in *Pauls Church London*, they looked upon a Rood that was lately set up: Whereupon *Palmer* said, *Is this our God for whom we have so smarted?* No, said the other, it is but his Image.

His Conversion.

His Image? said *Palmer*, I tell thee plainly, John Calvin, whose Institutions I have lately read, tells me plainly by Gods word that it is an Idol, and that the Pope is Antichrist, and that his Clergy is the filthy sink-hole of Hell: And now I believe it,

it, for I feel it sensibly. Oh that God had revealed this to me in times past: I would have bequeathed this Roman Religion, or Irreligion rather to the Devil of Hell, whence it came. Believe me, I will rather have these Knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder Jackanapes (so he called the Rood) God help me, for I am born to trouble, and adversity in this world.

His Zeal.

Thus God wrought in his Heart, that he became very inquisitive how the Martyrs were apprehended, what Articles they were examined of, how they behaved themselves at their death; Inſomuch that he ſent one of his Pupils to Gloceſter to obſerve how Biſhop Hooper demeaned himſelf at his burning: And himſelf being preſent in Oxford, when Ridley, and Latimer ſuffered Martyrdom, as he came back, he ſaid to his Friends, *Oh raging cruelty! Oh Tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous!*

From that day forward he ſtudiously ſet himſelf to find out the truth: Read *Peter Martyrs* Commentary upon the Firſt of the *Corinthians*, and other good Books: And ſo through hearty Prayer, and diligent ſearching of the Scriptures; At length he believed, and imbraced the truth with great joy, and ſo profited in the ſame, that daily he declared it more and more in word and deed. Yea at length, through Gods grace, he grew up to ſuch maturity, and ripeneſs in the truth, that he ſpared not to declare the ſame both in words, and actions: Hereupon he began to be firſt ſuſpected, and then abhorred by the Preſident, Maſter Cole, and others, who had formerly been his great Friends.

His Faith.

For which cauſe, finding that he could not with a ſafe Conſcience be preſent at their Idolatrous ſervices, he addreſſed himſelf to leave his fellowſhip, and to depart the Houſe: And being aſked by a Friend, how he would live when he was gone; He answered, *Domini eſt terra, & plenitudo ejus; The earth is the Lords, and the fulneſs of it. Let the Lord work, I will commit my ſelf to him, and the wide world.*

A Prediction.

Before his departure, a great Papiſt that formerly had been his great Friend, meeting with him, and in diſcourſe finding him zealous in defence of the truth, ſaid unto him: *well Palmer, well, now thou art ſtout, and ſtiff in thine opinion, but if thou wert brought to the Stake, I believe thou would'ſt tell me another tale. I adviſe thee beware of the fire, for its a ſhrewd matter to burn: Truly ſaid Palmer, I have been in danger of burning once, or twice, and yet, through Gods mercy, have eſcaped it, but I verily believe it will be mine end at laſt: welcome be it, by the grace of God: Indeed it's an hard matter for them to burn that have their Souls linked to their Bodies, as a Thiefs foot is tied in a pair of Fetters: But if a Man be once able by the help of Gods Spirit to ſeparate the Soul from the Body, it's no more for him to burn, then for me to eat this piece of Bread*

He teacheth School at Reading.

Having left his Fellowſhip, it pleaſed God, who never faileth thoſe that depend upon him, that he was preſently after ſetled in the Grammar-School of Reading, where he was well approved of by thoſe that feared God, not only for his learning, but eſpecially for his earneſt zeal, and profeſſion of the truth: But Satan envying his proceedings, and proſperous ſucceſs in the ſame, would not ſuffer him long to be quiet there: For he ſtirred up certain Hypocrites, who under pretence of zeal, to the truth, inſinuated themſelves into his ſecrets. He, good Man, ſuſpecting no deceit, imbraced them joyfully, and acquainted them with all his proceedings: For himſelf having ſincerely imbraced the truth, and being full of Heavenly zeal, he had an incredible deſire by all means poſſible to encourage others in the profeſſion of the ſame. Theſe diſſembling Hypocrites, watching their opportunity when he was abroad, riſed his ſtudy, ſeized upon his Books and writings, and amongſt the reſt, they found ſundry arguments written by him, againſt the Popiſh proceedings, eſpecially againſt their brutiſh Tyranny, exerciſed towards the poor Saints, and ſervants of God. Having gotten theſe things into their Hands, they threatned to return them to the Privy Council, except he would reſign the School to one of their chuſing, and preſently depart out of the Country.

Hypocriſie.

Thus



Thus was this innocent Mari, by the malice of these dissemblers forced to quit Reading, leaving his Books in the Hands of his Adversaries, and a quarters stipend unpaid, and so he went to *Evesham*, where his Mother dwelt, hoping to obtain a legacy, left to him by his Father in her Hands. His mother having beforehand understood the occasion of his coming, when upon his Knees he craved her blessing, she said, *Thou shalt have Christs curse, and mine, wherever thou goest.* He amazed at this heavy greeting, paused a while, and then said, *Oh Mother, your curse you may give me, which God knows I never deserved; But Gods curse you cannot give, for he hath already blessed me.* Nay, said she, *thou wentest out of Gods blessing, when thou wast banished for an Heretick out of Oxford, and now for the like knavery art driven out of Reading.* Alas Mother, said he, *you are misinformed, I resigned my places of mine own accord, and Heretick am I none; For I stand not stubbornly against any truth, but defend it to my power.* Well, said she, *I am sure thou dost not believe as thy Father, and I, nor as our Forefathers did, but as thou wast taught by the new Law, in King Edwards days, which is damnable Heresie.* Indeed, answered he, *I so believe, but it is not Heresie, but the truth, and not new, but as ancient as Christ, and his Apostles.* Well, said she, *get thee out of my House, and sight, and never take me for thy Mother more: As for money I have none for thee, thy Father bequeathed no legacy to Hereticks: Fagots I have to burn thee, and more thou gettest not at my Hands.* Master Palmer for her curses returned blessings, and prayers, and so weeping abundantly, he departed from her: This so mollified her hard Heart, that she threw an angel after him, saying, *Take that and keep thee a true Man.*

He leaves Reading.

An unnatural Mother,

Master Palmer finding such entertainment from his Mother, knew not now which way to turn himself, but after a while he resolved privately to return to *Magdalen Colledge*, upon the confidence that he had in a Friend or Two in that House. When he had been there a while, he gave Letters commendatory for his preferment to a School in *Glostershire*, but as he went by the way thitherward, musing with himself, he resolved to go privily back to *Reading*, trusting that by the help of his Friends, he might recover his Books, and quarteridge. Hereupon he went closely thither, yet not so closely, but the viperous generation of Hypocrites had knowledge of it, and consulting together, suborned a cunning dissembler to go to him, to fish out the cause of his coming. This was easily effected, and the very night after, as he was in Bed, came the Officers with Bills, and Staves, requiring him in the Queens Name quietly to go along with them: And thus the young Man, betrayed by those *Judas'es*, was led away as a Sheep to the slaughter, and was thrust into a vile, deep, stinking Dungeon, where they left him hanging by the Hands, and Feet, in a pair of Stocks, so high that scarce any part of his Body touched the ground, and there they left him for Ten days. Then was he brought before the Major, and these dissembling Villaines charged him with Treason, Sedition, and supposed Murther, and Adultery. Master Palmer answered, That if any such hainous crimes could be proved against him, he would patiently submit to all kind of torments they could inflict: But, saith he, *Oh cruel Blood-suckers, ye follow the practice of your progenitors, the viperous brood of Pharises and Papists: But be you well assured, that God Almighty sees all your cruel, and crafty packings, and will not suffer the outrageous fury of your venomous Tongues, and fiery Hearts to escape unpunished.*

He is betrayed and apprehended. Popish cruelty.

He cheats himself.

The things which they alleadged against him, were, That he should say, that the Queen had not the Sword put into her Hand to execute Tyranny, and to kill, and murther the true Servants of God; That her Sword was blunt towards the Papists, but towards true Christians, it was too sharp: That he was a sower of Sedition, and a procurer of unlawful Assemblies; That they had found him alone with his Hostess by the fire in her Hall. Upon this evidence the Major sent him to the Cage to be a publick spectacle of ignominy to the Eyes of the world.

In the afternoon he was brought forth to his answer ; At which time, he did so mightily, and clearly enervate their evidence, and prove his own innocency, that the Major himself was much ashamed that he had given such credit to them, so that he sought means how to convey him privily out of the Country. Yet in the *interim* he kept him in Prison ; whither a godly Man coming to him, said, *O Master Palmer, you have deceived our expectations, For we hear that you suffer not for righteousness sake, but for your own demerits : To whom he answered, Indeed, Brother, these are the old practices of the Satanical brood : But assure your self, and God be praised for it, I have so purged my self, and detected their falshood, that henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith.*

But his Adversaries fearing that if he should escape secretly, it would tend to their shame, and danger ; they now charge him with Heresie, which they had gathered out of his Papers stoll out of his study. Then was he again sent before the Major, the Official, and some others ; where he was required to render an account of his faith. And so having gathered out of his own Mouth sufficient matter to intrap him ; they drew up Articles against him, and sent him to Doctor Jeffery, who then kept his Visitation at Newberry. But before his going, Master Rider of Reading, a godly Man hearing how cruelly he had been dealt withal in Prison, and almost pined for lack of necessaries, sent secretly to him in the night a bowed Groat in token of his love, requiring to know what he lacked, and he would provide it for him. Master Palmer answered the Messenger, *The Lord reward your Master for his benevolence towards me, a miserable object in this world ; But tell him, that God be praised, I lack nothing.* The morning before he went to Newberry, one Thomas Askin, his fellow Prisoner in Christs cause, sitting at Breakfast, and seeing Master Palmer leaning in a Window very sad, asked him, why he came not to Breakfast ? because said he I have not money to pay for it. Come on Man, said Askin, God be praised for it, I have enough to pay for us both.

When they came to Newberry, they were presently committed to the Blind-house, where they found John Guin, their faithful Brother in the Lord.

Shortly after Palmer was called before Doctor Jeffery, and other Commissioners, where his Papers were shewed to him, and he asked, whether they were his Writings ? Master Palmer looking upon them, acknowledged that they were.

Jeffery. *Sayest thou so ? I will make thee recant them, and wring peccant out of thy lying Lips before I have done with thee.*

Palmer. *I know that though of my self I can do nothing, yet if you, and all mine Enemies bodily and ghostly should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pass ; neither shall you prevail against Gods mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth, and speak it so boldly.*

Jeffery. *I perceive you are full of words.*

Palmer. *Christ hath promised not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them such force of matter, as the gates of Hell shall not be able to prevail against it.*

Jeffery. *Christ so promised to his Apostles ; But I hope you will not compare your self with them.*

Palmer. *With the holy Apostles I may not compare, neither have I any assistance in mine own wit and learning ; Yet I am sure, this promise belongs to all such as are appointed to defend Gods truth against his enemies in times of Persecution ; And I am assured through his grace, that at this time it appertaineth unto me, as I doubt not to make it appear, if you will give me leave to dispute with you before this Audience in defence of all that I have written.*

Jeffery. *Thou art a Beardless Boy, and darest thou presume to challenge a Doctor ?*

Palmer. *Remember Sir, Spiritus ubi vult spirat. The Spirit breatheth where it pleaseth him ; and Out of the mouths of Infants, &c. And, Thou hast hidden*

He is charged  
with Heresie.

His modesty.

Thomas Askin.

John Guin.

His conference  
with  
Doctor Jeffe-  
ry.



hidden these things from the wise, and learned, &c. *God is not tied to time, wit, place, or learning; and though your wit and learning be greater, yet your love to the truth, and zeal to defend the same, is not greater then mine.*

After much other conference about the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, and Infant-Baptism: The High Sheriff *Sir Richard A Bridges*, proffered him great preferment if he would recant his opinion: To which he answered, thanking him courteously for his offer; *But said he, I have already in Two places renounced my living for Christs cause, and so by Gods grace will I be ready to yield up this life also, when God calls me to it.*

*Sir Richard A Bridges proffereth him favor if he would recant.*

Presently after he, with his Two Brethren were condemned by Doctor *Jessey*, and delivered over to the Secular Power.

*Their condemnation.*

About an Hour before they went to Execution in the presence of many, *Master Palmer* thus comforted his Fellows: *Brethren, be of good chear in the Lord, and faint not: Remember what Christ saith. Blessed are ye when Men revile, and persecute you for righteousness sake: Rejoyce, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. Fear not them that kill the Body, and are not able to hurt the Soul. God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted beyond that which you are able. we shall not end our lives in the fire, but only change them for a better life; yea, for Coals, we shall receive Pearls; For Gods holy Spirit certifieth our Spirits that he hath even now prepared for us a sweet supper in Heaven for his sake which suffered first for us.*

As they were singing a *Psalm*, came the Sheriff with many Men in harness to guard them to the fire. At the Stake they all fell down and prayed, and *Master Palmer* with an audible voice, pronounced the 31. *Psalm*. Then came to him Two Popish Priests, exhorting him yet to recant, and save his Soul: To whom he said; *Away, away, tempt me no longer: Away, I say, from me all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears. Then all of them putting off their clothes, went to the Stake, and kissed it. Then said Master Palmer, Good People, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end; And for Christs sake beware of Popish Teachers, for they deceive you.* Hereupon an Officer threw a Fagot at his Face, so that the Blood gushed out in divers places; But the Sheriff was so offended at this, that he brake the Fellows Head. When the fire began to take hold of their Bodies, they lift up their Hands to Heaven, and quietly and chearfully as if they felt no smart, cryed out, *Lord Jesus, strengthen us: Lord Jesus assist us; Lord Jesus receive our Souls*, and so they continued without struggling till they had finished their course.

*Their Martyrdom.*

About the same time there was in *Ipswich*, one *Agnes Wardall*, a Woman that feared God, and abominated all the Popish trash, and therefore desired rather with hard fare, and evil lodging to be abroad, then by remaining at home, to be in the tents of the ungodly: Her Husband also fearing God, was forced to flie from his own habitation, and to betake himself to a Marriners life.

*Agnes Wardall.*

This *Agnes Wardall* on a time came home to see her poor Children, which some Enemies of the truth having notice of, they presently went to the Constable, and told him of it: Hereupon he presently charged the watch (it being in the night-time) and sent every company to his place; They went also and beset the House round about. Then the Constable knocked Three times at the Door; At last a Woman spake out at a Window, asking who was there? *Ah*, said the Constable, *are you so nigh, and would not speak before? what is the reason of it? Marry I will tell you*, said the Woman: *I am but a stranger here, and I have heard that Spirits walk hereabouts, and if a Man answer at the first or second call, he is in great danger.* At this they laughed, and commanded her in the Queens Name to open the Door. *Agnes* was asleep at first, but being awakened by her Maid, and told of the danger, she got up, and put on her clothes, and so her Maid locked her up in a Press, and then went and opened the Door. The Constable asked her, who was in the House? *None*, said the Maid, *but a woman that is a lodger here, and Two Children*: Then searched they the whole House, and every corner

*Popish cruelty.*

A special Providence.

corner of it ; and one laying his Hand on the Press, said, *This is a fair Press, for ought I know she may be in it* ; yet they went their wayes without breaking it open, and so searched the Yard, and Out-houses. In the mean time the Woman was almost smothered in the Press, and therefore called to the lodger to open the Press, which she could not do of a long while ; yet at last, through Gods mercy, she opened it, and *Agnes* came forth all on a sweat, and as pale as Ashes ; Then went she forth into the Garden, and creeping through the Pales, got into the Fields, and so shrouded her self in a Ditch amongst long Nettles ; And thus through the power and goodnes of God, was this his Servant delivered from the cruelty of her Enemies.

Peter Moon and his Wife.

The same year Bishop *Hopton*, and *Dunnings* his Chancellor, kept their Visitation at *Ipswich* ; And in *Suffolk* there were divers Godly Persons, who were accused by their wicked and malicious Adversaries ; Amongst which, one *Peter Moon* and his Wife, were charged for not coming to Church, and for neglecting other Popish Ceremonies. *Moon* was first examined, Whether the Pope were the supream Head of the Church ? Whether the Queen were right Inheritor to the Crown ? And whether *Christs* Body were really present in the Sacrament ? And he being of a timorous disposition, answered so, as his Adversaries were satisfied ; His Wife also by his Example, fell into the like dissimulation ; whereupon they were dismissed : But when they came home, and began to bethink themselves what they had done ; they fell into such sorrow, and trouble of conscience, that they were ready to despair ; and *Moon*, seeing his Sword hanging in a Parlor, was tempted to have made away himself, but the Lord prevented it, and after upon their repentance was pleased to comfort them.

Their weakness.

Their trouble of conscience.

Catherine Cowches.  
Guillemine Gilbert.  
Perotine Massie.

Also about the same time there were Three Women in the Isle of *Gernsey*, accused for not coming to Church ; Their names were *Catherine Cowches* the Mother, *Guillemine Gilbert*, and *Perotine Massie* the Two Daughters ; These being examined by the Dean, and some other of the Clergy, were condemned for Herericks, and delivered to the secular power. When they were fastned to Three Stakes, *Perotine* being great with Child, when her Belly brake by reason of the violence of the fire, a fair Man-Child fell out of the same, which was taken out of the fire, and laid upon the grass ; And afterwards one took the Child, and carried it to the Bailiff, who adjudged it to be carried back, and cast into the fire, which was accordingly done.

Horrid cruelty.

Tho. Dungate.  
John Foreman.  
Mother Tree.  
Thomas Moore.

At *Greenstead* in *Sussex*, *Thomas Dungate*, *John Foreman*, and Mother Tree were burned for their constant adhering to the truth

At *Leicester*, one *Thomas Moore*, being examined about *Christs* presence in the Sacrament, said, That *Christ* was in Heaven, and not in the Pixe, for which he was by the Bishop condemned, and burnt, finishing his life in the flames with much joy, and comfort.

Joan Waste, a blind Maid.

In the Town of *Darby*, there was one *Joane Waste*, who was born blind, who in the days of King *Edward* the Sixth, frequented daily Divine service, and Sermons, by means whereof it pleased God to convert her : And she, having learned to knit, got so much money as bought her a New Testament, which she would get some to read unto her ; and sometimes she would give a penny, or Two pence to some to read certain Chapters to her : So that in the Reign of Queen *Mary* she had gotten many Chapters by heart, and was grown so well acquainted with the Scriptures, that she was able thereby to confute their Idolatrous practices : For this at last she was convented before Bishop *Baine*, and Doctor *Draicot*, his Chancellor : Before whom she was charged for denying the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacraments, &c. To which she answered, That she believed so much therein as the word of God taught her. She desired them not to trouble her being a poor blind Woman, but if they would proceed, she professed that with Gods assistance, she was ready to yield up her life in the defence of her Faith, in what manner they should please to appoint. The Bishop pressed her much with the argument of Gods omnipotency, mixing also many terrible threatnings

Her knowledge.

Her Zeal.



threatnings of imprisonment, torments, and death; whereupon she said, *My Lord, if before this company you will take it upon your Conscience, that the Doctrine which you would have me believe about the Sacrament, is true, and that at the dreadful day of Judgment you will answer for me therein, you shall know my further answer*: To this the Bishop answered, That he would: But the Chancellor hearing him say so, said, *My Lord, you know not what you do; you may not answer for an Heretick*; whereupon the Bishop retracted his word: Then said the poor Woman, *If you refuse to do this, I will answer no farther, but you may do with me as you please*: Then they pronounced Sentence against her, and delivered her to the Bailiff of Darby; by whom she was shortly after burned, calling upon God for mercy as long as life lasted.

Her Martyrdom.

Presently after a godly and zealous Man called *Edward Sharp*, was condemned by the Bishop of *Bristol*; where constantly, and manfully persisting in the defence for the truth, he suffered Martyrdom.

Edward Sharp.

At *Mayfield* in *Suffex* *John Hart*, *Thomas Ravensdale*, with Two others were condemned for the truth, and in the fire constantly, and joyfully yielded their lives for the Testimony of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*.

John Hart, Thomas Ravensdale, with Two others.

The like did a young Man, a Carpenter, at *Bristol*, presently after.

A young Man at Bristol.

Also *John Horne*, and a Woman died joyfully for the truth, being burned at *Wotton Under-hedge* in *Glocestershire*.

John Horne, and a Woman.

Also in the same Town there lived one *William Dangerfield*, a very honest, and godly Man, who by his Wife *Joane* had Nine Children, and she now was lying in of the Tenth. *William Dangerfield* for his greater security had absented himself from home for a time, but hearing that his Wife was brought to Bed, he came home to visit her and his Children; which being known, the House was presently beset by his Popish Neighbors, and he being taken, was carried to Prison, and afterwards was so cruelly persecuted by the Bishop [*Brooks*] that his Legs were almost eaten off with the Irons. His Wife also, having lien in but Fourteen days, was carried out of her Child-bed, together with her Infant, and was put into the common Jail with Thieves, and Murtherers. Then did the Bishop send for the Man, and told him that his Wife had recanted, who was as well learned as he, and therefore perswaded him that he should not persist in his own opinion, but that he should recant also; and the better to induce him, he was suffered to go to his Wife, and had a form of recantation given him, and he promised to subscribe the same: But when he had told his Wife what he had done, and shewed her the recantation, her heart clave in sunder, and she cried out, *Alas Husband, thus long we have continued one, and hath Satan so far prevailed with you as to cause you to break your vow, which you made with God in your Baptism?* Hereupon the good Man, seeing how they had beguiled him, began exceedingly to bewail the promise that he had made to the Bishop, and made his Prayer to Almighty God, desiring him that he might not live so long, as to call evil good, and good evil: And shortly after he died, having lien in Prison Twelve weeks. *Joane* his Wife continued long in Prison, till her Infant through cold, and Famine, her milk being dried up, died: and she herself also survived not long, but ended her life in Prison.

Popish cruelty.

Popish subtilty.

His Wives zeal.

He died in Prison, and his Wife and Child.

In *Northampton*, a godly Shoemaker was burned for Religion, and about the same time in the Castle of *Chichester*, Three godly Confessors being in bonds for the truth, by reason of the cruel handling of the Papists, died in Prison, and were buried in the Fields.

A Shoemaker.

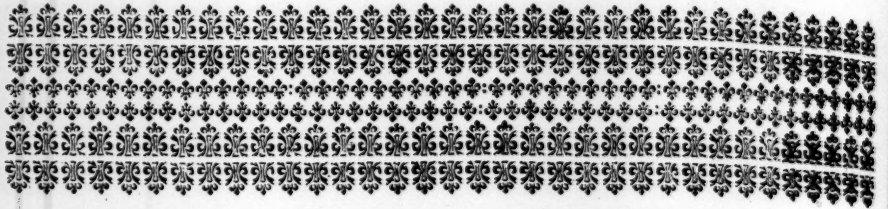
Three Persons die in Prison.

At *Chester* one *Hook* a true witness of the Lords truth, was burned for the same.

Hook Martyr.

About the same time Doctor *Harpfield* cast into *Canterbury* Castle, Fifteen godly persons, of which number not one escaped, but were either burnt in the fire, or else famished in Prison.

Fifteen in Canterbury.



THE LIFE OF  
SIR JOHN CHEEK.



His preferment in the University.

He is made Tutor to Prince Edward.

**J**ohn Cheek being carefully brought up in learning was sent to *Cambridg*, where following his study hard, and having excellent natural Endowments, he so profited in learning, that he was first chosen Fellow of *Saint Johns Colledg*; Then the University Orator, and the *Greek Reader* in *Cambridg*: Afterwards he had the honor to be the first *Regius Professor* of the *Greek Tongue* in that University: By which means he grew so famous, that King *Henry* the Eighth committed, his Son Prince *Edward*, being not at that time full Seven years old, to his tuition: His care in the education of that young Prince was such, that he not only instructed him in good Letters, but sowed those Seeds of Religion in him, which daily fructified (through Gods mercy) till he became famous, and an Instrument of beginning an admirable Reformation in the Church, of *England*, as you may read at large in his Life, in my *Second Part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*.

Yea, by Sir *John Cheeks* means, the same saving truth was sweetly infilled also into the Lady *Elizabeth*, by those who, through his procurement, had the guidance of her younger years, and studies; amongst whom, one was *William Grindall*, a hopeful young Man of *Saint Johns Colledg* in *Cambridg*, who wanting other means, Sir *John Cheek* took him in his service, *Anno Christi* 1544. and soon after preferred him to the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom he continued, so long as he lived, in favor, and good esteem; And when he died, his place was presently supplied by Master *Roger Ascham*, who had been Master *Cheeks* Scholar whilst he was Fellow in *Cambridg*, and was his Successor in the Orators place in that University; A Man dear unto him for the similitude of his studies, but more, for his zeal to the true Religion.

He is Knighted.

His Imprisonment.  
He flies into Germany.

*Anno Christi* 1551. King *Edward* Knighted Sir *John Cheek*, 1553. made him one of his Privy Council: But the King shortly after dying, Sir *John Cheek* was cast into Prison by Queen *Mary*, for favoring the title of the Lady *Jane*: Yet not long after getting his liberty, he amongst many others, fled into Germany; and lived in good credit in the City of *Stratsburgh*: But after a while, having obtained King *Philips* safe conduct to pass and repass by the means of the Lord *Paget*, he went to *Bruxels* to see the Queens Ambassadors: After which, as he, and Sir *Peter Carew* were bringing the Lord *Paget* on his way towards *Antwerp*, they were by the Provost Marshal apprehended, bound Arms, and Legs, and so tied in a Cart with Ropes, and carried to the Sea-side, where they were shipped, and thrust under Hatches till they came into *England*: Then was Sir *John Cheek* clapped up in the Tower close Prisoner, there was he put to a miserable choice, either to forego his life, or that which was far more precious, his liberty of conscience. No means, neither his great learning, his known integrity, nor

His temptation.



nor the intercession of his Friends, and ( among the rest ) of Abbot *Fecknam*, a Man that could do much with *Queen Mary*, could prevail for his pardon at any lower rate than by recanting his Religion. This he was very unwilling to accept of, till his hard condition of Imprisonment, joyned with threats of much worse in case of his perseverance, and the many large promises made to his submission, with what other insinuating means humane Policy could invent, wrought so upon him, whilst he consulted with flesh and blood, as drew from him an Abrenuntiation of that truth which he had so long professed, and still, believed. Upon this he was soon restored to his liberty, but never to his comfort: For the sense and sorrow of his own Apostasie, and the daily sight of the cruel Butcheries exercised upon others for their constant profession of the truth, made such deep impressions upon his broken Spirit, as brought him to a speedy, yet through Gods mercy, to a comfortable end of his miserable life. He died in September in *London*, at the House of *Peter Osburn* Elquire, and his Body was interred in *Saint Albans woodstreet*, Anno Christi, 1557.

His weakness.

Danger of Apostasie.

His death.

A Bloody Commission?

The next Moneth after there came out another Bloody Commission from the King and Queen, further to kindle the fire of Persecution, by reason whereof all the quarters of the Realm were full of Persecution, and the Prisons were stuffed with the Saints of God. And first, to begin with the Town of *Colchester*, where the wind of Persecution began fiercely to arise, insomuch as Twenty three Men and Women were apprehended in one day; Of which number one only escaped; The other Twenty two were driven like sheep to *London*, ready to lay down their lives for the Gospels sake. Yet the Bishops being afraid to execute so many together, drew up a very easie submission for them, to which most of them subscribed, yet divers of them were afterwards apprehended again, and executed.

Three and Twenty Men and Women apprehended.

Also about the same time *Thomas Loseby*, *Henry Ramsey*, *Thomas Thirty*, *Margaret Hide*, and *Agnes Stanley*, being sent out of *Essex* to Bishop *Bonner*, were examined, and standing stedfast in the truth, were by him condemned, and in *Smithfield* all of them in one fire, most joyfully, and constantly ended their lives.

*Thomas Loseby.*  
*Henry Ramsey.*  
*Thomas Thirty.*  
*Margaret Hide,*  
*and Agnes Stanley, Martyrs.*

Anno 1557. *Stephen Gratwick* was brought before the Bishop of *Winchester*, and after divers Articles objected against him, the Bishop asked him, if he would recant; To whom he answered, *My Lord, my Faith is grounded more stedfastly then to change in a moment, yea, it is no process of time that can alter me, unless my Faith were like the waves of the Sea:* Whereupon the Bishop condemned him; Then said he with a loud voice, *Lord, lay not my Blood to their charge, if it be thy holy will;* As he went back to Prison, he began to speak to the people; whereupon they cryed out, *Cut out his Tongue; or stop his Mouth.* Shortly after he, with *William Moraunt*, and one *King* were burnt together in *Saint Georges Fields* in *Southwark*.

Stephen Gratwick.

His Constancy.

*William Moraunt,*  
*and King.*

In the Diocess of *Canterbury*, *Joan Bradbridg*, *Walter Applebie*, and his Wife, *Edmund Allen*, and his Wife, *Joan Mannings*, and a blind Maid, were examined before the Bishop, and by him condemned, and all of them burnt in one fire at *Maidstone* in *Kent*.

*Joan Bradbridg,*  
*Walter Applebie*  
*and his Wife.*

*Edmund Allen,*  
*and his Wife.*

*Joan Mannings,*  
*and a blind Maid.*

*John Fishcock,*  
*Nicholas White,*  
*Nicholas Pardue,*  
*and Four Women.*  
*Popish cruelty.*

Also in the same Diocess, *John Fishcock*, *Nicholas White*, and *Nicholas Pardue*, with Four Women were imprisoned for the truth. Amongst these was one *Alice Benden*, who for a while was kept with the other in *Canterbury Castle*, but afterwards was by the Bishop removed into a Dungeon under ground, where none of her Friends could come to her; There she was fed with a half penny Bread, and a farthing Beer a day, neither could she get any more for her money; Her lodging was upon a little short Straw between a pair of Stocks, and a Stonewall: There she lay Nine weeks, never changing her apparel, so that she fell into a pittiful condition: This made her grievously to bewail and lament her estate, reasoning with her self, why her Lord God did in so heavy a wise afflict her, and suffer her to be sequestred from her loving Prison-Fellows: In such

*Alice Benden,*  
*her sorrows,*

Her comfort.  
Psal. 42. 11.

extream misery and in these dolorous mournings she did continue till on a night, repeating that of the Psalmist: *why art thou so heavy, O my soul? and why art thou so cast down within me? Still trust in God, &c.* And Gods right hand can change all this, &c. She received comfort in the midst of her sorrows, and so continued joyful till her release. At last she was sent for to the Bishop; who asked her, if she would yet go to Church: promising favor if she would do it? To whom she answered, *I am fully perswaded by the great extremity which you have shewed towards me, that you are not of God, your doings being so ungodly, and that you seek my destruction;* withal, shewing how lame she was by reason of her ill lodging and diet, so that she was scarce able to move her self without pain: Hereupon the Bishop delivered her out of that filthy hole, and sent her to another Prison, till she, together with her other Fellows were brought forth, and condemned to the fire.

Their Martyrdom.

At the place of their Execution, they poured out their Prayers with so much zeal and affection to the Lord, that their very Adversaries could not but like it, and so preparing themselves for the fire, in the midst of the cruel flames, they comfortably resigned up their Spirits unto God. *Bradbridges* Wife, who was one of them, had Two Children, whose Names were *Patience* and *Charity*; and when she was condemned by the Bishop, she said to him, *My Lord, if you will needs burn me, yet I hope you will then take and keep Patience and Charity:* Nay, quoth the Bishop, *by the Faith of my Body, I will meddle with neither of them both.*

Richard Woodman and Nine more.

In the Town of *Lewis* were Ten faithful Servants of God put into one fire, of which number *Richard Woodman* was one: He was by occupation an Iron-maker, dwelling in the Parish of *Warbleton*, in the County of *Sussex*. The occasion of his first apprehension was this: There was one *Fairbanck*, the Minister of that Parish, who in the days of King *Edward* had often perswaded his People, not to credit any other Doctrin but that which he then preached: But in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, he wheeled about, and taught the clean contrary: Whereupon *Woodman* admonished him to teach them the truth, and reproved his inconsistency: For this he was apprehended and carried before the Justices, and by them was committed to the *Kings Bench*; where he continued for a year, and an half, and then by Doctor *Story* was removed to the Bishops Coal-house: yet after some time he was released, and so enjoyed his liberty, the Bishop only enjoying him that he should be an honest Man, and a member of the true Catholick Church, founded on the Prophets, and Apostles, *Christ* being the Head of it.

Woodmans imprisonment.

His release.

Upon his delivery, the Papists reported that he had consented to the Bishop; But the contrary shortly after appeared: For he went from Parish to Parish, confirming, and strengthening the Brethren: Hereupon the Commissioners complained of him to Sir *John Gage*, the Queens Chamberlain, telling him that *Woodman* went about Baptizing Children, and marrying Persons, with many such lies, to make him the more odious: Upon this information, divers Warrants were sent abroad for his apprehension: But through Gods mercy, he had warning of the danger, and so kept himself out of the way.

His second apprehension.

Shortly after Sir *John Gage* sent Three of his Men to apprehend him: *Woodman* being at plough with his Servants, just in the way, as they were going to his House to seek him, they espying of him, arrested him, and told him that he must go with them to their Lord. This made his flesh to tremble on the sudden; yet he answered, that he would go with them; only he requested them that they would go with him to his House, till he had broke his fast, and changed his apparel; which they consented to. By the way he said in his heart: *why am I thus afraid? They can charge me with no evil, and if they kill me for well doing, I shall be happy.* &c. This much quieted his heart, though he was loth to part with Wife, and Children, and Estate: Yet, (saith he) *as soon as I was perswaded in my mind to die, I had regard of nothing in this world, but was as joyful, and merry*

He blames his infidelity.



merry (I praise God) as ever I was in my life. This battel lasted not above a quarter of an hour, but it was sharper to me then death it self, for the time it lasted.

After Breakfast, he asked them for their Warrant, that so he might the better prepare himself for his answer: But they told him, that they had not their Warrant there: Then said he to them, *It's strange that you should come to fetch me away without a warrant, which makes me think you have none, but that you do it only to pick a thank with your Master. Indeed I have heard that there were some Warrants out for me, but that they were called in again, upon a letter which I wrote to the Commissioners Court, wherein I informed him that I was falsely accused, with Bap- tizing Children, and marrying, which I never did, being no Minister, and therefore not appointed thereunto: wherefore satisfie youe selves, for I will not go with you, unless you carry me by force, and if you attempt that, do it at your own peril:* And so he withdrew himself from them into his Chamber: Upon this they were so af- frighted, that they presently went their ways. *Woodman* conceived that God had hereby opened a door for his escaping, yet went he after them, and said, *Friends, if you have a warrant, I desire you for Gods sake to shew it me, and I will go with you: But if you have none, I desire you to depart in Gods peace, and the Kings.*

He refuses to go with them.

These Men went strait to fetch the Constable, and some others to carry him away by force; But before they came, he was gone, as God would have it: They searched every corner of the House for him, and in the night after they made another search, but to no purpose; yet afterwards he came home, and his Wife told him all things. Then he, presuming that great wait would be laid for him, told his Wife that he would hide himself in a Wood not far off, and so taking his Bible, with his Pen and Ink, he went into it, and lay there Six or Seven weeks, his Wife bringing him meat daily, as he had need. Afterwards a report was spread abroad, that he was seen in *Flanders*; whereupon they gave over seeking for him any longer. So when all was hushed, he went abroad amongst his Christian Friends, and afterwards went over into *Flanders*, and *France*, but thought every day Seven years till he was at home again, and therefore he returned as soon as possibly he could.

He hides him- self in a Wood.

But as soon as his return was known, the Popish Clergy procured Warrants, and caused his House to be searched often: Thus he remained above half a year, sometimes abroad, and sometimes at home, doing his business openly, and yet his Adversaries had no power to lay Hands on him, his Hour being not yet come; But at last he was betrayed by his own Brother, his Father conspiring together with him; For he had left a good Estate in their Hands to pay his debts, and to provide for his Wife, and Children: Hereupon *Richard Woodman* sent some Friends to his Father, requesting him to come to an account with him, which he consented to, and the day and hour were appointed; But against that time his Father, and Brother had discovered his being at home, and so divers were appointed to apprehend him. When they came near the House, a Girl cried out to her Mother, that some were coming to take her Father; whereupon her Mother shut the Doors: And he hearing a voice, crept into a private hole. Then did his Wife open the Door, and they came in, and with a Candle, searched every corner of the House, but could not find him: But when they were gone out, a Traitor, to whom he had formerly shewed this secret place, asked them whether they had searched over the Window in his Hall? Then did they return to search there, but could find no entrance into it. But *Woodman* perceiving that the place was discovered, and that they would break it open, he set his shoulders to some Boards, and brake them down, and so leaped forth, and ran his way down a lane that was full of sharp Cinders, and being barefoot, the Cinders did mi'erably cut his Feet; so that seeking to escape them, he fell into a miry hole, by reason whereof, one that pursued him laid hold of him: Then carried they him back to his House; where his Father met him, and bad him

A special pro- vidence. His Father and Brother betray him.

An unnatural Father.

A Judas.

His third apprehension.

him remember himself; So I do, said he, I praise God. *This day was appointed by God for me to be delivered into mine Enemies Hands, but woe be to him by whom I am betrayed, it had been good for him if he had never been born, if he speedily repent not. The Scripture is fulfilled on me: The Father shall be against the Son, and the Brother shall deliver the Brother unto death. Then they bound his Arms, for which he joyced that he was counted worthy to be bound for the Name of Christ. So he took his leave of his Wife and Children, and they presently carried him away to Christopher's Bishop of Chichester.*

Christ preferred before Wife, and Children.

The Bishop told him that if he would be reformed, he might enjoy his Wife, and Children, &c. To whom he answered, *I love my Wife, and Children in the Lord; And if I had Ten thousand pounds in Gold, I had rather forego it all than them: But yet I have them as if I had them not, and must not for their sakes displease God.*

After other discourse, Doctor Story moved the Bishop to send him away presently to the Marshalsee; which he much rejoiced at, that so he might be amongst his Brethren, and old Prison-Fellows, which the Bishop perceiving said, *Methinks he is not afraid of the Prison.*

Popish prophancies.

Woodman. *No I praise the living God.*

Story. *This is an Heretick indeed; He hath the right terms of all Hereticks. The Living God: I pray you, be there any dead Gods, that you say the living God?*

Woodman. *Be you angry with me, because I use the words which are written in the Bible?*

Their Martyrdom with Nine others. Ambrose died in Prison. Richard Lush. Simon Miller.

Story. *Bible, Bable, Bible, Bable. what speakest thou of the Bible?* After much other talk, he was sent to Prison, and several times after sent for and examined, and at last condemned, and carried to Lewis in Suffex, where he, with Five other men, and Four Women were burned together in one Fire.

About the same time one Ambrose died in Maidston Prison who otherwise had been burnt for the truth: And one Richard Lush suffered Martyrdom under the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

There was dwelling in the Town of Linn one Simon Miller, a godly, and zealous Man, and a Man that much detested and abhorred all Idolatry. He going to Norwich, and seeing a multitude of People coming out of the Church, from their Popish service, asked aloud, where one might go to have the Communion?

Elizabeth Cooper.

The People wondred at his boldness, and shortly after he was apprehended, and carried before Dunning, the Chancellor, who examined him of his Faith, and then had him to the Bishops House, where he was kept Prisoner: But by the connivence of his Keeper, he went home to Linn, where he continued till he had set his Household-affairs in order, after which he returned back to the Bishops House, and constantly abiding in the profession of the truth, was at last condemned and burned.

Their Martyrdom.

And there was burned together with him one Elizabeth Cooper, who having formerly made a recantation in Saint Andrews Church in Norwich, was exceedingly troubled in mind for the same, and could have no peace of Conscience, till, going into the same Church before all the people, she had retracted, and revoked her recantation; For which she was apprehended, and carried to Prison, and after condemned: When the fire came first to her, she a little shrunk, crying Ho: Whereupon Simon Miller put back his Hand to her, bidding her to be strong, and of good cheer: For, good Sister, said he, we shall have a merry, and joyful Supper: This so quieted her Heart that she stood very still, being glad to finish that work that she had before so happily begun: And so committing their Souls into the Hands of God, they ended their lives in the flames.

We heard before of Twenty two Persons sent up from Colchester, most of which upon an easie submission were sent home again by Bishop Bonner, amongst which were William Munt, of Much-Bentley in Essex, and Alice his Wife, and Rose



*Rose Allen* her Daughter: These godly Persons after their return, abstained from the Popish service, and frequented the company of good People, and spent their time in reading, conference, and prayer: Which so angered *Thomas Tie*, Priest of the Parish, that he procured divers others to joyn with him in Petitioning against them to the Lord *Darcie*.

He wrote also to Bishop *Bonner* against them, so that they were faine to hide themselves from that storm that hung over their Heads for a while; But upon the first Sabbath in *Lent*, at Two of the Clock in the morning, one Master *Edmond Tyrel*, taking the Constables and divers others with him, beset *Munts* House round about, and then called to him to open the Doors; which being done, *Tyrel* and his Complices went into the Chamber, where Father *Munt* and his Wife lay, willing them presently to rise, for they must go with him to *Colchester* Castle: Mother *Munt* hearing that, being very sick, desired that her Daughter might first fetch her some drink, for that she was very ill; Then *Tyrel* gave her leave, and so *Rose Allen* went with a Candle to fetch some: As she came back *Tyrel* met her, and bade her give her Father and Mother good counsel, and to advise them to be good Catholicks: She answered, *They have better Instructors then I, for the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, which will not, I trust suffer them to err? What*, said *Tyrel*, art thou of that mind still? *Its time to look to such Hereticks as thou art.* Sir, said she, *After that way which you call Heresie, so worship I the Lord my God, I tell you the truth.*

*William Munt and his Wife apprehended.*

*Tyrel.* Then I perceive that thou wilt burn, Gossip, with the rest of the Company.

*Rose.* No Sir, not for the Companies sake, but for my Christs sake, if I be called to it, and I hope in his mercies if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

*Tyrel* turning to his Company, said, *This Gossip will burn; do you not think it?* Then said one, *Marry Sir, prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by.* Then this cruel *Tyrel* took the Candle out of her Hand, and held it so long under her wrist, till the very sinews crackt asunder: Then said *Tyrel* to her, *what whore, wilt thou not cry?* To which she answered, That she had no cause, she thanked God, to cry, but to rejoyce rather; And that he had more cause to weep, if he considered the matter well: At this he thrust her from him, saying, *Ah strong whore, Thou shameless Beast, Thou Beastly whore, &c.* Then said she, Sir, *Have you done what you will do?* Tea, said he, and if thou likest it not, thou mayest mend it: Mend it, said she: nay the Lord mend you, and give you repentance if it be his will.

*Rose Allens Hand burnt.*

This *Rose Allen* being afterwards asked how she could indure the pain of that cruel Burning: answered, That at first she felt some pain, but afterwards very little or none at all. *Tyrel* further searching the House, found in it one *John Thurston*, and *Margaret* his Wife, whom with the rest, he carried away immediately to *Colchester* Castle. These Five persons, with Five others, were often examined of their Faith, which they boldly confessed, and constantly adhered to, for which they were all of them condemned; Six of them were brought forth in the morning, viz. *William Bongeor*, *William Purchas*, *Thomas Benold*, *Agnes Silverside*, *Hellen Ewring*, and *Elizabeth Folks*; And at the place of Martyrdom they kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to Almighty God; and then arose, and prepared themselves for the fire: *Elizabeth Folks* putting off her Petticoat, would have given it to her Mother, who kissed her, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord; But the Executioners would not suffer her: Whereupon she threw the Petticoat from her, saying, Farewel all the world: Farewel Faith, Farewel Hope; and taking the Stake in her Hand, she said, welcome Love. As the Officer was nailing the Chain to the Stake, he missed his mark, and hit her a great blow with his Hammer on the Shoulder-bone; At which she lifted up her Eyes to Heaven, and with a smiling countenance prayed to God; and then proceeded to exhort the People

A Miracle of mercy.  
*John Thurston, and Margaret his Wife.*

*William Bongeor, William Purchas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silverside, Hellen Ewring, Elizabeth Folks, Martyrs.*

William Munt,  
and his Wife.  
John Johnson,  
and Rose Al-  
len.

George Eagles  
called Trudge-  
over.

People again. When the fire was kindled about them, they clapped their Hands for joy in the flames; whereupon the Spectators cried, *The Lord strengthen you; The Lord comfort you; The Lord pour his mercies upon you, &c.* and so they joyfully yielded up their Spirits together. In the afternoon were brought forth, William Munt, John Johnson, Alice Munt, and Rose Allen, who after their Prayers to God, were joyfully tied to the Stake, calling upon God, and exhorting the people earnestly to fly from Idolatry, and so they suffered Martyrdom with joy. John Thurston aforementioned died in Prison, a constant Confessor of Jesus Christ.

George Eagles, a Tailor by occupation, being eloquent, and of good utterance, gave over his calling, and applied himself to the prophet of Christ's Church; and when he saw so many of Gods Saints persecuted and murdered for the truth, he wandered abroad into divers Countries, where he could find any of his Brethren, whom he earnestly encouraged and comforted, now tarrying in one Town, then in another, as occasion served; Lodging, sometimes in Houses, sometimes in the Fields, and Woods; and for his excessive pains in travelling about, he was called *Trudgeover*; when he lay abroad he spent most of his time in earnest and faithful prayer unto God; his diet was exceeding slender, so that for three years he drank nothing but Water.

His abode was most about *Colchester*: But the Devil at last stirred up his Instruments to lie in wait for him, and Spies were sent abroad with a command to seize upon him wheresoever they found him, and to bring him either alive or dead. Yet he kept himself still in secret places, so that they could not catch him; Then did they procure a Proclamation in the Queens Name, that whosoever could apprehend him should have Twenty pounds for his pains. At length he was espied at *Colchester*, whereupon a great multitude pursued him; And he, to escape them, first fled into a Grove, and then into a Corn-Field, where he hid himself, and all his pursuers, despairing to find him were returned, but only one crafty Knave, who climbed up into a Tree, and sat there watching for him. Eagles hearing no noise, supposing all safe, rose upon his knees, whereby this Villain spied him, and coming down, laid Hands on him, and carried him Prisoner to *Colchester*, expecting the promised reward of Ten pounds, but never got but a very small sum of money, for the reward of his treachery.

His apprehen-  
sion.

After he had been Prisoner a while at *Colchester*, he was carried to *Chelmsford*, where he spent the whole night in prayer, and from thence to *London*, where after he had been imprisoned a while, he was sent back to *Chelmsford*, there to be tried at the Sessions, being accused of Treason, for that he had assembled companies together, and though he defended his cause stoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his Religion, and Faith before the Judges; yet the Indictment went on, wherein he was charged, that he prayed that God would turn the Queens Heart, or else that he would take her away; The first he confessed, but denied the second, yet was he condemned for a Traitor.

He is con-  
demned for  
Treason.

Much means was used to persuade him to confess that he had offended the Queen, and to ask her forgiveness; which he refused to do, and so was drawn on an Hurdle to the place of execution.

All the way he read upon a Psalm-Book, and at the place he prayed unto God, stood very constant till he was turned off the Ladder.

At his death this was remarkable; Two Thieves being to be executed with him, he exhorted them to embrace the truth, and to persevere therein; whereupon one of them scoffingly said, *why should we doubt of going to Heaven, seeing this holy Man shall go before us, as our Captain in the way? we shall certainly see thither strait, so soon as he hath made us the entry*; But the other Thief reproved him for it, and gave good heed to George Eagles exhortation, earnestly bewailing his own wickedness, and crying to Christ for mercy; whereas the other, the more he was bidden to leave off his scoffing, the more perverse he was, and continued



continued in his wickedness. At last coming to the place of Execution, the Penitent Thief upon the Ladder, exhorted the People to take heed to themselves, and to beware by his example of transgressing the Commandments of God, and so humbly commending his soul into the Hands of God, he ended his life quietly and in a godly manner.

A penitent Thief.

When the mocker came upon the Ladder, he likewise would have said something, but his Tongue did so fumble and falter in his Head, that he was not able to speak one word: He would fain have uttered his mind, but could not; Then one bade him say the Lords Prayer, but neither could he do that, but dreamed out now and then a word: This Spectacle much astonished those which took notice of Gods just judgments upon him, for his former mocking at so serious a matter.

Gods judgment on a Scoffer.

*George Eagles* being cut down before he was dead, was hacked, and mangled by one *William Smallow*, Bailiff of *Chelmsford*, his Body opened, Heart pulled out and so his Body divided into Four quarters, which were set up in several places. But shortly after Gods terrible judgment fell upon this *Smallow*. His Hair coming off his Head, his Eyes were so closed, that he could scarce see, the Nails fell off from his Fingers, and Toes, and a Leaprosie overspread his whole Body, and his Estate so wasted that he fell into Beggary.

Gods Judgment on Persecutors.

Also one *Richard Pott*, that had vexed, and molested *George Eagles*, both in the Inn, and as he went to execution; it pleased God that not long after, he fell down in his House foaming at mouth, and could neither speak word, nor understand what was said to him, in which case he continued for Three or Four days, and so died.

About the same time there suffered at *Norwich* a godly, and constant Martyr of *Christ* called *Richard Crafshfield*, who being examined by *Dunnings*, the Chancellor, about the Sacrament of the Altar and such like questions, made a good confession of his Faith, and constantly adhered to the same, notwithstanding all the flatteries and threatnings used to pervert him, for which he was condemned, and delivered to the secular power; And a few days after was by the Sheriffs had to the Stake, where in the flames, he constantly, and comfortably ended his days.

*Richard Crafshfield.*

In the same moneth a Man called *Frier*, and the Sister of *George Eagles*, were burnt together in *Rocheſter* for the truth.

One *Frier*, and *George Eagles* Sister. *Mistress Foyce Lewis.*

*Mistress Foyce Lewis* was a Gentlewoman born, brought up tenderly, and delicately in her youth; First married to one *Appleby*, and afterwards to *Thomas Lewis* of *Manceter* in *Warwickshire*: In the beginning of *Queen Maries* Reign, she went to the Mafs, as others did: But hearing of the cruel Martyrdom of *Master Lawrence Saunders* at *Coventry*, she enquired what was the cause of it: And being informed that it was for his oppoſing of the Mafs, she began to be much troubled in her mind, and reſorted to the Houſe of *Master John Glover*, (before mentioned) deſiring him to diſcover to her the faults that were in the Mafs, and of other things then urged as neceſſary to ſalvation.

*Master Glover* perceiving her troubled Spirit, and reſtleſs deſire to be informed of the truth, moſt diligently inſtructed her in the ways of the Lord, proving by Gods Word, that both the Mafs, and all other Popiſh inventions, were odious, and abominable unto God, reproving her alſo for her too great delight in the vanities of this world, which ſhe was too much addicted to: And it pleaſed God ſo to bleſs this his wholeſome counſel, that ſhe began to wax weary of the world, thoroughly ſorrowful for her ſins, and was much enflamed with a love to God, deſiring to ſerve him according to his Word, reſolving to abandon whatſoever was diſpleaſing to him. So that, when afterwards her impetuous Husband forced her to go to Church, ſhe turned her back upon the holy Water, which ſhould have been ſprinkled upon her, and manifeſted her deteſtation of the ſame; For which ſhe was accuſed to the Biſhop, and a Summons preſently was ſent for her.

Her converſion.

The Summoner giving the Citation to her Husband, he was so incensed, that he bade him take it back again, or he would make him to eat it: The Summoner refusing the first, he set a Dagger to his Heart, and forced him to eat it up, and to drink after it, and so let him depart. Presently after, both he, and his Wife were sent for before the Bishop, and Lewis himself incontinently submitted, and begged pardon: And the Bishop was willing to accept of his submission, provided that his Wife would do the like also; But she stoutly refused, telling the Bishop that by her rejecting the holy Water, she had neither offended God, nor broken any of his Laws. This much enraged the Bishop, yet because she was a Gentlewoman, he was content to give her a moneths time to consider of it, taking Bond of her Husband, at the moneths end to bring her in again.

Her courage  
and constancy.

When they came home, she betook her self to earnest, and fervent prayer to God, and oft resorted to Master *John Glover*, who much encouraged her to stand to the truth, yet withal advised her to take heed of vain glory, and told her what it was like to cost her, and therefore she should be sure to be well grounded or else she would not hold out.

The moneth being expired, Master *Glover*, and some other Friends, perswaded her Husband that he should endeavor the perservation of his Wife, and rather forfeit his Bond then cast her into the fire: Her Husband answered, that he would lose nothing for her sake, and so delivered her up to the Bloody Bishop, by whom she was examined, and through Gods mercy, was more stout, and resolute then she was before death was threatened.

Her unkind  
Husband.

Incontinently she was sent to a stinking Prison, which was so noisom, that a Maid appointed to attend her, fell into a swoon. During her imprisonment she was oft examined, and being found unmovable, was at last adjudged for an Heretic worthy to be burned.

Popish cruelty.

Being asked by the Bishop why she would not be present at the Mass, and receive the Sacraments, she answered, Because she found them not in Gods word, *otherwise*, said she, *I would with all my Heart reverence, esteem, and receive them*: The Bishop replied, *If thou wilt believe no more than is written in the Scriptures, thou art in a damnable condition*: At this she was much amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, she told him, his words were ungodly, and wicked.

After her condemnation she was committed to the Sheriff, then newly chosen, who kept her in Prison all his year, and could by no means be forced to burn her, for which he was afterwards in great trouble; and hardly himself escape death.

Her behavior  
after her condemnation.

During all the time of her imprisonment, she behaved her self so holily, and unblamably, that all that observed it, did much bewail that such a Woman as she should be put to death. At last a Writ coming down for her execution, she sent for her Friends, consulting with them, how she might behave her self, at the time of her death, so as might bring most glory to God, edification to his Church, and so as might most tend to the shame of her Adversaries: *As for death*, said she, *I fear it not, for when I behold the amiable countenance of Christ my dear Saviour, the ugly face of death doth not much trouble me*: She also reasoned most comfortably with them out of the Scriptures about Election, and Reprobation.

Death not  
feared.

The night before she was to suffer, some Priests sent to her that they were come to hear her confession; For they should be sorry that she should die without it. She returned answer, That she had made her confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose Hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As for the cause for which she was to die, she had no reason to confess that, but rather to praise God who counted her worthy to suffer death for his words sake: And as for that absolution, which they were authorized by the Pope to give her, she desired, and detested it from the bottom of her Heart.

The



The Priests having received this answer, *well*, said they, *to morrow her stoutness will be tried*; And so in great discontent they departed.

All the night she was wonderfull chearfull, and merry, yet with a certain gravity, so that the Majesty of Gods Spirit did wonderfully appear in her, which expelled the fear of death out of her Heart. Comfort before death.

She spent her time in reading, prayer, and conferring with her Friends that came to comfort her.

About Three of the clock in the morning, Satan began to molest her; and to shoot his fiery darts against her, questioning with her, how she knew that she was elected to life, and that *Christ* died for her, &c. Her temptations.

Those about her being made acquainted with it, bade her answer the Tempter in these words of *Paul*, *which hath loved me, and given himself for me*: Suggesting also that her vocation by the word was a manifest token of Gods love to her, especially Gods Spirit having wrought in her Heart a love to God, and a desire to obey him in all things, &c. By this means, and especially by the comfortable promises of *Christ*, brought out of the Scriptures, Satan was put to flight, and she received much comfort. Gal. 2. 20.

At Eight a clock in the morning the Sheriff brought her word that she had but one hour to live in this world, *and therefore*, said he, *prepare your self as it stands you in hand*: This message so abruptly delivered, made her somewhat abashed: But a Friend standing by, said, *Mistress Lewis, you have cause to praise God, who so speedily will take you out of this miserable world, and make you worthy to be a witness to his truth, and to bear record unto Christ that he is the only Saviour.*

This revived her, that she said: *Master Sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God, who accounts me worthy to lay down my life in his quarrel.*

When the Sheriff came for her, one of her Friends desired him to give him leave to go along with her to the Stake, which the Sheriff granted, for which he was afterwards much molested by some enemies of the truth. At the Stake she prayed earnestly Three times, and especially that God would abolish the Idolatrous Mass, to which almost all the multitude, and amongst them the Sheriff himself, cried *Amen*. Then taking a Cup of Beer, she said, *I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that wish the abolishment of Popery*: Her Friends pledged her, and a great number of People, especially of Women, for which afterwards they were enjoined penance. Her Martyrdom.

Being tied with a Chain to the Stake, she looked with an exceeding chearful, and ruddy countenance; and stood so patiently, that the people much lamented for her, and with tears bewailed the Tyranny of her Popish Adversaries. When fire was set to her, she neither strived, nor struggled, but with her Hands lift up to Heaven, she quickly gave up the Ghost. Some cruel Papist suborned some to rail upon her, and one was appointed to write down the Names of her Friends, yet God wonderfully preserved them out of their Hands.

There was one *Ralph Allerton*, who coming into his Parish Church of *Bently* *Ralph Allerton* in *Essex*, and seeing the People idle, or ill employed there, he exhorted them to go to Prayer, whereunto they consented: And Prayer being ended, he read unto them a Chapter out of the New Testament: For which, being informed against, he was forced to hide himself in Woods, and other solitary places; but at last being apprehended, he was sent to Bishop *Bonner*, who by his subtil persuasions, and flatteries, so prevailed with this poor Man, that he drew him to recant his former profession, and so dismissed him. His weakness.

But this base cowardize of his, brought him into such bondage and terror of Soul, and Conscience, and so cast him down, that if the Lord had not been exceeding gracious to him, he had perished for ever, but the Lord looking with the eyes of mercy, after he had chastened him, raised him up again. His terror of conscience for it.  
His recovery again

again, giving him not only hearty, and unfeigned repentance, but also a constant boldness to profess his Name, and Gospel even to the death.

This was quickly discovered by his Adversaries; whereupon he was apprehended, and again sent up to Bonner, at which time ensued this conference.

Bonner. *Ah Sirrah, how chance you are come hither again, I hope thou art accused wrongfully?*

Ralph. *Yea, my Lord, so I am, for I should be sorry to be guilty of such things as I am accused of.*

Bonners prophaneness.

Bonner. *By Saint Mary, it is well said, but let me hear what thou sayest?*

Ralph. *I desire to hear who are my Accusers? and what my accusation is?*

Bonner. *Wilt thou so? Before God, if thou hast not dissembled, thou needest not fear to answer for thy self; But tell me, didst thou not dissemble?*

Ralph. *If you will not produce mine Accusers, my Conscience constrains me to accuse my self; For I confess that I have grievously offended God, by my dissimulation at my last being before you, for which I am heartily sorry, as God knoweth.*

Bonner. *wherein didst thou dissemble?*

Ralph. *In that I set my Hand to a writing, that I did believe all that the Catholick Church teacheth, &c. wherein I shamefully dissembled, in that I did not disclose my mind concerning the difference between the true; and untrue Church.*

Bonner. *Pray thee let me hear more of this gear; For I fear thou wilt smell of an Heretick anon. which is the true Church as thou sayest? Is it not the Church of the Hereticks?*

Ralph. *I utterly abhor the Church of Hereticks, and the Church Catholick is that only which I embrace, whose Doctrine is sincere, pure, and true.*

Bonner. *By Saint Austin, that is well said of thee: For by God Almighty, if thou hadst allowed the Church of the Hereticks, I would have burned thee: By our Lady, how say you Sirrah, which is the Catholick Church?*

Ralph. *Even that which hath received the joyful sound of Gods word.*

Bonner. *Thou sayest true before God; For that way which is taught in all Christendom, must needs be the true Catholick Church.*

Acts 20. 29.

Ralph. *My Lord, it's true, the Gospel hath been preached, and persecuted in all Lands, first in Jewry by the Scribes and Pharisees, then by the Roman Emperors, &c. and now also is the Apostle Pauls saying fulfilled, There shall come grievous Wolves among you, devouring the Flock.*

Bonner. *Now by the blessed Sacrament, thou art the rankest Heretick that ever came before me: Now by Saint All-hallows, thou shalt be burnt, thou whoremonger Varlet, thou pricklouse Knave, &c. And so after much more communication, he was sent to the Little-cage, and afterwards had Articles exhibited against him; to which he subscribed thus, Except it be proved otherwise by the holy Scriptures, I do affirm these Articles to be true. And so at last he was brought forth to his condemnation; where Bonner asked him what he had to say why Sentence should not be pronounced against him? To which he answered, You ought not to condemn me for an Heretick, seeing I am a good Christian. But go to, do as you have determined; For I see that truth is oppressed, and cannot find entertainment amongst you.*

His condemnation.

James Austoo, and Margery his Wife, and Richard Roth, Martyrs.

Then did the Bishop proceed to condemn him, and delivered him over to the secular power, by whom he was shortly after burned at Islington, together with James Austoo, and Margery his Wife, and Richard Roth: All which persons joyfully yielded up their Souls to God in the midst of the flames.

We have heard before of Ten godly Persons that were burnt together at Colchester, at which time there were Two other good Women, viz. Margaret Thurston, and Agnes Bongier, that should have suffered with them, but it pleased God



God thus to prevent it. *Margaret Thurston*, a little before they were to suffer, found a great trembling in her flesh; whereupon she went apart to make her earnest Prayer to God for his assistance; And in the mean time came the Jailor; and whilst she stepped aside to fetch her Psalter, he took forth the other Prisoner, and left her behind.

A special providence.

The other called *Agnes Bongier* was left behind, because her Name was mistaken in the Writ: *Agnes Bowyer*, for *Agnes Bongier*: But when upon that occasion she saw her self separated from the rest of her other Prison-Fellows: Oh what pitious moan that good Woman made? How bitterly she wept? What strange thoughts came into her mind? How naked, and desolate did she esteem her self without them? And how was she plunged into care, and despair? It was pittiful, and wonderful to see; And all because she did not with them, give her life in the defence of the truth, which she was fully prepared, and resolved to have done; and accordingly had that morning sent away her little Infant, which had sucked on her during her imprisonment till then: Yea such an ardent desire had she to be sacrificed with them, that death seemed far more welcome to her than life.

*Agnes Bongier* troubled, because she escaped Martyrdom.

In this her great perplexity, a godly Friend finding her, asked her, whether *Abrahams* obedience in purposing to offer up his Son unto God, was not as much accepted as if he had offered him? To which she thus answered, *I know that Abrahams will was as much accepted with God, as if he had done the deed, because he would have done it, if the Angel of the Lord had not stayed him. But in this I am unhappy, in that the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity; and therefore Abrahams case and mine are not alike.* why, said her Friend, would you not willingly have gone with your company, if the Lord had suffered it? Yea, quoth she, withal my heart, and because I did it not, it is now my great grief, and trouble. Then said he, *My dear Sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thy self well, and thou shalt see that the case differs not at all. But alas,* quoth she, *there was a far greater matter in Abrahams trial, For he should have offered up his only Child; but so should not I. I know well,* said he, *that Abraham should have offered up his Son; And have not you,* said the other, *done the like by your sucking Babe? Consider also that whereas he was commanded but to offer his Son, you are heavy, and grieved because you offered not your self, which is more than Abrahams obedience, and therefore doubt not but it is accepted with God, &c.* After this discourse she was somewhat quieted, and wholly imployed herself in reading, and prayer, wherein she found much comfort.

Presently after came a new Writ, for the burning of these Two good Women. When they came to the place of execution, they fell down upon their Knees, and made their humble, and hearty Prayers unto God; and so rising up, they went joyfully to the Stake, and being chained to it, and in the midst of the flames, with great rejoycing, and triumph they resigned up their Spirits unto God.

*Margaret Thurston, and Agnes Bongier, Martyrs.*

There was dwelling at *Laxefield* in the County of *Suffolk* one *John Noyes*, a Shoemaker, and a godly Man, whome some of his Popish spiteful Neighbors agreed amongst themselves to apprehend, and accordingly going to his House, they found him going out of Doors, and One of them calling to him, asked him whither he went? He answered, *To a Neighbors of mine*: To whom the other replied, *Your Master hath deceived you now, you must come, and go with us*: *Noyes* answered, *Take heed that your Master deceive not you.* So they took him, and carried him before the Justices, who after examination, sent him to *Eye-dungeon*, and after he had lien there a while, to the Bishop at *Normich*: There he was examined about the real presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, &c. To which he answered, that he believed *Christs* Body to be in Heaven, and therefore not in the Sacrament: For which, Sentence was read against him by the Bishop. Afterwards a Brother in Law coming to comfort him

*John Noyes.*

His condemnation.

him, asked him, Whether being to die so painful a death, he was not afraid of it, when the Bishop came to pass Sentence upon him? To which he answered, That he thanked God he feared it not at all. After this he was sent to *Laxefield* to be burned, and against the time of his burning, all the People in the Town had put out their Fires, only some smoak was spied in one Chimney; Whereupon the Sheriff and his Officers went to that House, and brake open the Doors, and so gat fire.

His Martyrdom.

*John Nyes*, when he came to the place of execution, kneeled down, and repeated the One and fiftieth Psalm, with some other Prayers: and being bound to the Stake, he said: *Fear not them that can kill the Body, but fear him that is able to cast both Body, and Soul into everlasting fire.* Seeing his Sister weep, and make moan for him: He bade her not to weep for him, but for her sins. Then took he up a Fagot, and kissed it, saying: *Blessed be God that ever I was born to come to this.* Then said he to the People, *They tell you, that they can make God of a piece of Bread, but believe them not. Good People, bear witness, that I believe to be saved by the passion, and merits of Jesus Christ alone, and not by mine own good works.* When the fire was kindled, he said: *Lord, have mercy upon me: Christ, have mercy upon me: Son of David have mercy upon me,* and so he yielded up the Ghost.

Cicely Ormes.

At the burning of Two godly Persons at *Norwich*, there was present one *Cicely Ormes*; who told them that she would pledg them of the same Cup that they drank of: For which she was apprehended, and carried before the Chancellor, who asked her, What it was that the Priest held up over his Head? She said, *Bread: and if you would make it any better, it is worse.* For this he sent her to Prison. Afterwards he sent for her again, and told her, that if she would go to Church, and hold her Tongue, she should be at liberty to believe as she listed: To whom she answered, *I will not consent to your wicked desire therein; do with me what you will: For if I should, God would plague me for it.* The Chancellor told her, that she was an ignorant, and foolish Woman, and that he had proffered her more favor then ever he shewed to any, but if she persisted in her wilfulness, he must condemn her. She answered, That she passed not for his threats, and that if he did proceed to it, he should not be so desirous of her sinful flesh, as she, through Gods grace, would be content to lay it down in so good a quarrel. Then read he the Bloody Sentence against her, and so delivered her to the secular power.

Her constancy.

Her former weakness.

Her recovery.

About a year before, she had been apprehended, but through weakness had recanted; after which she was never quiet in Conscience till she had utterly renounced all her Popish superstitions: And thereupon had gotten a Letter drawn up to certifie the Chancellor, that she repented of her recantation from the very bottom of her Heart, and would never do the like again whilst she lived: But before she could send this Letter, she was again apprehended, and dealt withal, as we have heard before.

Her Speech at death.

When she came to the Stake, she kneeled down, and prayed earnestly unto God: Then rising up, she said, *Good People, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, Three Persons and one God: This I will never recant. But I recant utterly from the bottom of my Heart, that I have ever been accessory to the doings of the Pope of Rome, and all his Popish Priests, and shavelings, whom I utterly renounce, and will never have to do with them again by Gods grace. And good People, I would not have you think, that I expect to be saved, because I offer my self here to death for the Lords cause; But I believe to be saved by the death, and passion of Jesus Christ: And this my death shall be a Testimony of my Faith to you all here present: Good People, as many of you as believe, as I do, pray for me.* When she came to the Stake, she kissed it, and said, *welcome the Cross of Christ: welcome the sweet Cross of Christ.* When the fire was kindled about her, she said,



said, *My Soul doth magnifie the Lord, and my Spirit doth rejoyce in God my Saviour*: and so casting up her Head, and Eyes towards Heaven, and holding up her Hands against her Breast, she there continued them till the sinews of her Arms brake, and then they fell down; and she yielded up her life unto the Lord as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, and as one feeling no pain.

Her Martyrdom.

In the Dioceſs of *Chicheſter* many godly Perſons were perſecuted, condemned, and burned for the truth.

About the ſame time, one *Thomas Spurdance*, a Servant of *Queen Maries*, was brought before the Chancellor of *Norwich*, who asked him, whether he had been with a Prielt at confeſſion? He answered, *No, he had confeſſed his ſins to God, who promiſeth that if a ſinner confeſſeth, and forſaketh his ſins, he ſhall have mercy; And that, ſaith he, is ſufficient for me.*

Thomas Spurdance.

Chancellor. *When did you receive the Sacrament of the Altar?*

Spurdance. *I will not meddle with it as you uſe it: The Sacrament of the Lords Supper belongs to Chriſts Church; But you are none of Chriſts members; For you teach Laws contrary to Chriſts Laws.*

Chancellor. *Doſt thou not believe that after the words of Conſecration in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the ſame Body of Chriſt as was born of the Virgin Mary?*

Spurdance. *No; For that Body conſiſted of fleſh, blood, and bones; and here is no ſuch thing.*

Chancellor. *Thou art an Heretick; Thou denieſt the Sacrament of the Altar.*

Spurdance. *If you will know how I believe: I believe, that if I come worthily, as God hath commanded me, to his holy Supper, I receive him by Faith, believing in him. But the Bread is not God: For God dwelleth not in temples made with Hands, neither will he be worſhipped with the works of Mens Hands; Therefore you do very ill to make the People fall down, and worſhip the Bread.*

Chancellor. *Thou denieſt Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament.*

Spurdance. *The Servant is not greater then his Maſter: Your predeceſſors killed my Maſter Chriſt, the Prophets, and Apoſtles, and now you kill the Servants of Chriſt; ſo that all the righteous Blood, which hath been ſhed, ſhall be required at your Hands. After this he was examined by the Biſhop, and when he could not be removed from his ſteadfaſtneſs, he was condemned, and burnt in Bury.*

His Martyrdom.

There were Three godly Men, viz. *John Hillingdal*, *William Sparrow*, and *Richard Gibſon* brought before Biſhop *Bonner*, and by him examined about the Sacrament of the Altar, and ſuch like things, and they making a good confeſſion before him, and adhering to the truth, were by him condemned, and delivered to the Secular power, by whom they were carried into *Smithfield*, and after their Prayers made unto God, they were there conſumed in the fire.

John Hillingdal, William Sparrow, Richard Gibſon, Martyrs.

About the ſame time were brought before *Bonner*, one *John Rough* a Miniſter, and *Margaret Mearing*. This *Rough* was born in *Scotland*, and at the age of Seventeen, entred into the Order of *Black Friars* at *Sterling*, where he remained Sixteen years, and then the Lord *Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, taking a liking to him, procured him to be diſmiſſed thence to be his Chaplain; with him he remained one year, during which time it pleaſed God to open his Eyes, and to give him ſome knowledg of the truth; and thereupon the Earl of *Arran*, being governor of *Scotland*, ſent him into *Ayre* to preach there: In that place he remained Four years, and then was appointed to abide in *Saint Andrews*, where he had a Penſion of Twenty pounds per annum, from our King *Henry* the Eighth. But at laſt Maſter *Rough*, conſidering the danger wherein he lived, and from his Heart abhorring the Idolatry, and Superſtition of his Country, and hearing of the freedom of the Goſpel in *England* under

John Rough and Margaret Mearing.

King

King Edward the Sixth, he resolved to tarry no longer in *Scotland*, and therefore presently after the Battel at *Muscleborough*, he went first to *Carlile*, and afterwards to the Duke of *Summerset*, Lord Protector of *England*, by whom he had a Pension of Twenty pounds *per annum* granted him out of the Kings Treasury, and was sent to preach at *Carlile*, *Barwick*, and *Newcastle*. At that time he married a Wife, and was Shortly after called by the Arch-Bishop of *York* to a Benefice neer *Hull*, where he continued till the death of King Edward.

Master Rough  
flies into  
*Friseland*.

His return in-  
to *Englan*.

He is chosen  
Pastor of a  
private  
Church.

His apprehen-  
sion.

In the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, seeing the alteration of Religion, and the Persecution that was like to ensue, fearing his own weakness, he took his Wife, and fled into *Friseland*, dwelling at *Norden*, where he labored hard for his living, knitting Caps, Stockings, &c! But when he lacked Yarn to employ himself about, he came over into *England* to make provision, and arrived at *London*, and hearing of the Congregation of Gods Faithful People, that met privately together, he joyned himself to them, and after a while was chosen their Pastor, and continued most faithfully to perform his Office amongst them, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the Gospel of *Christ*. But at length, he, with *Cuthbert Simpson*, and others, by the craft and treachery of a false Hypocrite, and dissembling Brother, were apprehended at an Houle in *Islington*, where the Church purposed to assemble themselves according to their custom for Prayer, and preaching the Word: Then were they carried before the Council, and after divers Examinations, they sent Master *Rough* to *Newgate*, and transmitted his Examinations to Bishop *Bonner*.

His courage  
and constancy.

*Bonner* minding to make quick dispatch, within Three days sent for Master *Rough* out of Prison, and examined him upon the usual Articles, as about the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. Master *Rough* answering to them according to the truth, was shortly after brought forth to his condemnation; At which time *Bonner* with many fair perswasions labored to withdraw him from the truth, and to draw him to make a recantation: But Master *Rough* justified his marriage, and said, That his Children begotten in Wedlock were Legitimate; That he detested the Mass, and other service used by them, and that if he should live as long as *Methuselah*, he would never come to Church to partake with them therein: Hereupon the Bishop proceeded to his degradation and condemnation, and so delivered him over to the Secular Power, who carried him back to *Newgate*.

*Bonnors* fury.

Whilest he was before the Bishop he told him that he thanked God he had lived Thirty years, in which he had never bowed his Kniee to *Baal*; And that he had been twice at *Rome*, and there had seen that which he had often heard before; *Viz.* That the Pope was Antichrist: That he had seen him carried about upon Mens shoulders, and the false named Sacrament before him, and that the People shewed more reverence to the Pope, then to that which they accounted their God. *Bonner* hearing this, rose up in a rage, and said; *Hast thou been at Rome, and seen our Holy Father the Pope, and doest thou Blaspheme him on this sort?* And with that he flew upon him, and plucked off a piece of his Beard.

*Margares*  
*Mearing*.

Their Martyr-  
dom.

At the same time when Master *Rough* was burnt, there was also burnt with him one *Margaret Mearing* against whom the Bishop having no particular charge, examined her upon the usual Articles; To which she answered in particular, adding that she would stand to the truth which she had professed even to the death; For saith she, *the very Angels in Heaven do laugh you to scorn, to see the abominations that you use in the Church*; Then did the Bishop condemn her, and so both of them ended their lives joyfully together in the fire.

Not long before Master *Roughs* apprehension, he went into *Smithfield*, to see the burning of *Austos* before mentioned; And as he returned back, a Friend met him, and asked him where he had been? where said he? even where I would not for one of mine Eyes but I had been; For I have been to learn the



the way. Also *Margaret Mearing*, after the apprehension of Master *Rough*, hearing that one *Sergeant* was suspected to have informed against him, she went to his House, and enquired whether one *Judas* did not dwell there? To whom they answered, that there dwelled none such there. No, said she, dwelleth not *Judas* here that betrayed *Christ*? His name is *Sergeant*, and so went her way. Shortly after seeing *Cluny* the Bishop of *Londons* Summoner going to her House, she followed him in, and asked him whom he sought for? Marry for you, said he, and so apprehended her, and carried her away.

*Cuthbert Simpson*, who was apprehended with Master *Rough*, was Deacon of the same Church, a faithful and zealous Man, laboring incessantly to preserve the Flock from the Errors of Popery, and to secure them from the danger of Persecution; yea, the pains, travel, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this Man was admirable: And it pleased God that a few nights before Master *Rough*, and he were apprehended, that Master *Rough* dreamed that *Cuthbert* was taken by Two of the Guard, and that he had about him the Book, wherein were contained the names of all that belonged to the Congregation, wherewith being much troubled, he awaked, and told his dream to his Wife, and afterwards falling asleep, he again had the same dream, and awaking said to his Wife, *O Kate, I cannot be quiet; I must get up, and go to my Brother Cuthbert*: But whilst he was making himself ready, *Cuthbert* came in, and brought that Book of names, and accounts of the Congregation with him. Then Master *Rough* told him his dreams, and charged him that he should no more carry that Book about him: *Cuthbert* answered, dreams are but fancies, and therefore I will not lay aside the Book. But Master *Rough* straitly charged him in the Name of the Lord to do it; whereupon *Cuthbert* left it with Master *Roughs* Wife, and within Two or three days after was carried to the Tower.

Having lain there a few days, the Constable of the Tower, and Recorder of *London* sent for him, and examined him of those which came to the *English* Service; To whom he answered; That he would declare nothing. Then they caused him to be cruelly racked upon an Iron rack, and asked him if he would yet tell them; But he still answered them as before; Then was he loosed, and carried to his lodging again. The Sabbath following they sent for him again, examining him as before; But he still refused to answer. Then the Lieutenant swore by God, that he should confess, and so caused his Two Fore-fingers to be tied together, and an Arrow betwixt them, and then drew forth the Arrow so violently, that the Blood followed; and when that prevailed not, they racked him twice; and he still remaining constant, they sent him to his Prison.

Afterwards the Lieutenant came to him again, and asked him, Whether he would yet confess? He answered, that he had said as much as he would. Then was he sent to *Bonner*, At whose Hands said he, I received the Popes curse, for bearing witness to the truth of *Christ*.

*Bonner* before all the people said thus of him. You see this Man what a personable Man he is; and for his patience, if he were not an Heretick, I should much commend it: For he hath been Thrice racked in one day, and in my House he hath indured some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience once moved.

The night before this blessed Martyr *Cuthbert Simpson* was condemned by *Bonner*, he lying in the Stocks in the Bishops *Coal-house*, a little before midnight, heard as he thought, one coming and unlocking the First, Second, and Third doors, and though he neither saw Torch nor Candle, yet he saw a great light in the prison; and he that came in said to him, *Ah*, and so vanished; This brought exceeding joy and comfort to his soul, as himself related to sundry persons afterwards.

*Cuthbert Simpson.*

Master *Roughs* dreams.

A special providence.

He is racked cruelly.

Popish cruelty.

His Patience.

A special providence.

The next day he was brought before the Bishop in his Consistory, and charged with sundry Articles; To which he made a clear and full answer; whereupon he was condemned. There were also condemned with him at the same time, one *Hugh Fox*, and *John Devenish*, who also were apprehended with him at *Islington*; And so these blessed Servants of *Jesus Christ* were burned together in *Smithfield*, finishing their lives with much constancy and joy.

*Hugh Fox,*  
*John Devenish,*  
Their Martyr-  
dom.

*William Ni-*  
*chols.*

About the same time, there was one *William Nichols* apprehended by the Instruments of Satan at *Haverford-west* in *Wales*, who was also condemned, and burnt there.

*William Sea-*  
*man, Thomas*  
*Carman, Tho-*  
*mas Hudson.*  
Martyrs.

Presently after *William Seaman*, *Thomas Carman*, and *Thomas Hudson*, were apprehended in *Norfolk*: The Persecutor of them was Sir *John Tyrel*, who charged his servants to search for *Seaman*; one of which, named *Robert Baldwin*, was neighbour to *Seaman*, and one in whom he put much confidence, yet did this treacherous person, together with his other fellow, to gratifie their Master, search *Seamans* House in the night-time; and finding him at home, they carried him presently away to their Master: As they went on the way, a strange light fell from the Element betwixt them, and parted them: After which *Baldwin*, though at that time in his best age, never after enjoyed good day, but pined away till he died.

Gods judg-  
ment on a  
Persecutor.

When he came before Sir *John Tyrel*, he asked him, Why he did not go to Mass, and receive the Sacrament, and worship it? *Seaman* answered, Because it was no Sacrament, but an Idol, and therefore he would not worship it: Then did *Tyrel* send him away to *Norwich* to Bishop *Hopton*, who after Examination, condemned him.

*Thomas Carman* was apprehended, for that he pledged *Richard Crafsheld*, at the time of his burning: For this cause, being examined by the Bishop, and adhering constantly to the truth, he also was condemned.

*Thomas Hudson* was by occupation a Glover, and it pleased God to enlighten him with the truth, he applied himself to learn to read, and profited much in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and considering the danger that he was in, he absented himself from his House, travelling from one place to another, as occasion was offered. At last he returned home to visit and comfort his Wife and Children: But perceiving that his abode there would be dangerous, he devised with his Wife, to make him a place amongst his Fagots to hide himself in, in which place he remained all day long, reading, and praying continually for the space of about half a year: At last came the Vicar of the Town to the Woman, enquiring for her Husband, and threatening to burn her, if she would not betray him to them: When *Hudson* understood this, he waxed every day more valiant, and zealous than other, continually praying, reading, and singing of *Psalms*, to the wonder of many, the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations, and vehement prayers. At last he walked openly about the Town, inveighing against the Mass, and other Popish trumpery; And afterwards returning home, he fell upon his Knees, and spent Three days, and nights in praying, reading, and singing of *Psalms*. But the Constables being provoked by one of his Popish neighbors, went one morning to apprehend him.

*Hudson*; ap-  
prehension.

When *Hudson* saw them come in, he said: *Now mine hour is come: welcome Friends, welcome, you are they that will lead me to live with Christ, for which I thank God, and the Lord enable me thereunto, for his mercy sake in Christ Jesus: For it had been long his desire, and prayer, that if it were the Lords will, he might lay down his life for the Gospels sake.* Then they took him, and carried him to the Vicar, who was a Commissary, who asked him if he did not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar? *Hudson* answered, That it was wormes meat, and that he did believe in *Christ* crucified. *Do'st not*, said the other, *believe the Mass to put away sins?* *God forbid*, said *Hudson*, *for it is a patched Monster, and a disguised puppet.*



*puppet.* This so enraged the Vicar, that he stamped, fumed, and called him villain, &c. Afterwards he asked *Hudson*, whether he would recant? *The Lord forbid*, said *Hudson*, *I had rather die many deaths than to do so*. Then did he send him to *Norwich* to the Bishop, and all the way as he went, he sung *Psalms*, and was very merry: He lay in prison about a moneth, spending all his time in reading, and invoking the name of God, and so at last was condemned.

Their Martyrdom.

These Three godly persons being carried out to Execution together, when they came to the Stake, made their humble prayers to Almighty God; after which, being chained to the Stake, *Thomas Hudson* suddenly slipped out from under the Chain, to the wonder of many, divers fearing lest he would have recanted. His Two Friends at the Stake cried out to comfort him all that they could, exhorting him in the Bowels of *Christ* to be of good cheer, &c. But *Hudson* felt more in his Heart, than they knew of: For (poor Soul) he was full of grief, and heaviness of mind, not for fear of death, but for lack of feeling his *Christ*; And therefore being much troubled, he went aside, and fell down upon his Knees, praying most vehemently, and earnestly to the Lord, who at last, according to his wonted mercies, sent him comfort: And then he arose joyfully, as a Man new raised from death to life, and said. *Now I thank God, I am strong, and pass not what Man can do unto me*: And so returning to his fellows, at the Stake, they all joyfully suffered together, yielding up their spirits with much constancy, and comfort to the Lord.

*Hudsons* trouble at death.

His comfort.

*Commissary Berry*, which had a great hand in the death of these, and divers other godly persons, was a very vicious Man in his life and conversation, was a great swearer, and a Whoremaster, persecuting the godly, and compelling Men to Idolatry: But though the Lord had Leaden Feet, yet he had Iron Hands, and at last found him out by a terrible judgment: For on a Sabbath-day this *Berry* having made a great Feast, after Dinner went into his Chamber, and there continued with his Whore till evensong, and then went to Church and administered the Sacrament of *Baptism*. But as he came out of the Church, he fell down suddenly to the ground, with an heavy groan, and never stirred after, nor shewed so much as one sign of repentance. About the same time also *Dunnings* the Chancellor, a merciless Tyrant, died suddenly, as the other had done before him.

Gods judgments on persecutors.

About the same time *Joane Seaman*, Mother to the said *William*, being about Sixty six years old, was cruelly persecuted by Sir *John Tyrel*, so that she was forced to forsake her House, and many times to lie in Bushes, Groves, and Fields: Thus she continued for some time, till her Husband, being Eighty years old, fell sick, which she hearing of, returned home, not regarding her own safety so much as the faithful performance of her duty to her Husband, whom she carefully attended, till it pleased God to take him away by death: Then by Gods providence, she fell sick, and shortly after departed this life in her own House, whereby she was delivered from the rage of her merciless enemies; yet such was their malice, that they would not suffer her to be buried with Christian burial, but her Friends were fain to put her into an Hole by a Notes-side.

*Joane Seaman.*

A good wife.

Also in the Town of *wetherset*, there was one Mother *Bennet*, a good Woman, who was persecuted out of the Town, for not going to Mass, &c. Yet at last she returned privately to her own House, and there sickned, and departed this life joyfully, and being denied Burial, was laid in a Grave by the Highway side. She was very merciful to the poor, and her Husband once merrily saying to her, that if she had been sparing, they might have been much richer; she answered, Alas good Husband, be content, let us be thankful, God hath given us enough: I cannot hoard up, and see the poor want, and thereby displease God: But Husband, let us be rich in good works, and so shall we please the Lord, and have all good things given us.

Mother *Bennet*.

Her charity.

William Harris, Richard Day, and Christian George, Martyrs.

Immediately after there were Three other godly persons, *William Harris, Richard Day, and Christian George* a Woman, imprisoned, and condemned at *Colchester*: When they were brought to the Stake, they poured out their fervent prayers to God, and in the midst of the flames, triumphed over their enemies, praising God, and dying chearfully.

A Proclamation against good books.

In the moneth of *June, Anno Christi. 1558.* came out a sharp Proclamation against good Books, either brought from beyond-seas, or printed in this Realm, that whosoever should be found to have any of those Books, or having them, do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing, or reading them to any other person, should be reputed, and taken for a rebel, and shall be presently executed for that offence, according to the order of *Marshall Law*.

Godly persons apprehended.

Shortly after this Proclamation, Forty godly Men, and Women, were assembled together in a back close, near *Islington* to pray, and read Gods holy word: And whilst they were together, there came a Man, and looking over the Hedge, saluted them, saying, That they looked like persons that meant no hurt, and so departed. Within a quarter of an hour after came the Constable of *Islington*, with Six, or Seven Armed Men in his company. These he left in a private place near at hand, and with only one in his company, he went amongst them, viewing them, and what Books they had, commanding them to deliver their Books to him: They understanding that he was the Constable, refused not to do it. Then came forth the other Armed Men, commanding them to stand, and not depart: They answered, That they would be obedient, and ready to go whether they would carry them. Then were they led to *Sir Roger Chomley*, the Recorder of *London*. By the way some of the Women escaped, and more might, if they had listed. The Recorder after examination, sent them to *Newgate*, and if they would have heard Mass, they might have been delivered; But they refused, and therefore at last were brought before *Bonner*; who after examination finding them constant, condemned them, and Thirteen of them were burnt in *Smithfield*. and Six at *Brainford*.

Roger Holland.

Amongst these godly persons, there was one *Roger Holland*, who had much bickering with *Bonner*, who in conclusion said thus unto him: *God hath heard the prayers of his servants, which have been poured forth with many tears for the afflicted Saints, whom you have daily persecuted, as you do us now: But this I dare be bold in God to speak (which by his Spirit I am moved to say) that God will shorten your cruelty, so that for a time you shall not molest his Church: And, dear Brethren, that you may perceive the truth of this, know that after this day, in this place, there shall not any by him be put to the trial of Fire, and Fagot: Which accordingly came to pass; For they were the last that were burnt in Smithfield for the testimony of the truth.*

A Prophecie.

*Bonner* hearing this, said, *I perceive, Roger, thou art as mad in thy Heresie, as ever thou wast; and now in thy anger thou wouldst become a railing Prophet: But though thou, and all thy companions, would see me hanged, yet I shall live to burn you, yea, and will burn everyone of you, that come into my Hands; and so he departed.*

Then *Roger* exhorted the people to repent, and to think well of them that suffered for the testimony of the Gospel, adding moreover, that God would shorten those cruel, and bloody days, for his elect sake.

Their Martyrdom.

Upon the day that they suffered, a Proclamation was made that none should speak to, or talk with them, or touch them upon pain of imprisonment without bail, with divers other cruel threatnings. Yet did the people cry out, desiring God to strengthen them. They also prayed for the people, that God would send them his word. Then *Roger* embracing the Stake, said, *Lord, I humbly thank thee, that thou hast called me from the state of death, to the light of thy Heavenly word, and now also to the fellowship of thy Saints, that I may sing, and say, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts. Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit. Lord, blese*



blesse these thy people, and save them from Idolatry. And so with his fellows praying and praising God, they sweetly ended their lives in the flames.

Amongst the Six that suffered at Brainford, was one *William Pikes*, who whilst he was at liberty about Midsummer time, and at Noon day took his Bible, and going into his Garden, sat down to read upon it: When suddenly there fell Four drops of fresh Blood upon his Book, he not knowing whence it came: Whereupon he called his Wife, and shewed them to her; saying, *I well perceive, the Lord will have Blood: His will be done, and God grant me Grace to abide the trial*; and so they went to prayer: And not long after he was apprehended, and burnt, as you have heard before.

*William Pikes.*

A special Providence.

Amongst these persons apprehended at *Islington*, was one *Thomas Hinsbaw*, a young Man of about Twenty years old; whom *Bonner*, after sundry examinations, took him to *Fulham*, and there also he labored to pervert him from the truth, and not prevailing, he kept him in the Stocks, and sent Doctor *Harfsfield*, his Arch-Deacon to him; who after much reasoning, fell into a great chafe, asking him if he thought that he went about to damn his Soul? *Hinsbaw* answered, that he was periwaded, that they went about to uphold their dark and devillish Kingdom; and that they did it not out of any love to the truth. This so enraged *Harfsfield*, that he went, and complained to the Bishop of him; who thereupon sent for *Thomas Hinsbaw* into his Garden, and there in an Arbor caused him to put down his Breeches, and the Bishop having gotten Two Willow Rods, fell a whipping of him till he was out of breath, and till he had wasted one of the Rods upon him, and so returned him to Prison: But not long after, it pleased God that this *Hinsbaw* fell sick of a Feaver, and being more like to die than live, the Bishop by importunity, was prevailed with, to let him go home to his Master [Master *Pugson* in *Pauls Church-yard*;) where he remained sick for the space of a year, and in the mean time Queen *Mary* died, and thereby he escaped burning.

*Thomas Hinsbaw.*

*Bonner whips him.*

Amongst the afore said persons apprehended at *Islington*, there was also one *John Willes*, who was by *Bonner* first set in the Stocks in his *Coalhouse*, and then removed to *Fulham*, where he was kept in the Stocks also, and often examined: The Bishop having a Stick in his Hand, wherewith he often rapped him on the Head, and flirited him under the Chin, and on the Ears: And when this prevailed not, he had him into his Orchard, and there wasted a rod upon him to the stumps, and then called for another: After which he returned him to Prison. And many times examined him, and amongst other talk said to him: Ye call me *Bloody Bonner*; A vengeance on you all: I would fain be rid of you, but I think you have a delight in burning: But if I might have my will, I would sow up your mouths, and put you in sacks, and so drown you.

*John Willes whipt by Bonner.*

*Bloody Bonner.*

On a time *Bonner* came to the Stocks, where he lay, saying, *How like you your lodging, and fare?* *Willes* answered: *well, if it would please God, that I might have a little straw to lye upon.* Whilst they were talking together came in *Willes* his Wife great with Child, and near her count, intreating the Bishop for her Husband, and said, That she would not go out of his House, but there lay her Belly, except her Husband might go with her. Then said *Bonner* to *Willes*: *How sayest thou, thou Heretick; if thy wife, and her Child should miscarry, and perish; dost not thou think that their Blood would be required at thy Hands?* In brief, the Bishop could not be rid of the Woman, and therefore fearing lest she should cry out in his House, he was at last content upon easie terms to release him: Yet would he have a Kinsman of *Willes* to pass his word to bring him before him again the next day, or else, faith he, *thou art an Heretick as well as he.* The Man having no greater a charge than that, neglected to bring him: Yet shortly after *Willes* of his own accord went to him, and there subscribing a paper which had no great matter in it, was dismissed.

*Willes released by means of his Wife.*

Master *Richard Teomans*, a godly Minister, who had been formerly Curate under Doctor *Tailor* at *Hadley*, and was by him left to supply his place

*Mr. Richard Teomans.*

place when he was removed from it. But after a while he was put out of that place.

He was a very holy old Man; of the age of Seventy, was well seen in the Scriptures, and being put out of *Hadley*, he went up and down from place to place, exhorting all Men to stand faithfully to Gods word, and earnestly to give themselves to prayer, and to prepare themselves for the patient bearing of the Cross; with boldness to confess the truth before their Adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the Crown of everlasting happiness: But at last, perceiving that his Adversaries lay in wait for him, he went into *Kent*, selling Points, Pins, and Laces, and such trifles to get something wherewith to maintain himself, his poor Wife, and Children. At last a Justice of Peace, one Master *Moyle*, took him, and laid him in the Stocks, but after a while, having no evident matter against him, released him.

Then returned he secretly to *Hadley*, and abode with his poor Wife, locked up in a Chamber for about a Twelvemonth together, spending much of his time in reading, and prayer, and the rest in carding Wool, which his Wife did spin, and by such like poor means they maintained themselves.

At length the Parson of the Parish perceived that this good old Man was thus kept private by his Wife: And therefore taking some Officers with him, in the night-time he brake open the doors, and searching the House, found Father *Teomans* in Bed with his poor Wife, and Children; whereupon in an anger he said, *I thought I should find a Knave, and an whore together, and wishd would have pulled off the Bed-clothes: But Father Teomans held fast, saying, Neither Knave nor Whore; but a married Man and his wife, according to Gods ordinance, and blessed be God for lawful Matrimony. I thank God for this favor, and I defy the Pope, and all his Popery.* Then had they him away to the Cage, and there set him in the Stocks.

John Dale.

In the same place there was one *John Dale*, who had lain Two or Three days there: The occasion was this: He had been present at Church, when the Parson and his Curate were at their *Romish* Service, and the poor Man being offended at it, in the fervency of his Spirit, said, *O miserable, and blind guides, will you ever be Blind leaders of the Blind? will you never amend, and see the truth of Gods word? will neither the threats, nor promises of God work upon your Hearts? will the Blood of the Martyrs nothing mollifie your stony Spirits? Obdurate, hard-hearted, perverse, and crooked Generation! O damnable persons, whom nothing can do good upon!* For this the Parson caused him to be laid in the Stocks.

His Zeal.

Popish cruelty.

The next day the Parson called hard upon Sir *Henry Doile* to send them both to Prison. Sir *Henry* earnestly labored to perswade the Parson, they being so old, to let them go with that punishment: But the Parson was restless till he had gotten a Warrant, whereby he sent them both to *Bury* Goal. As they went, they were carried pinioned, and bound like Thieves: And when they came thither, because they continually reproved Popish practices, they were thrown into the lowest Dungeon.

Dale dies in Prison.

In that place *John Dale*, by reason of evil keeping, fell sick, and died, and his body was buried in the Fields. After this Father *Teomans* was removed to *Normich* Prison, where he was still used very cruelly. At last he was examined of his Faith: And he boldly, and constantly confessed, that he was of that Faith, which was set forth by King *Edward* the Sixth of blessed memory; from which he would in no wise vary. And being commanded to submit himself to the Pope, he answered, *I defy him, and all his detestable abominations: Yea, I will have nothing to do with him, nor with anything that appertains to him:* For this he was degraded, condemned, and burnt at *Normich*.

Teomans his Martyrdom.

Alcock.

There was living also in *Hadley* a young Man called *John Alcock*, by trade a Shearman, who after the Martyrdom of Doctor *Taylor* used in the Church of *Hadley* to read the Service in *English* till the coming of Parson *Newhall* thither:

After



After which, this *Alcock* being in the Church when the Parson was going by with the Proceſſion, *Alcock* neither moved his Hat, nor ſhewed any reverence to it: Which the Parſon taking notice of, ran to him, laid Hands on him, and called for the Conſtable, commanding him to have him to the Stocks: The Conſtable happened to be his Maſter, and told the Parſon that he ſhould not go to the Stocks, but ſhould be forth coming, and ſo the Parſon went on in his Proceſſion: The Conſtable told *Alcock* that he was ſorry for him, that if he behaved not himſelf wiſely the Parſon would effect his deſtruction. *Alcock* answered, Sir, I am ſorry that I am a trouble to you: But as for my ſelf I am not ſorry, but I commit my ſelf into the Hands of God; who, I truſt, will give me a mouth, and wiſdom to answer according to the truth. Yet, ſaith the Conſtable, take heed of him, for he is a Bloodſucker, and will uſe you the worſe for my ſake, againſt whom he hath an old grudge.

His Faith;

I fear not, ſaith *Alcock*; He can do no more than God will give him leave, and happy ſhall I be, if God will call me to die for his truths ſake.

Then went they to the Parſon, who ſaid to him: Fellow, what ſayeſt thou to the Sacrament of the Altar? I ſay, quoth *Alcock*, as you uſe the matter, you make a ſhameful Idol of it, and you are falſe idolatrous Priests, even all of you. I told you, quoth the Parſon, that he was a ſtout Heretick: And ſo the next day he carried him to London, where he was clapt up in Newgate, and after many examinations, and troubles, becauſe he would not ſubmit to aſk forgiveness of the Pope, nor to be reconciled to the Romiſh Church, he was caſt into the lower Dungeon, where by reaſon of his cruel handling, and evil keeping, he contracted a ſickneſs whereof he died; Yet then did not their malice end towards him: For they would not ſuffer him to be buried with honeſt, and decent Burial: But put him into an hole in the Fields.

He died in Priſon.

Maſter *Thomas Benbridge*, a Gentleman in the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, who might have lived a pleaſant and honorable life in this world, yet choſe rather, through the ſtrate gate of perſecution to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: For which end he manfully ſtood for the defence of the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt* againſt Popiſh ſuperſtitious: And therefore being apprehended, was carried before Doctour *White*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who examined him upon fundry Articles: As about Auricular confeſſion: The real preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, &c. To all which he made a ſtout answer according to the truth, and was condemned for the ſame. When he was brought by the Sheriff to the place of execution, he put off his Apparel, which was very rich, and be- took himſelf to fervent prayer unto God: When he was faſtened to the Stake, one Doctour *Seaton* willed him to recant, and he ſhould have his pardon: But he rejected it, like a faithful Souldier of *Jeſus Chriſt*. The Doctour turned to the people, and bad them not to pray for him any more than they would pray for a Dog. Maſter *Benbridge* ſtanding at the Stake, with his Hands liſt up to Heaven, the Doctour again urged him to recant: To whom he ſaid, *Away Babylonian, away*. Then was the Fire kindled which burnt off a piece of his Beard, yet was he nothing moved with it: Then the Fire took hold of his Legs, and his Stockings being of Leather, the pain was ſo grievous that he cried out, I recant: At which words, ſome of his Friends plucked away the Fire, and the Sheriff returned him to Priſon again: But it pleaſed God ſo to awaken his conſcience, that recanting his recantation, he was that day Sevensnight carried to the Fire again, and there burned.

Mr. Thomas Benbridge;

His weakneſſ;

His recovery, and Martyrdom.

Shortly after Four godly Perſons, viz. *John Cook*, *Robert Miles*, *Alexander Lane*, and *James Aſhley* were examined before the Biſhop of *Norwich*: The chief matter alledged againſt them was, for not going to Church: And when they had given a good account of their Faith, they were condemned and burned together at *Saint Edmunds Bury* not long before the ſickneſs of Queen *Mary*.

John Cook, Robert Miles, Alexander Lane, James Aſhley, Martyrs.

About

## The Persecution of the English Church

Alexander  
Gouge, and  
Alice Driver.

About the same time *Alexander Gouge*, and *Alice Driver* were hunted after by one Master *Noone*, a Justice in *Suffolk*, so that for their safety they were faine to hide themselves in an Haymow: But the Justice with his Men coming to it, and striking Pitchforks into the Mow, at last discovered them, and sent them to *Melton Gaol*, where after they had lain a time, they were removed to *Bury*, and there at the Assizes, they boldly confessed *Christ* crucified, defying the Pope with all his superstitious trash: And *Alice Driver* compared *Queen Mary* in her persecution to *Jesabel*, for which the Judge caused her Ears presently to be cut off, which she joyfully suffered, thinking herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Name of *Christ*.

Alice Drivers  
courage and  
zeal.

After this they were removed to *Ipswich*, and there examined before Doctor *Spenser*, Chancellor of *Normich*. The chief matter that they insisted upon was about *Christs* presence in the Sacrament, wherein *Alice Driver* did so baffle them, that they had nothing to say: Whereupon she thus concluded, God be praised, you are not able to resist the Spirit of God in me a poor Woman. I was an honest poor Mans Daughter, and never brought up in the University, as ye have been; yet in the defence of Gods truth, and in the cause of my Master *Christ*, by his grace, I will set my Foot against the Foot of any of you all in maintenance of the same, and if I had a Thousand lives, they should all go in payment thereof. Then did the Chancellor condemn her, and delivered her to the Secular Power. *Gouge* also sticking fast to the truth, was condemned, and so both of them ended their lives sweetly together in the Fire at *Ipswich*. When the Chain was fastened about *Alice Drivers* Neck, O said she, *Here is a goodly Handkerchief, God be praised for it.*

Their Martyr-  
dom.

As they stood at the Stake, some came to take them by the Hand; whereupon the Sheriff bad his Men to lay Hands on them; But thereupon there came such a multitude to them, that the Sheriff was faine to let them alone.

Gods judg-  
ment on a per-  
secutor.

There was one *Bate*, a Barber, that was a very busie Man about burning of them; But presently after Gods judgment fell upon him, so that within Three or Four Weeks after he died in much miserie.

Philip Hum-  
phry, John Da-  
vid, and Henry  
David Mar-  
tyrs.  
A poor Wo-  
man.

The same Moneth that *Queen Mary* died, there were burned at *Bury* Three godly Persons, whose Names were *Philip Humphry*, *John David*, and *Henry David*, his Brother.

There lived in *Cornwal* an honest poor Woman, whose Husband was much addicted to the Popish Superstitions practised in those days, and would force his Wife to joyn with him in the same, which was a great trouble to her Spirit; whereupon she prayed earnestly unto God for his mercy, and direction, and it pleased God that one night as she lay in her Bed, she received abundance of joy, and comfort in her Soul; insomuch as leaving Husband and Children, to enjoy the peace of her Conscience, she went about spinning for her Living, yet at last she returned to her Husband again. Where after a while she was accused by her Neighbors, apprehended and carried to *Exceter* to the Bishop.

Christ prefer-  
red before all.

The chief matter for which she was condemned was, for denying the real presence, and speaking against their Idolatry: The Bishop bad her remember her Husband and Children: She answered, *I have them, and I have them not; whilest I was at liberty, I enjoyed them; But now standing here, as I do in the cause of Christ, and his truth, where I must either forsake Christ or my Husband, I am content to stick to Christ only, my heavenly Spouse, and to renounce the other.* The Bishop after much other talk, gave her a Moneths liberty to bethink herself; In which time she, going into one of the Churches, saw a Dutchman making new Noses to many Images, which had been defaced in King *Edwards* time; To whom she said, *what a mad Man art thou to make new Noses for those Images, which within a few days will lose their Heads?* For this being complain-  
ed

A Prophecie.



ed of to the Bishop, she was clapt up close Prisoner, and had no more liberty. During her Imprisonment she was tried by great sufferings, threatnings, Great tentat-  
taunts and scoffs, called Anabaptist, a mad Woman, a Drunkard, a Whore, a ons resisted,  
Runnagate: She was tried by liberty, to go whither she would; she was tried  
by flattery, and many fair promises; she was tried with Husband, goods, and  
Children; yet nothing would prevail: Her Heart was fixed; she had cast An-  
chor, and utterly contemned this wicked World, with all the baits and allure-  
ments of it: She was wholly without Learning, yet so versed in the Scriptures, Her knowledge  
that she could not only fitly and appositely quote them, but name the Book and in the Scri-  
Chapter also. pures.

Her Adversaries seeing that by no means they could remove her from her  
constancy, at last condemned her, and delivered her to the Secular Power. Then  
did the Gentlemen of the Country exhort her yet to call for grace, and to for-  
sake her fond opinions, and so to return to her Husband and Children: For,  
said they, *Thou art an ignorant woman, and these things are to high for thee to* Her constancy  
*meddle withal: I am,* said she, *indeed, and yet with my death I am content to be a*  
*witnes of Christs death; and I pray you delay me no longer; my Heart is fixed, I*  
*will never say otherwise than I have, nor turn to their superstitious doings.* Then  
said the Bishop, *The Devil leadeth her; No, my Lord,* quoth she, *it is Gods Spirit*  
*that leadeth me.* When she heard her sentence of death pronounced, she lifted  
up her voice, saying, *I thank thee, my Lord, my God, This day, I have found that*  
*which I have long sought for.* Then was she again promised Life if she would re-  
cant: *Nay, that I will not,* said she, *God forbid, that for this natural and temporary*  
*life, I should lose Life eternal; I will never turn from my Heavenly Husband to my*  
*Earthly; from the fellowship of Angels to mortal Children: And if my Husband and*  
*Children be faithfull, then am I theirs; God is my Father, God is my Mother, God is*  
*my Sister, my Brother, my Kinsman; God is my Friend, and that most faithfull.*  
Then was she led forth to execution, multitudes of people going with her. At  
the place where she was to suffer, the Popish Priests again set upon her; But she  
prayed them to speak no more to her, and then said, *God, be mercifull to me a sin-* Her Martyr-  
*ner; God, be mercifull to me a sinner.* In the flames she stood with admirable dom,  
patience, and so finished her course with joy; she had such a cheerful and lively  
countenance, as though she had been prepared for the day of her Marriage, was  
very patient in her words and answers: She had always been sober in meat, drink,  
and apparel; she would never be idle, and was a great comfort to as many as  
talked with her, liberal to the poor, according to her ability, and in her trouble  
would take no money when it was proffered her; For, said she, *I am going to a* Her charity.  
*City, where money beareth no mastery; And whilest I am here, God hath promised to* Money con-  
*feed me.* tained.

In the City of *Bristow*, there was one *Richard Sharp*, a Weaver, who being *Richard Sharp*,  
apprehended for Religion, was carried before *Doctor Dally* the Chancellour;  
who after examination about the Sacrament of the Altar, so wrought upon him  
by perswasions, that he drew from him a promise to make a publike recantati-  
on, and the time and place were appointed for it: But after this promise, *Sharp*  
felt such an Hell in his Conscience, that he was not able to follow any business, Humane infir-  
mity.  
but decayed in his Body, and wholly lost his colour: Whereupon on a Sabbath, Apostacy dan-  
dangerous.  
going to his Parish Church, he went to the Quire-door, and with a loud voice  
said, *Neighbours, bear me record, that yonder Idol, pointing to the Altar, is the* Recovery,  
*greatest and most abominable that ever was, and I am sorry that ever I denyed my*  
*Lord God.* Hereupon the Constable was commanded to apprehend him; but he  
let him alone, and *Sharp* went home to his House; yet afterwards was he ap-  
prehended in the night, and carried to prison, and continuing constant, was by  
the Chancellour condemned, and burnt, which he patiently endured, sealing the  
truth with his Blood. His Martyr-  
dom.

At the same time there was burned with him another Citizen of *Bristow*, *Thomas Hale*,  
called *Thomas Hale*, whom Two of the Aldermen fetched out of his House in the  
night,

night; To whom he said, You have sought my Blood these Two years, and now much good do it you. He was condemned by *Dalby* for saying, that the Sacrament of the Altar was an Idol; and patiently yielded up his Spirit unto God in the flames.

*Thomas Benson.*

Also *Thomas Benson* of the same City, Weaver, was apprehended, and examined before *Dalby*, and by him was committed to prison, for saying, That the Sacrament was nothing but Bread, as they used it; and for denying Five of their Seven Sacraments: And shortly after he was condemned, and executed, dying in a godly, constant, and patient manner.

*John Cornford, Christopher Brown, John Hurst, Alice Snoth, and Katherine Knight, the last Martyrs in Queen Marys days.*

The last that suffered Martyrdom in Queen *Maries* time, were Five godly Persons at *Canterbury*; Their Names were, *John Cornford, Christopher Brown, John Hurst, Alice Snoth, and Katherine Knight*. The things for which they were persecuted and condemned were, for denying *Christs* real presence in the Sacrament of the Altar; and for saying, that wicked Men do not receive *Christs* Body; That it was Idolatry to creep to the Cross; That Saints should not be prayed to, &c. When sentence of condemnation was read against them, *John Cornford* being moved in Spirit with a vehement zeal for God, in the Name of himself and his fellows, said: *In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his Holy Spirit, and authority of his Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church; we do here give into the Hands of Satan to be destroyed, the Bodies of all those Blasphemers, and Hereticks, that do maintain any Error against his most holy word, or that do condemn his most holy Truth for Heresie, to the mainenance of any false Church or feigned Religion; so that by this thy most just judgement, O most mighty God, against thy Adversaries, thy true Religion may be known to thy great glory, and our comfort, and to the edification of all our Nation: Good Lord, So be it, Amen.* And this Excommunication of his, took such effect against the enemies of the Truth, that within Six days after Queen *Mary* died, and the Tyranny of all English Papists with her: Yet the Arch-Deacon and his Associates condemned, and hastned the Execution of these godly persons, knowing that the Queen was sick past recovery. When they came to the place of their Execution, they made their prayers to Almighty God, and amongst all other things, desired God that their Blood might be the last that should be shed; wherein God answered their prayers, and they joyfully and comfortably in the fire resigned up their Spirits unto God.

*Popish persecutors excommunicated.*





## C H A P. IX.

*The Scourging of some in the Reign of Queen Mary.*

Amongst those that were persecuted, and miserably imprisoned for the profession of *Christ* in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, there was one *John Fetty*, a godly Man, dwelling in the Parish of *Clerkenwel*, who was accused, and complained of to the Parson of the Parish by his own Wife, for that he went not to Church, nor would partake of their Idolatrous Services: Whereupon the Parson caused the Constables to apprehend him. But it pleased God that his unnatural Wife, immediately upon it, fell mad; and the Constables were so far moved with pity, that they let him go home to look to his Wife, and Children, who otherwise were like to perish: And this good Man (forgetting the unkind and wicked Act of his Wife) was very careful of her, and so cherished and provided for her, that through Gods mercy, she was well amended, and recovered her wits again, within the space of about Three weeks. Yet such was the power of Satan in this wicked and malicious Womans Heart, that so soon as she was recovered, not regarding her Husbands kindness, she again accused him; whereby he was apprehended, and cast into *Lollards Tower*; where he was put into the tormenting Stocks, with a Dish of water, and a stone in it set by him, to shew what favor he should receive at their Hands. There he lay for many days, sometimes hanging by one Leg and one Arm, sometimes by the other, and at other times by both.

A wicked wife!

Punished by God.

A good husband.

Popish cruelty.

At last one of his Children, of about Eight or Nine years old, came to the Bishops House, to see if he could get leave to speak with his Father; and one of the Bishops Chaplains meeting with the Boy, asked him what he looked for? The Child answered, that he came to see his Father that was in *Lollards Tower*: why, said the Priest, thy Father is an Heretick; the Boy, being of a bold and quick Spirit, and well educated by his Father, answered, My Father is no Heretick, but you are an Heretick; For you have Balaams mark on you. With that the Priest took him by the Hand, and led him into the Bishops House, where amongst them, they stripped the Child naked, and cruelly whipt him, till he was all over gore Blood. Then *Cluny*, the Bishops Sumner, putting on his shirt, and carrying his Coat on his Arm, led him to the Prison, with the Blood dropping at his Heels to his Father. At his coming in, the Boy fell on his Knees, and craved his Fathers blessing: The Father being full of grief to see his Child so cruelly dealt with, said, *Alas William who hath done this to thee?* The Boy answered, *As I was coming to see you, a Priest with Balaams mark, took me into the Bishops House, where I have been thus used.* Hereupon *Cluny* violently plucked him from his Father, and carried him back into the Bishops House, where they kept him Three days: And then *Bonner* minding to appease the poor Man for the usage of his Child, sent for him out of *Lollards Tower* to his Chamber. Whilst this *Jo. Fetty* was standing there with the Bishop, he spied a great pair of black Beads hanging by his Bed, and thereupon said to him, *My Lord, I think the Hangman is not far off, for the*

A child cruelly whipt.

Jo. Fettes boldness.

*Halter (pointing to the Beads) is here already.* This much enraged the Bishop, yet *Fetty* spying also a Crucifix standing in the Window, said, *My Lord, what is that?* The Bishop answered, *It was Christ.* *Was he handled,* said *Fetty*, *so cruelly, as is here pictured?* Yea, said *Bonner*, *that he was:* And even *so cruelly*, said *Fetty*, *do you handle such as come before you;* For you are to Gods people, even as *Caiaphas* was to *Christ.* The Bishop was so enraged at this, that he swore he would burn him, or spend all that he had to his Gown: Yet afterward bethinking himself of the danger that the Child was in by reason of their cruel usage of him; he discharged him, bidding him go home, and carry his Child with him, which accordingly he did, with an heavy heart for his poor Boy, who within Fourteen days after died.

The Child died.

Richard Wil-  
mots zeal.

Also when Doctor *Crome* was to make his Recantation; there came in one of the Guard to a Trademans shop in *Bow-lane*, where they asked him what news at Court! The old *Heretick*, said he, *Doctor Crome hath recanted before the Council, and next Sunday will do the same at Pauls Cross:* Hereupon *Richard Wilmot*, Apprentice in the same shop, of about the Age of Eighteen, said, *I am sorry to hear that news;* For if *Crome* shall say otherwise than he hath done formerly, it's contrary to the truth of Gods word, and contrary to his own conscience, which will accuse him before God for it. He also added further, That what Doctor *Crome* had taught was agreeable to the holy Scriptures, wherein God hath revealed his will. well, said the other, *it was never merry world since the Bible was translated into English, and he was a Traitor and Heretick that caused it to be done (meaning the Lord Cromwel) and therefore was rewarded according to his works.* After other such like talk, came in the Master of the shop, and with him another young Man called *Thomas Fairfax*, The Master asked what was the matter? The Queens servant (whose name was *Lewis*,) answered, that he had a Knavish Boy to his man, whom, if he were his, he would rather hang him than keep him. In brief, the business being again rehearsed, *Thomas Fairfax* spake to *Lewis*, confirming what the other had said: Whereupon *Lewis* went away in a rage to the Court. The next day these Two young Men were sent for to the Lord Mayor, and by him, with *Chomley* the Recorder, they were examined a part, and then sent apart to the Two Counters: Their Masters hearing of it, made great Friends to the Lord Mayor and Recorder for their release, but it could not be obtained without address to the Council, who judged them Hereticks and Traitors, and therefore worthy to die: Yet at last by much importunity their lives were spared, and they were ordered to be whipped Three Market days at a Carts tail through the City of London. Yet at last, great Friends being made to the privy Council, they remitted that, and ordered them to be whipped in the Companies Hall, before the Master and Wardens, which was accordingly done, their Bodies being stripped naked from the waist upward, and their Feet fastned to an Iron ring in the midst of the Hall; and then Two Men disguised in Visors, coming with Two great Rods, whipt them so cruelly, that *Wilmot* could not lie in his Bed of Six nights after, and could never recover his health again.

Cruelly whipt.

Tho. Green.

Popish cruelty.

There was also one *Thomas Green*, servant to a Printer; who gave to certain honest Men a Book called *Antichrist*; which his Master hearing of, examined him where he had it; He answered, of a *Frenchman*: Then said his Master, there is Heresie and treason in it, and so sending for *Cluny*, he bad him put him into *Lollards Tower*, which accordingly he did: But when he had lain there a while, he removed him to the Bishops Coalhouse; and there putting upon his right Leg and left Arm bolts and fetters, he set him cross-fettered in the Stocks. On the morrow he came to him, saying, *Come, let me shift your Hand and Leg that you be not lamed*, and so he remained Six days. Then was he sent for by Doctor *Storrs*, who examined him about the Book: He answered, that going to *Newgate* to visit some Christian Friends that lay there for the testimony of the truth, he met with a *Frenchman*; who came thither for the like purpose, and after some further acquaintance with him, he bought this Book of him. Then *Story* would have



have had him to bring forth this *Frenchman*, but he answered, that he could not do it. Upon this he was returned to the *Coalhouse*, where he lay in the Stocks Ten days and nights more.

Then was he again sent for to Doctor *Story*, and whilst he was examining, Two other prisoners were brought to him; whereupon his Wife [*Mrs. Story*] was in a great rage, and swore a great Oath, saying, *Its pity but an Hundred or Two of these Hereticks were put into a Hou'se together, and I my self would set fire to them.* Then was *Green* again returned to the *Coalhouse*. After long imprisonment and frequent examinations, Doctor *Story* sent for him to *Christs Hospital*, and commanded him to be stripped, and then calling for Two Beadles, he caused them to give him almost an Hundred stripes; Adding moreover, that if he might have his will, he would cut out his Tongue; and then he dismissed him.

Cruelly whipt.

There was also one *Steven Cotton*, who was twice whipped by Bishop *Bonner*. Also one *James Harris* of *Billerica* in *Essex*, being apprehended, and sent up to *Bonner*, was examined by him, when he had been at Church? To whom he answered, that he had not been at Church of above a Twelvemonth before, but once; And then, through fear, he received the Popish Sacrament, for which he was heartily sorry, detesting it with all his Soul. Then the Bishop would have had him thrive himself to a Priest, which because he refused to do, the Bishop took him into his Garden, and there whipped him most cruelly.

*Steven Cotton*  
twice whipt.  
*James Harris*.

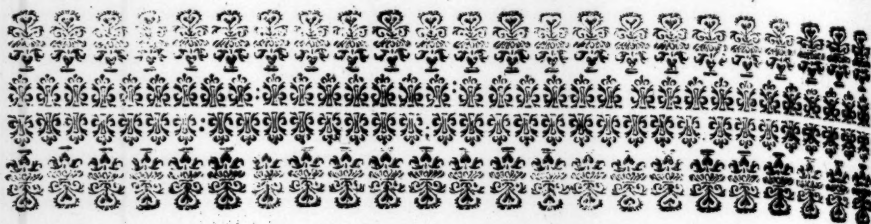
Cruelly whipt.

Also one *Robert Williams*, a Smith, being apprehended and sent to *Bonner*, the Bishop after examination took him into his Garden, and there in an Arbor scourged him cruelly with Rods.

*Robert Wil-*  
*liams.*  
Whipt.

There was in *Collingborow*, a poor starved Man, who because he would not receive the Sacrament at *Easter*, was apprehended, and sent to *Salisbury*, to Doctor *Geffery* the Chancellor, who cast this poor creature into a Dungeon, and afterwards caused him to be cruelly whipt by Two Beadles.

A poor Man  
whipt.



## C H A P. X.

*The Story of divers worthy Servants of Christ, who escaped burning by the death of Queen Mary and otherwise.*

Richard White,  
and John  
Hunt.



Richard white and John Hunt being apprehended, and examined by the Major of Marlborow, were sent to Salisbury, and kept a long time in Lollards Tower; and at last were brought before Bishop Capon, and other Commissioners, and there examined of their Faith, and they made a stout and zealous profession of the same, from which they could not be removed, neither by frowns nor flatteries; so that at length, at the Sessions they were condemned, and with other Malefactors were delivered over to Sir Anthony Hungerford, the high Sheriff, to be executed: But the evening after, Mr. Clifford, Son in Law to Sir Anthony, came to him, exhorting and intreating him earnestly in no case to have a Hand in the death of those Two innocent persons. Sir Anthony hearing him, went straight to Justice Brown to ask his advice, what he should do in the matter. Justice Brown told him, that if he had not a Writ from above for their execution, he could not answer it, but if he had he must then do his office. The Sheriff hearing this, took his Horse the next day, and went out of Town, leaving these Men in Prison. The Chancellor, Doctor Geffery, hearing of his departure, rode after him, and overtaking him, told him that he had delivered over into his Hands Two condemned Men, and wondred that he went away before he had executed them according to his Office; The Sheriff answered, that he was no Babe which was to be taught of him what belonged to his Office. *If you have, said he, a writ to discharge me for the burning of them; I know what I have to do: why, said the Chancellor, did not I give you a writ under my Hand for it? well, said the Sheriff, that is not a sufficient discharge for me: If I have not a writ from the Superior powers, I will not burn them for any of you all.* Doctor Geffery hearing this, returned home, and presently fell sick upon it.

Gods judgement on a persecutor.

Not long after came down a Writ from above to the Under-Sheriff, for their execution; But he being a godly Man, cast the Writ into the fire, saying, *I will not be guilty of these mens Blood.*

A remarkable Providence.

Within Four days after the Chancellor died: About which time Richard white and John Hunt being in a low and dark Dungeon, were going to Prayer, but on a sudden, knowing no reason for it, they burst both out into a great weeping, so that they could not speak a word; and the next morning they understood that just at the same time the Chancellor died. Presently after the Bishop died also: so that these Two holy Men continued in Prison till Queen Maries death, and by that means it pleased God to deliver them.

Mr. Living.

In the time of Queen Maries sickness, one Coxo a Promoter, taking the Constable, and some others with him, went to the House of Master William Living, a Minister in Shoe-lane, and there searching amongst his Books, found a Book of Astronomy made by Johannes de sacro Bosco, wherein were many Figures: Coxo taking this Book, and Master Living, and his Wife, carried them away



away to Darbshiers House, the Bishop of Londons Chancellor; and by the way, carrying the Book open, he said, *I have found him at length; It's no marvel though the Queen be sick, when there are such Conjurers in corners; but now I trust he shall conjure no more.*

Darbshire examined him, and told him that he was a Schismatick; and a Traitor; To whom Mr. Living answered, *I would be sorry that were true, but I know I am no Traitor, for I have always taught obedience according to the tenor of Gods word; and when tumults have been raised, I have suppressed them by Gods word.* But, said the Chancellor, *you deny the Church of Rome, and therefore Cluny take him away, and put him into the Colehouse.*

Then did Cluny violently hale and draw him, and carrying him to his House, there robbed him of all his money, his Psalter and New Testament, &c. After which he carried him to the Colehouse, and there put both his Arms and Legs into the Stocks, saying, That except he gave him Forty shillings he would put a collar of Iron about his Neck also. *I am never able to pay so much,* said Mr. Living, and so he was left in the Stocks.

Popish cruelty.

At evening a Kinswoman of his brought him his Supper, who seeing how miserably he was used, told Cluny that she would give him Ten groats to let him at liberty: Cluny took her money, and so let him out to eat his Supper, but presently after set him in the Stocks again. Within a few days he was removed into Lollards Tower, and there put into the Stocks.

His Wife also was sent to Lollards Tower; But the Queens sickness being mortal, upon the request of Friends, and giving sureties to be forth coming, they were released; by which means it pleased God, that they escaped death.

It was known that some of Mr. Livings Books were at the House of one John Lithals, in Southwark; whereupon a Constable, and some of the Queens Servants went to that House, breaking open his Doors and Chests, and seising upon the Books; And afterwards, watching for Lithals coming home, they apprehended him, and carried him to Darbshires House, by whom he was examined, and after sent to Lollards Tower. By the way Cluny, and another dragged him into Pauls Church, and there would have had him hear Mass, which he refused: Then would they have had him worship the Rood, which he also refused: Whereupon they carried him forthwith to Lollards Tower, and hanged him by the Hands and Feet in the Stocks, where he lay Three days, and Three nights, till he was so lame that he could neither stir nor move. Then Cluny coming to him, he profered him some gold, and money which he had about him to release him out of the Stocks, which Cluny accepted of, and so let him out. After he had lien there about Three weeks, Bonner being sick at Fulham, many of his Neighbors came to the Chancellor, and made great sute for the release of Mr. Lithall, and the Queens disease still increasing upon her, they obtained their request, and he was released.

John Lithall.

xxvii  
wst.

Popish cruelty.

Edward Gräv, Minister at a Town called Broke, was by the malice of his Adversaries enforced to fly from his habitation; and though very aged, yet to travel up and down for the keeping of a good Conscience. At last, notwithstanding his circumspection, he was apprehended, and carried to Colchester Castle, where he remained a Prisoner till the coming in of Queen Elizabeth of happy memory, by which means he was released.

Edward Gräv;

William Brown, Minister of little Stanham, in Suffolk, for preaching a bold Sermon against the Mass, was persecuted by one Robert Blomefield, Constable, who fetching the under Sheriff for his assistance, in the night time they brake into the Ministers House, and apprehended him, and the next day he should have been carried to the Council; But it pleased God suddenly to strike the said Blomefield with sickness, so that he could not go with him. Then did the under Sheriff send him Prisoner to Ipswich, and from thence he was removed to Bury Jail, and so at last he was sent to the Council, by whom he was committed to the

Mr. Browne

A special Providence.

the *Fleet*, where he lay divers moneths; But it pleased God to put such answers into his Mouth when he was examined by the Council, that at last they dismissed him, and he returned to his former charge: But when he still refused to say or to be present at Mass, he was put out of his place, himself and Wife being constrained to fly and hide themselves from the fury of their Adversaries; till at last, not long before Queen *Maries* death, it pleased God to deliver this good Man, by taking him to himself.

But a terrible Hand of God followed *Blomefield*, his Persecutor, both by sickness, and a consumption of his estate; so that being rich before, he became poor; Also his eldest Son, and his Wife, died of a pining disease. Then he sought to repair his estate by marrying a rich Widow, yet all would not do: His Body was full of botches and sores, and shortly after he died, being wasted both in Body and estate; so that he died much worse then nothing.

There was one *Elizabeth Young*, who to preserve her Conscience from pollution, left the Land, and fled to *Embsen*; yet after a while, came back again, and brought with her divers good Books, which she dispersed abroad amongst Gods People; For which at last she was apprehended, and often examined before the Inquisitors of Heretical pravity: They asked her why she would not go to Mass? She answered, Because her Conscience would not suffer her, and she had rather that all the world should accuse her then her own Conscience. Then they called her Traitorly Whore, and Heretick, and such like vile names, threatening to Rack her, and burn her, and so returned her to Prison, charging her Keeper, that she should one day have Bread, and the other day Water; which when she heard, she said, *If you take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger.*

Afterwards they examined her about the Sacrament; To which she answered, That when she received the Sacrament in Spirit and Faith, she received *Christ*: To which a Doctor answered *Ah whore, in Spirit and Faith, whore; Hark thou ill-favored whore how I believe*; And so he told her how he believed about Transubstantiation: To which she answered, And I Sir have told you how I believe: Whereupon he replied, *Ah ill-favored whore; nothing but Spirit and Faith, whore?* After divers other examinations, Two Women suing for her release, she was at last discharged and set free.

There was dwelling in *Bedfield*, in the County of *Suffolk*, an aged Woman of Sixty years old, called *Elizabeth Lawson*, who being apprehended for an Heretick, because she would not go to Church to hear Mass, was cast into a Dungeon; where having lien a while, she was removed first to *Norwich*, and then to *Bury Jail*, and remaining constant in the truth, was at last condemned to be burnt. Then did the High Sheriff take her home with him to his House, and assayed by all means both fair and foul to pervert her; But when nothing would prevail, he returned her to Prison, and there she continued almost Three years: during which time her Son, and many others were burnt: Whereupon she would often say, *Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with others of thy Children? Well, Good Lord, thy blessed will be done, and not mine.*

At last Queen *Mary* dying, she was delivered out of Prison, and not long after resigned her Soul to God.

This is very observable, that before her imprisonment she was much troubled with the falling sickness; But after she was cast into Prison, she never had fit more, but was in good health, and enjoyed much joy and comfort in her Soul.

There was dwelling in the Town of *Seale* in *Kent*, one *William Watts*, who being apprehended by his Popish enemies, was carried before the Bishops and Justices at *Tunbridge*, who labored very much to withdraw him from the truth; But when by no means they could prevail, they committed him Prisoner to the Constable, who carried him to an Alehouse, where the Constable drank so liberally

Gods judgment on a Persecutor.

*Eliz. Young.*

An excellent Speech.

Popish prophane.

*Eliz. Lawson.*

A special providence.

*William Watts.*



berally, that at last he fell fast asleep. *watts* his Wife seeing this, perswaded her Husband to go his ways, for as much as God hath made way for his escape: But *william watts* would by no means be perswaded thereunto. Whilst they were reasoning the case together, a stranger over-hearing them, said to him, *Father, go thy ways in Gods Name, and tarry no longer; the Lord hath opened the way for thee.* Upon this *watts* went his way, and his Wife returned to her House at *Seale*: But whilst she was telling some Friends of her Husbands great deliverance, he came in amongst them; which when his Wife saw, she was much troubled, and perswaded him by all means to hast away before search should be made after him: He answered, that he would first eat some meat, and pray with his Family, which accordingly he did, and then went and hid himself in an Holly-Bush hard by. But no sooner was he gon out of doors, but in came the Constable, and many more with him, searching all the House, breaking open Chests, and piercing the Featherbeds, so that he made much spoil in the House: But it pleased the Lord to hide his servant, and to deliver him from the danger. His Wife was carried to the Stocks, where she lay Two days before she was freed.

A special providence.

In *London* there was one *Dabney* a Painter, a godly Man, who being apprehended by an Apparitor was carried to *Bonner*: But when they came thither, they were bid to stand by a while, because the Bishop was busie in examining of others, and before he had finished with them, a messenger came in hast, desiring the Bishop to prepare himself speedily, for that the general Procession carried for him: Then were all other businesses laid aside: The Bishop and his Family halting away to accompany the Procession; by reason whereof, *Dabney* was left alone; He seeing this, went down into the Court, and there walked up and down in a melancholly posture; The Porter seeing him thus to walk alone, and thinking him to be some Citizen that came about business, asked him if he would go forth, *yes*, said he, *with a good will, if you will let me out;* with that the Porter opened the Wicket, and let him depart. After this, much search was made for him, but the Lord preserved him from the danger.

*Dabney*:

*Mr. Alexander whinshurst*, a godly Minister, being informed against to *Bonner*, he sent forth one of his Flies to apprehend him; who, after search, meeting with him, took him, and carried him towards the Bishops House: And as they went through *Pauls Church*, *Mr. whinshurst* espied *Dr. Chadsey* walking there, who having been of his ahtient acquaintance in *Oxford*, he intreated him, that for old acquaintance sake, he would prevail so far, that he might be examined before *Doctor Martin*, rather than any other; The Doctor in scorn answered him with the words of *Christ*, *when thou wast young thou girdest thyself, and wentest whither thou wouldest; but being aged other Men should gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldest not.*

*Mr. Alexander whinshurst*,

Popish prophane,

Then was he carried to *Story* and *Cooke*, who labored by all means both fair and foul to pervert him from the truth; But he carried himself very resolutely before them, not shrinking at all from his former profession.

Hereupon they sent him to *Clunies House* in *Pater Noster Row*, by whom he was to be committed to *Lollards Tower*; But the Lord pleased so to order it, that when he came thither, *Cluny* and his Family were very busie, so that he was left alone in his Hall; only there was another Woman whose Husband was in trouble, about whom she staid to speak with *Cluny*: She seeing *Mr. whinshurst* stand there, said to him, *Alas good Sir, if you please you may escape the Hands of your cruel Enemies; for as much as they be all absent that should look to you, whereby God hath opened the way for your deliverance, and therefore lose not the opportunity if you be wise.* At these words he looked about him, and went out of Doors, walking but a leasurely pace, so that he might have been easily taken again, if any had looked after him; But it was Gods will that he should thus escape the fury of his Adversaries.

There was one *Bosoms Wife*, who living at *Richmond* with her Mother, was much called upon to go to Church, and at length, through importunity, she

she assented thereto: But when she came to Church, she behaved her self in every thing contrary to that which others did; when they kneeled, she stood; when they turned forwards, she turned backward, &c. This her carriage was so publick, that the Church-Warden and Constable came and attached her in the Queens Name, commanding her and her Mother to meet them the next day at *Kingston*; and accordingly the next morning they went thitherward, and meeting the Officers at the Ferry by the way, they saluted them by their Names: The Officers had no power to speak unto them, but went their ways; But afterwards they stamp'd and stared, and were much vexed that they had thus let them go.

A special providence.

The Woman seeing that they regarded them not, went back again; and the good Woman retired her self into *London*, by which means the Lord mercifully delivered her from their cruelty.

There was dwelling at *Windonham* in *Norfolk*, the Lady *Anne Knevet*, being near an Hundred years old, who all the time of Queen *Mary* kept her self from their Popish Church, neither suffered any of their Papistical trash to be administred in her House; But had the *English* Service, daily performed, which was used in King *Edwards* days. For this she and her Family were many times threatned by Messengers that the Bishop would visit her ere long: To whom she still answered, That if his Lordship sent word before hand, his entertainment should be accordingly. But God by his merciful providence so overawed their Hearts, that she lived in safety all that troublesome time: Yea, though there were sometimes present at her Service great Enemies to the truth, and such as had much authority; yet coming in, they would kneel down amongst the rest at Prayer, and had no power to trouble her for the same.

Charity.

This good Lady was much given to Hospitality, and intertained into her House many of the persecuted members of *Jesus Christ*; and though they were never so poor, they were lookt upon by her as Friends to the Gospel, and not suffered to depart without meat, and money.

The Lady Vane.

Also the Lady *Elizabeth Vane* was a great harborer and supporter of the afflicted Martyrs and Confessors of *Christ*, for which she was oftentimes in great danger, and yet God mercifully delivered her.

Mrs. Roberts.

There was in *Sussex* one Mistress *Roberts*, a godly and vertuous Gentlewoman, who all the time of Queen *Maries* Reign was earnestly addicted to the truth, and never went to their Popish Service, nor would pollute her Conscience with hearing their Idolatrous Mass: And not far from her, there dwelled Sir *John Gilford*, a Justice of Peace, who was as fervent on the contrary to promote Popery: He hearing of her, first sent his Wife to tempt her by fair words, and gentle perswasions, to go to Church, and to obey the Queens Laws, as others did: But she constantly adhering to the truth, would by no means be perswaded to defile her Conscience with their Idolatrous Service.

Then did Sir *John Gilford* send his Officers and Servants to carry her by force to Church: But by the way as they carried her, she through anguish and grief of Spirit fell into a swoon, so that they were forced to carry her home again.

Afterwards Sir *John* went himself to her House, resolving whatever came of it to have her to Church: But behold the good providence of God! Just as Sir *John Gilford* was going up the Stairs to her Chamber, he was taken with such violent and terrible pains of the Gout, that he could go no further, and so was fain himself to be carried home, protesting and swearing that he would never trouble this Gentlewoman any more; and so through Gods mercy she escaped the danger.

A special providence.

There was also in *Nottinghamshire*, one Mistress *Lacy*, a very holy Woman, against whom, through the malice of her Adversaries, a Process was sent forth, and she was driven to such straits, that she was forced to hide her



her Bible, and some other good Books in a Dunghill. She had one of her own Brothers, a Justice of Peace; But he being a Papist, shewed her little favor: Yet though kindred failed, God did not fail her; For before she was apprehended, it pleased God that Queen *Mary* died, and so she escaped the danger.

An unnatural Brother.

There was in *Norfolk* one *Crosmans* Wife, a good Woman, who being taken notice of for her not coming to Church, the Constable of the Hundred came to apprehend her: She had a young sucking Child that just at that time was crying very hard; But it pleased God that as the Constable came in with his Company, the Child gave over crying, and the Mother having notice of the danger, slipped with the Child in her Arms into a corner behind the Chimney, the Child continued quiet all the time that they were searching the House, and when they could not find her they departed; And so the poor Woman, through Gods merciful providence, escaped the danger.

A special providence.

There was at the Town of *Stoke* in *Suffolk* a great number of godly People, with whom, by reason of their number and unanimity, the Bishops were afraid to meddle; They kept constantly to their private meetings, and came not at all to the Popish Service: Yet at last an Order was sent to them that within Sixteen days after *Easter*, they should all receive the Popish Sacrament, or else stand to the peril that would follow. Hereupon these godly People meeting together, considered what to do, and resolved that none of them would receive it: Only there was one *John Foxe* that was very urgent with his Wife to obey the Order, and prevailed with the Priest to come and give it her upon the Seventeenth day after *Easter*: But the day before she went to the meeting, and with tears declared how violently her Husband had dealt with her; They bad her be of good chear, for that they would make their earnest Prayers unto the Lord, both for her, and her Husband, and accordingly they did so; and through Gods mercy, they found good success; For the very next day *Jo. Foxe* came of his own accord unto them, and confessed, and bewailed his rashness and inconsiderateness, promising, through Gods help, to be more strong in the Faith, to the great comfort both of them, and his Wife.

Power of Prayer.

About half a year after, the Bishop of *Normich* sent his Apparitors amongst these good People, straitly charging them to go to Church the Sunday following, or else presently to appear before the Commissary to render an account of their absence: But they, having notice before hand of the Apparitors coming, kept themselves out of the way to avoid the Summons: And so not being at Church at the time appointed nor appearing before the Commissary, he first suspended them, and Three weeks after Excommunicated them: And when an Officer was appointed to apprehend some of them, they absented themselves out of the Town, and so escaped the danger all Queen *Maries* time.

No less wonderful was Gods mercy to the private Congregation of the faithful in *London*, whom he preserved all Queen *Maries* Reign, notwithstanding all the malice, and searchings of their Adversaries, and the strictness of the Laws against them. First when they were to have met in *Blackfriars* at *Sir Thomas Cardens* House, privy Watch was set for the apprehension of them; But through the Lords vigilant eye over them the mischief was prevented, and they escaped the danger.

Gods providence in preserving the Church in *London*.

Also when they were met about *Aldgate*, some Spies were set to discover them: But it pleased God that *Thomas Sympson* the Deacon, espying them, bad them presently disperse themselves, which if they had not done, they had there been all taken, the Constable coming presently after to search for them.

Another time about the great Conduit in *Cheapside*, as they passed through a little Alley into a Clothworkers Chamber, where they were to meet together, they were espied by some of their Adversaries, and the Sheriffs were presently sent for to apprehend them: But they being privily warned of the danger, presently

sently departed, one of the Bishops Sumners looking on, but having no power, or else fearing to meddle with them.

At another time they publickly assembled together in a Ship at *Billingsgate*, that belonged to a godly Man of *Ley*; where, though the People took notice of them; yet, through Gods mercy, they were freed from danger. Yea twice or thrice they assembled together in another Ship between *Ratcliff* and *Redriff*, where they had Prayers, preaching, and the Sacrament administred, and though many took notice of it, yet none meddled with them.

A special providence.

At another time being met together in an honest Coopers House in *Pudding lane*: Whilst they were there, the Bishops Officer came into the House, and having talked a while with the good Man of the House went away again, having no power to meddle with them.

Another eminent danger they escaped in *Thamesstreet* near the Water, where being met together in the night, they were discovered, and the House beset that none should escape: But there being an honest Marriner amongst them, he seeing no other way to avoid the danger, slipt out at a back Door, and swam to a Boat, and bringing it thither, took all these good People, and making Oars of his Shoes conveyed them away from the danger.

A special providence.

Sometimes some were sent to spy out their doings, and to take their Names; But when they came thither, God hath wrought so upon them, that themselves have been caught, and have asked them forgiveness for their wicked purposes against them.

We have heard before of the extream danger that they were in at the taking of Mr. *Rough*, their Minister, and Mr. *Sympson* their Deacon, if God by a dream had not warned Mr. *Rough* to charge Mr. *Sympson* to lay aside that Book wherein all their Names were contained.

This Congregation began presently after Queen *Mary* entred into her Reign, and were sometimes more, sometimes less: Sometimes Two Hundred in number, and towards the latter end of Queen *Mary*, they much increased: They had also divers Ministers, first Mr. *Scamler*, Then Mr. *Foule*, Then Mr. *Rough*, Then Mr. *Bernher*, and lastly Mr. *Bentham*, who in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, was made Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*. This Mr. *Bentham* escaped wonderfully when the last Seven Martyrs (mentioned before) were burned in *Smithfield*: The occasion and manner was this; When these Prisoners were brought forth of *Newgate*, a Proclamation was made in the King and Queens Name, straitly commanding that none should pray for them, nor speak to them, nor once say, *God help them*; notwithstanding which, this godly Company resolved to go to, and comfort the Prisoners, and accordingly as they were guarded with Bills and Glaves, they pressed towards them, and forcing their guard from them, they embraced and kissed them, carrying them in their Arms (whereas they might as easily have conveyed them away) to the place where they were to suffer. Then giving way to the Officers, these Martyrs were tied to the Stake, and the forementioned Proclamation was again published, notwithstanding which, Mr. *Bentham* inflamed with zeal, and Christian charity, when fire was set to them, turning to the People with a loud voice, said, *we know that these are the People of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but wish well to them, and pray to God to strengthen them*, and so turning to them he prayed to Almighty God to strengthen them; whereupon all the People with one consent said, *Amen*, which did so astonish the Officers, that they knew not whom to accuse, or whom to apprehend.

A special providence.

Not long before Queen *Maries* death, the City of *Calice* in *France*, which had been Two Hundred and eleven years in the possession of the *English*, was taken by the Bloody Duke of *Guise*, who put multitudes of persons of all ages, and sexes to the Sword. At which time there were many godly persons in that Town, and the Lord, whose wakeful eyes of providence do continually watch over his, so ordered, that few or none at all of those many that favored *Christ* and



and his Gospel, in that terrible Massacre miscarried; And amongst others that escaped after a wonderful manner, there was one *John Thorpe* and his Wife, a godly couple, who lying sick at the same time, were cast out into the Fields, in a hopeles and helpless condition; Also a young Infant that sucked upon the Mother, was taken in the Fields, and born away by the Soldiers; yet, behold the admirable providence of God! they were by strangers fetched to a place almost a mile off: and being recovered, the next day as they travelled towards England, they chanced into the same Inn where they found their young Child, and so came all over in safety.

In the second year of Queen *Mary* there was one *Edward Bennet* dwelling at *Queenhithe*, who was desired to carry a New Testament to a godly Man that was Prisoner in *Newgate*: But as he went in, the Keeper discovered it, and thereupon carried him before *Chomley* the Recorder, who after examination committed him to the Compter in *Woodstreet*, where he continued Twenty five weeks. Then *Dr. Story* coming to examine other Prisoners, *Bennet* looking out at a Grate, desired him to be good to him, and to help him out of Prison; *Rea*, said *Story*, *thou hast been with me before, and dost not believe in the Sacrament, and therefore I will help thee out*; and so he took him, and delivered him to *Cluny* to be put into the Bishops Colehouse, and there he lay in the Stocks for a week.

*Edward Bennet.*

Then *Bonner* sent for him, and examined him, and finding him constant in the truth, sent him back again, saying, that shortly he should go to *Fulham* and be whipt. Afterwards they sent *Dr. Cranmers* Recantation to him, hoping thereby to draw him to recant; But he answered, That his Faith was not founded upon any Mans Books, but upon his that had redeemed him. Two or Three days after he with Five more were sent for to come to the Bishops Chappel to Mass; At the end whereof those Five were returned to Prison, and afterwards burned: But *Bennet* being behind, and walking towards the Gate, the Porter opened it for company to go out, and so *Bennet*, going out amongst them, escaped.

*His Constant.*

Afterwards he being amongst those that were apprehended at *Islington*, *Bennet* with some Seven more was left behind; yet he went after the rest to the Bishops House, and knocked at the Gate to come in: The Porter said that he was none of the company; *Yes*, saith he, *but I am*, and knockt again; But the Porter not opening the door, one of the Congregation that stood by, said, *Edward, thou hast done well; do not tempt God; go thy way*; and so he taking this warning as sent of God, departed, and thereby escaped the danger.

There was in the Town of *Shakerley* in *Lancashire*, one *Jeffry Hurst*, who by his Father was bound Apprentice to a Nailor; And when he came out of his time, having a great mind to get knowledg, he learned to read and write, and afterwards got him a Bible, and other good Books, whereby he attained to a good measure of knowledg in the Scriptures. Then he married the Sister of *Mr. George Marsh*, of whose Martyrdom we have heard before; by whose society he much bettered his knowledg, and was careful to walk answerable thereunto. But in the first year of Queen *Mary*, he abstaining from their Idolatrous Services, was taken notice of, and often reproached for a Lollard and Heretick; And at last they lay in wait to apprehend him, which he having notice of, was compelled to leave Wife, Child and all, and to fly into *Yorkshire*: Yet divers times he returned by night to visit and comfort his Wife, and usually brought with him some good Minister or other; At which time about Twenty honest Persons used to repair to his House, and so they spent the night in Prayer, Preaching, and sometimes Administring the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and so away before the day brake, lest they should be discovered.

Not far from his House there dwelled one Justice *Leland*, who having notice on a time of *J. Hursts* coming home, took a Priest and some others with him

Popish ignorance.

him, to search his House for him; But it pleased God that *J. Hurst* had notice of their coming, and so hid all his Books in a great Tub, and then crept himself under it, and they covered him with Straw; only in his Chamber window he willingly left a part of the Bible, and *Tindals* New Testament in *English*, and another Book or two. When the Justice and his Company came into the House, they made a diligent search for Him, and his Books, breaking open Chests and Boxes, &c. At last they found these Books in his Chamber window; Then the Justice asked the Priest what Books they were? He told him that one was *Tindals* Testament, which was plain Heresie, and none worse than it; and for the other Books they were not fit to be looked on, for they might do much harm. Then the Justice asked his Mother (an aged Woman of about Sixty) and one of his Brothers, where *Jeffry* was? They answered, they could not tell. Then he swore by Gods Body he would have him, and if his Mother would not tell where he was, he would lay her in *Lancaster* Dungeon. But to be brief, he bound the Mother, and Brother in an Hundred pound Bond to bring in *Jeffry* within Fourteen days, and so departed. When the time came, *Jeffry* and his Sister went to the Justice, who caused a Mass to be sung, and bad *Jeffry* first to go and see his Maker, and then he would talk further with him: *Jeffry* answered, *Sir, my Maker is in Heaven, and sure I am that by going to your Mass I shall get no edification; and therefore pray you have me excused.* The Justice replied, *By God, I see that I shall find you an Heretick, but I will not lose the Mass for all your prating;* and so he went into the Chappel: When Mass was ended he sent for them, and caused his Priest to read a long scroll unto them about the Seven Sacraments. After which the Justice threatened them, yet at length he suffered them to depart, putting in sureties to appear again at Three weeks end, and then to go to *Lancaster* Jail. But it pleased God that Four days before the time appointed, news came down of the Queens death, whereby they escaped.

Gods Judgment on a Persecutor.

Not long after this Justice *Leland* sitting in his Chair, and talking with his Friends, fell down suddenly, and died, never so much as once stirring after.

There was living in *Kent* on *Tho. Wood*, a Baker, who being convented before *Dr. Kenall*, Chancellor, *Dr. Chadsey*, and some others: At his appearing they asked him why he came not to Church, and whether he had received the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? He answered, That he had not, neither durst receive it as they administred it.

*Kenall.* *Thou Heretick, what's the reason thou darest not receive it?*

*Wood.* *There are Three causes why I dare not do it. 1. Because ye eat and drink up all alone; whereas Christ saith, Eat ye, drink ye all of this, &c. 2. Because ye hold it up to be worshipped contrary to Gods command, Thou shalt not bow down nor worship. 3. Because ye administer it in a strange Tongue, contrary to St. Pauls rule.*

*Kenall.* *Thou Heretick, are not these words plain enough, This is my Body? wilt thou deny the Scripture?*

*Wood.* *I will not deny the Scripture, God forbid: Christ saith, I am the Vine: I am a Door: The Rock is Christ; all which are figurative Speeches, where in one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood.*

*Kenall.* *These Hereticks will not learn: Art thou wiser than the Queen and her Council, and then all Learned Men of the Realm?*

*Wood.* *St. Paul saith, The wisdom of the wise of this world is foolishness before God: And, If a man will be wise, he must become a Fool that he may be wise.*

*Kenall.* *Dost thou not believe that after the Priest hath spoken these words, This is my Body, that there remains no more Bread and Wine, but the very Flesh and Blood of Christ, as he was born of the Virgin, and did hang upon the Cross?*

*Wood.*



Wood. *I pray you, Master Chancellor, give me leave to ask you another Question: when God commanded Ezekiel to shave off his Hair, and to burn a third part in the fire, And this, saith he, is Jerusalem: I pray you, was it Hair that was burnt, or Jerusalem?* Ezek. 5. 3.

Kenall. *It did signifie Jerusalem.*

Wood. *Even so those words of Christ, This is my Body, are to be understood, &c.*

Chadsey. *I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of Bread and wine, but not in quantity, and quality.*

Kenall. *Yes, he is here present in quantity, and quality.*

Chadsey. *He is here present under a form, but not in quantity, and quality.*   
 Yes, said the one; No, said the other. Whereupon the contention grew so hot between the Doctors, that they foamed again; and Dr. Kenall in a great rage rose up, and departed the Church.

Then said Wood, *Behold good People, they would have us to believe that which they do not believe themselves, nor can agree upon.* This caused all the People to give a great shout; And thus as God delivered Paul by dividing his Judges, the Pharisees and sadduces between themselves: So he delivered this his Servant by dividing these Doctors between themselves.

Mr. Thomas Horton, a godly Minister in the Reign of Queen Mary, flying amongst many others beyond-sea, made it a great part of his work to travel between Germany and England, to procure means for the relief of the poor Exiles which lived in banishment for the truths sake: And on a time as he passed between Mastrick and Cullen, he fell into the hands of some Rovers, who led him away with them, but being in great danger, the Lord was pleased wondrously to deliver him out of the hands of these Bloody Villains, whose Name be praised for the same. Mr. Horton.

There was one Thomas Sprat, sometimes a Servant to Mr. Brent, a Justice in Kent, who because his Master was a cruel Persecutor of the truth, left his service, and went to Calice, from whence he often used to come into England, together with one William Porrege, about their necessary affairs; And about the Fourth year of the Reign of Queen Mary, it fell out that they landing at Dover, were travelling on foot towards Sandwich; and as they were upon the way, they met with Mr. Brent, and the Two Blachendens, with their Servants, being Ten or Twelve Horsemen; and Tho. Sprat espying Mr. Brent, was much dismaied, saying to his Friend, *Yonder is Mr. Brent, the Lord deliver us out of his Hands, but seeing there is no remedy, let us go forwards*; and so shadowing his Face with his Cloak, they went on: Mr. Brent heeded them not, but one of his Servants looking better upon them, said to his Master, *Yonder goes Tho. Sprat*, at which words they all stopped their Horses, and called to Tho. Sprat to come to them. *They call you*, said W. Porrege, *and therefore there is no remedy but we must be taken*; and thereupon perswaded him to go to them, for that there was no means of escaping, themselves being on foot upon those plain downs, and the other on Horseback; yet Sprat would not go: Whereupon they called him again, and Mr. Brent said, *Ah sirrah, why come you not when you are called?* his companion likewise still moved him to go, seeing there was no way for him to fly away: No, said Sprat, *I will not go to them, and withal ran away*: They seeing that, set Spurs to their Horses, and rode after him; But before they overtook him, he gat to an Hedg, and made shift to scramble through it, yet they were so near him, that they struck at him with their Swords: Then they rode to the end of the Hedg, and so pursued him; But before they came to him, he was gotten to a steep Hill, which they could not ride down; and so getting to a Wood, he escaped notwithstanding all their diligence. Then did Two of them question with Will. Porrege, asking him whence he came, and how he came into Sprats company: He answered that they came from Calice, and happened into the same Passage-Boat, and that they were

A special providence.

were going to *Sandwich*; and so without any more ado they let him depart; wherein Gods goodnes did also marvellously appear, for that one of the *Blachendens* knew this *Perrege*, but as God would have it, he was following the chate of *Sprat*; till the other had dismissed him: And thus the Lord wonderfully delivered these his servants from this danger.

There was also one *John Cornet*, Apprentice to a Minstrel at *Colchester*, who being sent to a Wedding in a Town called *Roughedg*, at the request of some, sang a Song against the Maies, and misproceedings of the Queen, for which he was accused by a Priest, and first imprisoned by the Constable, and afterwards sent to the Earl of *Oxford*, who caused him to be put into Irons and Chains, and to be so manacled that the Blood sprang out at his fingers ends. In this case his Master forsook him; and his Mother, instead of relieving, fell a cursing of him: Yet it pleased God so to order it, that the Earl, instead of sending him to Bishop *Bonner*, as his manner was, who would certainly have burned him, commanded him to be sent back to *Roughedg*, and there to be whipped till Blood followed, and so to be banished the Town for ever, which was done accordingly, and thereby he escaped further danger.

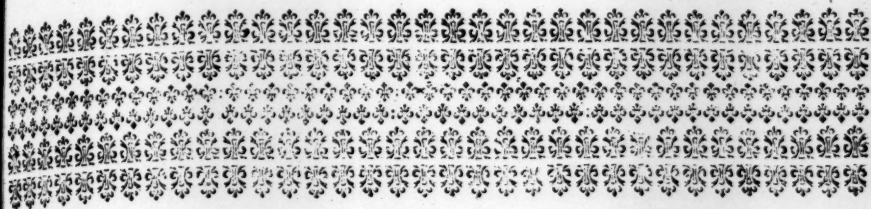
There was also one *Thomas Brice*, who being in the House of *John Seale* in the Town of *Horting*, the Bailiff with some others came into the House to search for him, and though they knew his stature, and what apparel he wore, yet the Lord so blinded them, that when he stood before them, and they asked for him, yet they knew him not, and he before their Faces quietly took up his Bag of Books and departed, and they had no power to lay Hands on him: And at another time, he, with one *Springfield*, being in an House in *Gravefend*, a Promoter dogged them thither, and had so beset the House, and all the way to the Water side, that it had been impossible for them to escape, but that the Lord stirred up an Ostler in the same House to convey them by a back and private way to the Water side, a mile off the Town by which means, through Gods gracious protection, they were delivered.

An unnatural  
Mother.

*John Cornet*  
whipt.

A special  
vidence.





## C H A P. XI.

*The great Troubles, and wonderful Deliverance of the Lady Katherine, Dutches Dowager of Suffolk; who was the only Daughter, and Heir to the Lord William, Baron of Willoughby and Eresby, and the last Wife of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk.*



**I**N the first year of Queen *Maries* Reign, *Steven Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, knowing this good Dutches to be no good Friend of his, intended first to work his revenge upon her Husband, *Richard Bertie* Esquire, for whom he sent an Attachment by the Sheriff of *Lincolnshire*, whom he straitly charged immediately to Attach the said *Richard*, and without taking bail, to bring him up to *London*. Mr. *Bertie* having a clear conscience, and not knowing wherein he had offended the Queen, could not conjecture what should be the cause of this strange Process, except it were some quarrel for Religion. Yet the Sheriff, out of respect to him, notwithstanding the strait charge, adventured to take Bond of him for his appearing before the Bishop on *Good Friday* following. And accordingly Mr. *Bertie*, at the time appointed made his appearance at *Winchester* House in *Southwark*, which the Bishop being informed of, came forth in a great rage to him, asking him how he durst so arrogantly set light by Two former Processes of the Queens? Mr. *Bertie* answered, That he now perceived, that whereas he thought it before great extremity to be attached at the first, having shewed no contumacy; yet now he gathered by his Lordships words, that he had formerly sent some ordinary Processes for him, which yet never came to his Hands.

*Winchester.* *Tea marry, I have sent Two Sub pœna's, and that by no worse a Man than by Master Solicitor, which I know came to your Hands, and therefore I will make you an example to all others for your obstinacy.*

*Bertie.* *I never received any, and therefore I humbly desire your Lordship to suspend your displeasure; and the punishment, till you know the truth, and then if I have deserved it, I refuse not double punishment.*

*Winchester.* *well, I have set this day apart for devotion, according to the holiness of it, and therefore I enjoin you in a Thousand pound Bond, not to depart without leave, and to appear again to morrow by Seven a Clock.*

Accordingly Mr. *Bertie* appeared at the time appointed; whereupon the Bishop said to him, *It's the Queens pleasure that you shall presently pay Four thousand pound due to her Father, from D. Charles, late Husband to your Dutches, whose Executrix she was.*

*Bertie.* *If it please your Lordship, that debt is esalled, and according thereto truly answered.*

*Winchester.* *Tush, the Queen will not be put off with esalments in the time of Ketts Government (so in scorn he called the Government of King Edward.)*

Xxx

Bertie.

## The Troubles of the Dutches of Suffolk.

Berty. The estallment was appointed by King Henry the Eighth, and by special Commissioners confirmed by King Edward, which the Lord Treasurer, being another Executor, undertook to discharge.

Winchester. If that be true, I will shew you favor; But Mr. Berty, I must admonish you of another thing, because I mean you well; I hear ill of your Religion; and pray you, is your Lady now as forward to set up Mass, as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused a Dog in a Rochet to be carried with her, which she called by my Name? Or doth she now think her Lambs as safe as she did when she saw me vault my Bonnet to her out of my Window in the Tower; At which time she said, That it was merry with the Lambs, when the wolf was shut up. And at another time when my Lord her Husband invited me amongst other Lords to Dinner, desiring every Lady to chuse him whom she liked best, and so place themselves together; your Lady taking me by the Hand, said, That seeing she might not sit by her Husband whom she liked best, she had chosen me whom she loved worst.

Berty. My Lord, of the device of the Dog, she was neither the Author, nor allower: For her words she can answer her self; and for the Mass, she hath from learned Men been taught to abhor it; and therefore if she should outwardly allow it, she should be a false Christian to Christ, and a making subject to her Prince. You knew my Lord; One judgment reformed, is better than a Thousand transformed Temporizers.

Winchester. Tea marry, deliberation is good, if she were to come from an old Religion to a new; But she is to return from a new one to an old one; when I was her ghostly Father, she was as earnest a Papist as any.

Berty. To this, my Lord, she told a Friend lately, that Religion went not by age, but by truth, and therefore she was to be turned by argument, not by compulsion.

Winchester. Pray you, do you think it possible to perswade her?

Berty. I trust you shall find no fruits of infidelity in her.

Then did the Bishop perswade Mr. Berty to take pains in her conversion, promising him large favors thereupon, and so dismissed him.

When Mr. Berty was returned home, he and his Dutches had frequent informations from their Friends, that the Bishop intended to call her to an account for her Faith, and therefore they devised how by the Queens Licence, they might go beyond Sea, for which they had good occasion, there being great Sums of money due to D. Charles from the Emperor, and divers others. And therefore in pursuance thereof, Mr. Berty made such Friends to the Queen, that he obtained her Licence to pass and repass at his pleasure. And accordingly in the first year of Queen Maries Reign, he went beyond Sea, leaving his Dutches behind him, who yet by agreement betwixt them, followed ere long, the manner whereof followeth.

She dwelt at this time in her House called the *Barbican*; and when she was to go, she acquainted none of her Servants with it, but one old Gentleman; neidid she take any but the meanest of her Servants with her, fearing lest the best would not run so dangerous an adventure. She took also her young Daughter, being but a year old.

As she departed from her House between Four and Five a clock in the morning, an Heralld that lay in her House, hearing some noise, rose up, and with a Torch in his Hand came down, so that she fearing to be discovered, was forced to leave most of her Childs necessities behind her, and commanded her Servants to hast away to the *Lion Key*, taking with her self only Two Women, and her Child. She was no sooner out of her Doors, but the Heralld followed; whereupon she stepped into the *Charterhouse* gate, that he could not see her; yet the Heralld finding the bundle of her Childs clothes, fell to ransacking of them, and she in the mean time hastened away, knowing the place only by Name where she should take Boat. Her Servants also having divided themselves, none but one



one of them knew the way thither. Thus she, attired in a mean habit, and they that were with her, took their way into *Finsbury* Fields; where, by the especial providence of God, near *Moorgate*, she and all her company met together; and so they went directly to *Lion Key*. There a Barge was ready for her, but the morning was so extream misty, that the Stearman feared to adventure out, but that they urged him thereunto.

Not long after, the Council was informed of her departure, whereupon some of them came presently to her House to search out the manner of her escape, and to Inventory her goods; And withal they appointed Searchers to apprehend and stay her: So that the fame of her departure was at *Leigh*, a Town at the Lands end, before she gat thither.

When she arrived there, the old Gentleman before spoken of, had her privately to a Merchants House, near *Leigh*, naming her Mistriss *White*, where she stayed till she had made some new provision for her Child in the room of that left behind her at the *Barbican*.

When the time came that she was to take Ship, she was again almost discovered; But through Gods merciful providence, escaped that danger also; And being twice carried into the Seas, almost within the sight of *Zealand*, by contrary Winds, was both times driven back to the place whence she came; And at her last return, the Searchers suspecting that she might be in that Ship, examined her Servant that came to provide some fresh victuals, who framed his tale in such a simple manner of a mean Merchants Wife that was a Shipboard, that they ceased to search any further; And so at last, through Gods merciful providence, she arrived safely in *Brabant*, where she met with her Husband, who apparelled her and her Women, like the *Netherlandish* Froes, and so they travelled together towards *Cleveland*; and coming to *Santon*, they took a House therein to shroud themselves, till they had resolved whither to retire for their further safety.

About Five miles from this place, was *wesell*, an Hanf-Town in the Duke of *Cleves* Dominion, to which place many *walloons* were fled for Religion, and had for their Minister, one *Francis de Rivers*, who having formerly been in *England*, had received some courtesies from this good Dutches: Him therefore did Mr. *Berty* make use of to obtain leave of the Magistrates for their private living there: But ere this could be effected, there was a muttering in *Santon*, that they were greater Personages then they gave themselves out to be; so that the Bishop and Magistrates resolved together, suddenly to apprehend and examine them, both of their condition and Religion; But Gods wakeful eye of providence stirred up a Gentleman of *Santon* to give Mr. *Berty* secret notice of this their purpose; whereupon taking only his Wife, Child, and Two Women, he walked out about Three a clock in the afternoon in the moneth of *February*, as it were but to take the air, purposing that night to get to *wesell*; and the better to conceal his intention, they went on foot, and left the rest of their Family at *Santon*.

They had not gone above an *English* mile, before there fell a mighty rain, which dissolved the Frost and Ice, and so made the ways deep and slippery, which proved extream tedious to these new lacquies, never before accustomed to such walks; And so their march being but slow, they were overtaken by the night, which caused them to send their Women to some villages which they passed by, to hire them a Cart to ride in for the ease of their wearied limbs, but none could be gotten, so that in the mean time Mr. *Berty* was forced to carry the Child, and the Dutches his Cloak and Rapier.

At last near Seven a clock in the dark night they came to *wesell*, seeking, after such a tedious journey, to repose and refresh their wearied limbs in an Inn. But going from Inn to Inn, through the whole Town, they all refused to intertain them, though they profered large mony for the same: The Inholders sus-

pecting Mr. *Berty* to be a *Lancknight*, and the Dutches to be his Trull. In the mean time the poor Babe cried bitterly : The Dutches wept as fast ; The weather was extream cold, and the Heavens rained as fast as the Clouds could pour.

Mr. *Berty* destitute of all worldly succor and relief for him and his, in this their deplorable condition, resolved to have his Dutches, with her Infant, into the Porch of the great Church, and so to buy some Coles, Food and Straw for their repose that night, or at least till he could procure some better lodging.

Mr. *Berty* at this time could speak little *Dutch*, and could meet with none that could speak either *English*, *French*, *Italian* or *Latin*, till at length, passing towards the Church Porch, he heard Two Boys talking in *Latin* together ; whereupon, stepping to them, he promised them Two Stivers to bring him to a *walloons* Houle ; and so, through Gods goodness, he at last happened upon the Houle where Monsieur *de Rivers* supped that night, who had procured the protection of the Magistrates for them.

At the first knocking, the good Man of the Houle came to the Door, asking Mr. *Berty* what he was ? He told him that he was an *English* Gentleman, that desired to be brought to Monsieur *de Rivers* his Houle : The Man wished him to stay a while, and so going back to his guests, told Monsieur *de Rivers* that he thought that the *English* Gentleman, whom a little before he was speaking of, had sent his Man to speak with him : Monsieur *de Rivers* going to the Door, and seeing Mr. *Berty*, his Dutches and Infant in that lamentable case with Rain, Mire and Dirt, and in Apparel so unlike to that which he had formerly seen them in *England*, was so overwhelmed with sorrow and tears, that for a good while he could neither speak to them, nor they to him ; yet at last they saluted each other, and he brought them into the Houle, into which they entered, God knows, full joyfully. Mr. *Berty* changing his Apparel which the good Man of the Houle, the Dutches with his Wife, and their Infant with the Child of the Houle.

A few days after Monsieur *de Rivers* helped them to hire a fair Houle in the Town, where discovering themselves more freely, they lived in such a good fashion as their present condition would afford. The discourtesie which the Inn-Keepers had shewed them at their first coming to Town was presently spoken of all abroad, insomuch as a godly Minister, the Sabbath following openly reproved their incivility towards strangers, shewing, that not only Princes sometimes are entertained in the habit of private Persons, but Angels also in the shape of Men, &c. Whilst they thus passed the time in some content after their tedious travels, hoping that they had found a resting place, they had private notice given them from Sr. *John Mason*, Queen *Maries* Ambassador in the *Netherlands*, that a design was laid for their apprehension, and carrying back into *England*, by the Lord *Paget* ; And the Plot was this, The Duke of *Brunswick* being to pass by that City with Ten Companies of Soldiers to assist the House of *Austria* against the King of *France*, was suddenly to apprehend and carry them away from *Wesell*. Mr. *Berty* being informed of this, was fain presently to take his Dutches and Child, and to fly into the *Palatinate*, where he found protection in *Wineheim*, till the means which he brought with him out of *England* was almost spent, and they began to faint under their heavy burthens, being almost out of heart and hope in this their distressed condition. At which time it pleased God wonderfully to provide for them by a way and means that they never dreamed of.

In the first part of my Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, you may in the Life of *John a Lasco*, read, that he being driven out of *England* in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, after many troubles and adventures, returned into *Poland*, his native Country, where he found great favor with the King ; And under-

standing



standing the condition of Mr. *Berty* and his Dutches, whom he had known in England, he made report thereof to the King of *Poland*, and the Palatine of *Vilna*, who presently wrote to them to come into *Poland*, offering them great kindness if they would accept of their invitation. Yet considering that hereby they should remove further from their native soil, and from all their acquaintance, into a far Country; and at their arrival there, it might be, they should not find their intertainment answerable to their toil and hazard in their journey; they knew not well what to do: Whereupon they advised with Mr. *Barlow*, sometimes Bishop of *Chichester*, who was then in the *Palatinate*, desiring him to go before them to *Poland*, and by him they sent Letters to the King, and Palatine of *Vilna*, returning them many thanks for their kind offers; By him they also presented them with some Jewels, which were all the remainder of those which they had brought out of *England*; desiring the King, under his Broad Seal, to assure them of that which by his Letters he had so honorably profered to them.

Mr. *Barlow* arriving safely with his Letters, by the assistance of the Palatine of *Vilna*, easily procured what they desired. Whereupon the Dutches, with her Husband and Family began their journey towards *Poland*, in April Anno Christi 1557.

By the way they met with many dangers: One was occasioned by a Captain of the *Lantgraves*, who for a Spaniel of Mr. *Berties*, quarrelled with them, and with his Horsemen set upon them by the way, thrusting their Bore-spears through the Wagon, wherein the Women and Children were, yet through Gods mercy, none of them were hurt. Mr. *Berty* had only Four Horsemen with him, and in the brabble the Captains Horse was slain under him. Presently a rumor was spread all over the Country, That the *Lantgraves* Captain was slain, which exceedingly incensed the common People against them, it being reported that they were *walloons* which had done it. The Dutches understanding the danger that they were in, perswaded her Husband to leave them, and by the swiftness of his Horse to recover some Town for his safety, till they came to him. Mr. *Berty* attempting this, was eagerly pursued by the Countrymen; and the Captains Brother, who thought, that according to the report, the Captain had been slain indeed; And in the pursuit they came so near unto him, that he had certainly been murdered, but that, as God would have it, spying a Ladder that leaned against a Window, he left his Horse, and ran up the Ladder, whereby he got into a Cock-loft on the top of the House, where, with his Rapier and Dagger, he defended himself for a space: And it pleased God that the Burgomaster, and another Magistrate that could speak *Latin* came to the House, and perswaded him to submit himself to the order of the Law. Mr. *Berty* knowing himself to be clear, and the Captain to be alive, was content to yield himself to them upon condition that the Magistrate would promise him safety, and to protect him from the rude multitude: This the Magistrate promised, whereupon he delivered up his Weapons and himself into his Hands, and was committed to safe custody till the truth of his cause should be tried.

Then did Mr. *Berty* presently write to the *Lantgrave*, and to the Earl of *Erbagh*, declaring his case unto them. The next morning the Earl of *Erbagh* came to the Town, whither the Dutches also with her Waggon was now come. The Earl having heard of the Dutches before, went to her, and carried himself with much civility and respect towards her: Whereupon the Towns-men seeing how submissively the Earl behaved himself, and by this time understanding the Captain to be alive, both they and the other authors of that stir began to shrink away, making all the Friends they could to Mr. *Berty* and the Dutches, that they would not report their doings after the worst sort. And thus, through Gods merciful providence, escaping this great danger, they proceeded on

on in their journey, and through the same good hand of providence arrived at last in safety in *Poland*, where, by the King they were entertained with all civility and humanity; And the King also placed them safely and honorably in the Earldom of *Crozan*, in which place they had absolute power of Government, the same which the King himself formerly had, so that it proved to them as a quiet Haven after a tempestuous Sea, and there they lived with much honor and comfort till the death of Queen *Mary*.

L A U S D E O.

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CHAP.

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## C H A P. XII.

The Troubles of many of those which fled for Religion in Queen Maries days beyond the Seas; especially at Frankford.



Any godly Persons, Ministers, and others, seeing the change of Religion by Queen *Mary*, and the storm of persecution arising, that they might reserve themselves for better times, fled beyond Sea, and June 27. 1554. *Edmund Sutton*, *William Williams*, *William Whittingham*, and *Thomas Wood*, with their companies, arrived at *Frankford*, which were the first *Englishmen* that desired to make their abode there.

The same night of their arrival came to them *Mr. Valeran Pullen*, one of the Ministers of the *French Church*, and told them that he had obtained of the Magistrates a Church for all such as should come out of *England* for the Gospels sake, especially from *Glastenbury*, who were *Frenchmen*. To which they answered, That they had great cause to praise God who had stirred up the Hearts of the Magistrates to shew such favor to the *French*; But seeing few of them who were already, or should hereafter come from *England*, understood the *French Tongue*, it would not be convenient for them to join themselves to that Church.

A Church  
granted in  
*Frankford*.

Hereupon the next day they conferred with *Mr. Morellio*, another Minister of the *French Church*, and with *Mr. Castalio*, an Elder of the same, both of them godly and learned Men, by whose advice they concluded that a Supplication should be drawn up and presented to the Magistrates to know whether they would suffer, both such as were already come, and such others as might repair thither from *England*, to remain safely within their City. This Supplication was subscribed by *Mr. Sutton*, *Mr. Whittingham*, and the rest of the *English*; as also by *Mr. Morellio*, *Castalio*, and one *Adrian* a Citizen, with whom they lodged.

The *English*  
Petition.

The Magistrates granted this request: Whereupon July 8. by the advice of *Morellio* and *Castalio*, who shewed themselves Fathers to all *English Men* so long as they lived, address was made to *Mr. John Glawberge*, one of the chief Senators, for a place or Church, where they and all other their Countrymen, might have Gods Word truly preached, and the Sacraments sincerely administered in the *English Tongue*. He promised them kindly his furtherance, and accordingly moved it to the whole Senate, and July 14. it was granted that they should have liberty to preach and administer the Sacraments in the Church, which the *Frenchmen* had, each other day in the week, and upon Sabbath days at different hours: But withal it was required that the *English* should agree with the *French* in Doctrine and Ceremonies, that so they might give no offence to them. They were also required to approve and subscribe the same Confession of Faith, which the *French Men* had then presented, and were about to publish in Print, which was accordingly done by all the aforementioned, and by some others which by this time were come to them.

The Magi-  
strates answer.

They were to  
agree with the  
*French*.

Thus

Satan's malice,

Thus far Gods mercy did greatly appear to them. But Satan envying their peace and welfare, when they had withdrawn themselves from the reach of their common Enemies the Papists, shortly after he set them at discord amongst themselves, raising up a persecution where they least expected it, as in the process of the Story you shall find.

These holy Men having obtained so much favor of the Magistrates, began to consult what form of Service they should use: for (it was told them) that they were not bound so strictly to the *French Ceremonies*, but if one allowed of the other, it was sufficient

A form of service agreed on.

Hereupon the *English Service Book* was perused, and by generall consent it was concluded, That answering the Minister aloud, the *Letany*, *Surplice*, and many other things should be omitted, because they might prove scandalous to those Reformed Churches.

It was further agreed, That the Minister, instead of the *English Confession*, should use another form more suitable to that state and time, after which a *psalm* was to be sung; And then the Minister, after Prayer to proceed to his Sermon, at the end whereof a form of Prayer was prescribed for all Estates, and in particular for *England*, which was to be concluded with the Lords Prayer; And then the Minister was to rehearse the Articles of the Faith, and so to dismiss the People with a Blessing.

It was also concluded that sundry things should be omitted in the administration of the Sacraments. All which being agreed on, they proceeded to choose the Minister and Deacons, and so entered their Church, *July 29.*

Letters sent to other English.

Then they thought good forthwith to advertise their Brethren, and Countrymen dispersed, of this singular mercy of God to them, the like whereof could not as yet be obtained in any other place, and to desire them, That laying aside worldly respects, they would repair thither, that they might altogether with one Heart and Mouth, lament and bewail their former sins; And also to give thanks to their Heavenly Father, who had given them such a Church in a strange Land: These Letters were sent to *Strasborough*, *Zurick*, *Desburg* and *Embsen*, *Aug. 2.*

Government agreed on.

Also because they conceived that the Church could not long continue in good order, without Discipline, there was a form of Government drawn up, and agreed on, unto which all that were present subscribed.

The answer from Strasborough.

Shortly after the *English* at *Strasborough* returned this answer, That they had considered the contents of their Letter, and perceived that the principal effect was, That they might have One or Two sent them to take the chief charge of their Church; For which end they might get *Dr. Poinet*, *Dr. Cox*, *Dr. Bale*, or *Mr. Scory*, or any Two of them; And if they disliked this, they would appoint one from *Strasborough*, and another from *Zurick*, to come to them. *Mr. Grindall* also at the same time wrote to *Mr. Scory* at *Embsen*, perswading him to be the Superintendent of that Church at *Frankford*, who in Two several Letters to his private Friends, profered his service to that Congregation. But before the receipt of his Letters, the Church had written to *Mr. Knox* at *Geneva*, to *Mr. Haddon* at *Strasborough*, and to *Mr. Lever* at *Zurick*, whom they elected for their Ministers, and advertised *Mr. Scory* by a general Letter of the same.

The Letter to Zurick.

*Sept. 16.* These of *Frankford* wrote again to the *English* at *Zurick*, in this form: Grace, mercy and peace; After long expectation of your answer to our Letter, we thought fit once more to put you in remembrance, and as formerly, so now again we earnestly require on Gods behalf, that you would seriously weigh and consider this call of God, and the necessity of this Congregation: we have thoroughly learned your estate, and also made you acquainted with ours; and we heartily wish that we might together bewail our sins, pray for our Brethren who are under the Tyranny of Antichrist; and to instruct and edifie one another. Finally to spend the time of our persecution together, and to redeem these days which are so evil. If you stay there for the improvement of your learning, surely you might so benefit your selves here, that you should have no



cause to repent: You cannot here lack the society of Learned Men, and for their works which are in Print, you may here be abundantly furnished with them. But we need not, Brethren, be large in reasoning, for we know that Gods Spirit that worketh in your Hearts, will prevail more with you than any arguments of ours; not doubting but the same holy Spirit knocks at the door of your consciences, not only to move you to hearken to our request, but also to avoid the offence and scandal which will be given to our poor Brethren in England, whose expectations cannot otherwise be satisfied. Remember, brethren, that we write as those who altogether seek our Fathers honor, the discharge of our duty, and the comfort of our afflicted Countrymen. The same sweet Father grant for his mercies sake, that we may assemble together to promote the building of his Temple, and to hinder false Workmen and Underminers; and diligently in our several places to endeavor to promote this work, till it come to perfection. Farewel in Christ: From Frankford Sept. 16. 1554.

To this Letter, they that studied at Zurick returned this Answer:

The answer from Zurick.

Being placed here in quietness, with many and great advantages to our studies, we have by this our Letter returned answer to your earnest request; which was, that to discharge our duty and conscience, and to increase and instruct your Congregation with our pains and presence, we would remove from hence to you; Urging it upon our consciences, in regard of that great need which you have of us; and for the further encouragement of us, you have signified and assured us, that with you we may, and shall use the same order of Service in Gods worship, as was last set forth by King Edward the Sixth. wherefore for the better inabling us to understand your request, and for the charitable performance of duty upon both parts, we have sent unto you Master Richard Chambers, our best Friend, a charitable Man, and one that is tenderly affected to the Church of Christ; intreating him to travel to you, and with you for us, that this business moved by writing may be fully debated betwixt you; and we all agree to, and shall perform whatsoever he shall say and promise in our Names to you. we beseech you therefore in the Name of God conscientiously to consider both your state and ours: And if you shall conclude with the said Master Chambers for our coming to you, then let not him lack your charitable help in necessary provision for our continuance with you. Thus beseeching God that your doings may tend to his glory, and the speedy comfort of his afflicted Church, we wish you all health, and increase of true knowledge in Christ our Lord and Saviour. From Zurick, Octob. 7. 1554.

Octob. The Thirteenth following, they wrote also another Letter to the same purpose, concluding thus:

Dear Brethren, Considering that we are not only all of one Nation, but also members of the same mystical Body of Jesus Christ our Head; we ought therefore especially in this time of our Exile, and worthily deserved affliction, by all means possible to aid and comfort one another, beseeching God for his mercies sake to assuage his wrath, to give us repenting Hearts, to grant patience to our Brethren in England, and mercifully to look down upon his Vineyard that is miserably spoiled and trodden under foot, and after these fatherly chastisements, to return us to our native homes, and to enable us to work fruitfully in the same. If upon the receipt of these our Letters you shall without cloke or forged pretence, only seeking Christs honor, advertise us by your Letters, that our Beeing there is so needful as you have already signified, and that we may as freely and uprightly serve God (whereof private Letters received from Frankford make us much to doubt) as the order last taken in the Church of England permitteth and prescribeth: For we are fully resolved to admit and use no other: Then about Easter next (for before we cannot) God prospering us, and no just cause intervening, whereby our purposes may be disappointed; with one consent we agree to join our selves to you, and most willingly to perform such service there, as our poor condition and calling will permit. In the mean space we shall most intirely beseech God so to assist you with his holy Spirit, that your doings may help to confound Papistry, set forth Gods glory, and shew such light in the face of the world, that both the wicked

Another Letter from Zurick.

Yyy

may

may be asbamed, having no just cause to reproach; and also our weak Brethren confirmed, and won to the truth.

From Zurick, Octo. 13. 1554. Subscribed by

Robert Horn, Richard Chambers, Thomas Lever, Nicholas Karvile, John Mullings, Thomas Spencer, Thomas Bentham, William Cole, John Parkhurst, Roger Keble, Robert Beamont, Laurence Humphrey, Henry Cockraffe, John Pretio.

Mr. Whitehead  
Preacheeth at  
Frankford.

Octo. 14. Following Master *whitehead* came to *Frankford*, and by the request of the Congregation, took the place upon him for a time, and preached upon the Epistle to the *Romans*.

Mr. Knox chosen  
Pastor.

Not long before, Master *Chambers* had conference with the Church at *Frankford*, in the behalf of the *English* Students at *Zurick*, and saw that they could not assure him the full use of the *English* Service Book, without hazarding their Church: Whereupon he returned to *Zurick* whence he came: And about the same time Master *Knox* coming from *Geneva*, was chosen their Minister; and so the business rested for a while. Yet shortly after they wrote again to them at *Zurick* in this manner:

Their second  
Letter to *Zu-  
rick*.

*we have received Two Letters from you, one dated Octo. 13. sent us from Strasborough; The other of the Twenty seventh of the same, sent us by our dear Friend Master Chambers, and have conferred with him at large touching the contents thereof; and whenas, after divers Assemblies, and long debates, Master Chambers perceived that we could not in all points warrant the full use of the Service Book, which seemeth to be your full scope and aim, and also conscientiously weighing the great benefit offered to our whole Nation in this City; he not only rejoiced greatly at the same, but also promised to travel with you, in perswading you to the furtherance thereof.*

*As touching the substance of the Book, we desire the observation of it as much as you, so far as Gods word commands: But for the unprofitable Ceremonies, as well by his consent, as by ours, they are not to be used. And though they were tolerable, as some of them are not, yet being in a strange Commonwealth, we could not be suffered to use them: And surely it were better that they should never be practised, than that they should prove the subversion of our Church, which would be much hazarded by the use of them. If a larger door be opened there for the same, than to us, upon your perswasions, you shall find that we will not draw back: For this is very necessary, if we wish the comfort and gathering together of our dispersed Brethren. If any think that the not using the Book in all points will increase our godly Fathers and Brethrens bands in England, or will tend to the dishonor of the Laws of our late Sovereign of famous memory, King Edward the Sixth, he seemeth little to weigh the matter, or else hindered by ignorance, knoweth not that even they themselves, upon consideration of circumstances have altered many things; and if God had not in these wicked days prevented, would have altered more: And we doubt not but in our case they would have done the like. These few lines touching our communication we have written to you, referring the rest to the prudence of our good Friend Master Chambers, who can testifie that we have shewed our selves conformable in all things which are in our power, and most desirous of your companies, as we formerly wrote to you. Gods Spirit move your Hearts to do that which shall be most for his glory, and the comfort of your Brethren; Frankford, Nov. 15. 1554. Subscribed,*

*Your Loving Brethren,*

John Bale, Edward Sutton, John Makebray, William Whittingham, Thomas Cole, William Williams, George Chidley, William Hammon, Thomas Stewart, Thomas Wood, John Stanton, William Walton, Jasper Swift, John Geofferey, John Gray, Michael Gill, John Stamford, John Wood, Thomas Sorby, Anthony Carrier, Hugh Alford.

Novemb.



Novemb. 23. The English at Strasborough wrote also these Letters to the English at Frankford. Letters from Strasborough.

When we consider what inward comfort it would be for the faithful people of England, now dispersed for the Gospels sake, and wandering in strange Countries, as sheep without shepherds, to be gathered together into one Congregation, that with one Heart, one Mind and Mouth, they might glorifie God. We have always, and still do think it our duties, not only to desire, but also to labor the effecting of it: And now understanding the good wills of the Magistrates of Frankford towards you, and others of our dispersed Countrymen, who also have granted a Church, wherein we with others may serve God; And not doubting of their further friendship in permitting us freely to use our Religion, according to that godly order set forth and received in England: we do not only bless God for this great mercy, but also think it not fit to refuse so friendly an offer, or to let slip so good an occasion. Therefore not doubting their good furtherance, nor distrusting your good conformity and readiness in reducing the English Church with you to the former perfection which it last had in England, so far as possibly it can be attained, lest by much altering the same, we should seem to condemn the chief Authors thereof, who, as they now suffer, so are they ready to confirm that Fact with the price of their Blood; and should also give occasion to our Adversaries to accuse our Doctrine of imperfection, and us of mutability; and should cause many godly to doubt of that truth, wherein they have formerly been perswaded; and to hinder their coming hither, which before they had purposed. For the avoiding of these, and obtaining the other, moved hereunto in conscience, and provoked by your gentle Letters, we have thought fit to send over unto you our beloved Brethren, the bringers hereof, to travel with the Magistrates and you concerning the premises, whose wisdom, Learning and godly zeal, as they are known to you, so their doings in this business shall be fully approved of by us. And if they obtain that which we trust will not be denied at any Hand, we intend God willing to be with you Feb. the First next, there to help to set in order, and establish that Church accordingly, and so long to remain with you, as shall be necessary, or till just occasion shall call some of us away: And we doubt not but our Brethren of Zurich, Embden, Duesborough, &c. will do the same, as we have requested them by our Letters; hoping that you by yours will make the like request, Farewel: Strasborough, Nov. 23. 1554.

Your Loving Friends,

James Haddon, Edwin Sands, Edmund Grindall, John Huntington, Guido Eaton, John Gefferey, John Pedder, Thomas Eaton, Mighell Reymiger, Augustine Bradbridg, Arthur Saul, Thomas Steward, Christopher Goodman, Humphrey Alcockson, Thomas Lakin, Thomas Grafton.

This Letter being read to the Congregation, Master Grindall declared the occasion of their coming, which was chiefly for establishing the English Service Book; not that they meant (as he said) to have it so strictly observed, but that such Ceremonies and things which the Country could not bear, might well be omitted, so that the substance and effect thereof might be retained.

Then Mr. Knox and Mr. Whittingham asked, what they meant by the substance of the Book?

They answered that they had no commission to dispute of those things, only they requested the Congregation to answer these Three Queries.

1. What parts of the Book they would admit?
2. Whether they would allow them a several Church?
3. What assurance they might have for their quiet Habitation?

To the First, answer was made, That what they could prove to be consistent with the word of God, and the Country could permit, that should be granted them.

For the Second they answered, That they understood by the Magistrates, that the time was unreasonable to move for such a thing, till the Councel brake up at Ausburg.

The English Service book pressed.

## The Troubles of those which fled

To the Third they answered, That a general grant was made at their first coming thither, to the whole *English* Nation, and the freedom of the City was offered to all such as were desirous of it, in as ample a manner as they could require, which to them was sufficient.

They also by these messengers wrote back this Letter to them at *Strasbourg*.

The second  
Letter to  
*Strasbourg*.

*As it was ever most true, so at this time we find it fulfilled, that wheresoever God hath laid a foundation to build his glory upon, there he continues till he hath perfected his own work. All thanks and praise therefore be to him who hath so moved your Hearts, as not to neglect the furtherance of the same. And as the work is of great excellency, so the Adversaries neglect not craftily to undermine it, or at least by false reports, and disgracing the work begun, to discourage the laborers, which should travel in the finishing of it. But truth ever cleaveth it self; And as the Sun dispels the Clouds, so misreports by trial are confounded. Our Brethren sent from you can testify our answers to the particulars of your Letters, to whom we have agreed in all things which seemed expedient for the state of this Congregation. As for such Ceremonies, as the order of this Country will not bear, we necessarily forbear; yet with as little alteration as may be possible (according as you desire in your Letters) so that no Adversary can be so impudent, as either to blame our Doctrin of imperfection, or us of inconstancy, except he be wilfully ignorant, rather seeking how to find fault, than to amend things amiss. Neither do we dissent from them who are spending their Bloods for the Doctrin whereof they have made a most worthy Confession: And yet we think not, that any Learned or Godly Man will stand in defence of those Ceremonies to death, which even the Book confesseth may upon occasions be altered and changed. And if the not full using of the Book cause any godly person to doubt of the truth which they formerly imbraced, or retard their coming hither, surely either they were not well instructed, who for the breach of a Ceremony will neglect such a singular benefit, or else things have been misreported to them by false Brethren, who spare not every where to sow some poor reasons to hinder so worthy an enterprise. And whereas ye write that the First of February next ye will come to help to set in order and stablish this Church, as we willingly desire it for your companies sake, and that you might see our godly order here observed; so we cannot but signifie, that if ye take such a journey for the stablishing of Ceremonies, it will tend more to your charges, than to any general profit, except ye resolve to stay longer with us than Two moneths, as you write to our Countrymen at Densborough and Embden, &c.*

*The rest we refer to our Brethren, Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Grindall, who by their diligent enquiry have learned so much of our estate as we wrote unto you in our former Letters; That is, that we have a Church freely granted to Preach Gods word purely, and to administer the Sacrament sincerely, to execute discipline truly: And as for the Book, we will practise it so far as Gods word warranteth, and the state of this Country will permit, Farewel,*

Franc. Dec. 3.

*Your Loving Friends,*

George Whitnall, Thomas Whitnall, John Knox, Joseph Bale, William Whittingham, Edward Sutton, Thomas Wood, William Williams, John Stanton, Joseph Samford, John Fox, William Kethe, Joseph Makebray, William Walton, Michael Gill, Laurence Kent, John Holdingham.

Presently after the receipt of this Letter, the Divines of *Strasbourg* returned this answer:

The answer  
from *Strasbo-*  
*rough*.

*Grace, mercy and peace, We have received your Letter, and therewithal an answer to certain Articles, by which we perceive, as also by the report of Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Grindall, your estate; But seeing the time serves not for the present to move the Magistrates for those requests, the obtaining whereof was the principal cause of our sending to you, we cannot agree to any general meeting at any certain time,*



time, either to remain with you, or otherwise; But when you shall find the time convenient to move the Magistrates for the quiet habitation for all comers, especially for the Students, and for a separate Church, wherein the Book may be used, in such a manner as no reasonable Man shall justly blame, and that we may have assurance thereof under the Magistrates Hands: Upon this information we shall consult what is further to be done on our party, hoping that God will direct us so as may be most for his glory in the end, whatsoever may be judged of it for the present,

Strasb. Decem. 13. 1554.

Your Loving Friends;

James Haddon, Edwin Sands, Edmund Grindall, &c.

Hereupon Mr. Knox, Mr. Whittingham, and others translated the *English Service Book* into *Latine*, and sent it to Mr. Calvin to Geneva, requesting his judgment thereupon, and declaring to him that some of their Countrymen went about to force them to the use of it, and would admit no other, saying, That it was most absolute, and that if ever they came into their own Country, they would endeavour to establish it there again.

Mr. Calvin having perused it, returned this answer. *I find in the English Liturgy, many tolerable follies, by which word I mean, that there is not that purity which is to be desired: These things, though they could not at first be amended, yet seeing there was no manifest impiety in them, they were for a season to be tolerated.* These Letters bore date from Geneva, Jan. 20. 1555.

Calvins judgment of the *English Service Book*.

These Letters being read in the Congregation at Frankford, many which before were for all the parts of that Book, were wholly alienated from it. Whereupon it was concluded that Mr. Knox, Mr. Whittingham, Mr. Fox and Mr. Cole should draw forth some order fit for their state and time, which being finished, was tendred to the Congregation, being the same with that used at Geneva: This was well liked by most, only such as were for the *English Service Book* could not abide it. Hereupon, Feb. 6. A *Liturgie* was framed, part taken out of the *English Book*, and other things added as the state of the Church required, which by the consent of the Congregation was to be continued till the last of April following. And if any contention should arise in the mean time, the matter was to be determined by these Five notably Learned Men, viz. Calvin, Musculus, P. Martyr, Bullinger and Viret; which agreement being put in writing, all gave their consents to it, and hereupon the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper was comfortably administred.

A Liturgy framed.

This happy Concord continued till March 13. following; At which time Dr. Cox and some others coming out of England to Frankford, began to break the order agreed upon: First, in answering aloud after the Minister, contrary to the Churches determination, saying, That they would do as they had done in England, and that they would have the face of an *English Church* there: Yea the Sabbath following, one of that company, without the consent of the Congregation, went up suddenly into the Pulpit, and read the *Letany*, Dr. Cox and the rest answering aloud, thereby breaking the order of that Church. Hereupon Mr. Knox being to Preach in the Afternoon, he having gone over so much in Genesis, was come to the story of Noah, and in the process of his Sermon he said, As some things ought to be kept secret, so such things as tend to the dishonour of God and the disturbance of his Church, ought to be disclosed and openly rebuked, and so shewed that after long trouble and contention a godly agreement was made amongst them, which that very day had been very ungodly broken: Which thing, said he, became not the proudest of you all to have attempted; adding further, That as by the Word of God we must seek our warrant for the establishing of Religion, without which warrant nothing ought to be obtruded upon Christians; So seeing in the *English Book* there are some things superstitious, impure, and imperfect, which I undertake to prove before all Men, I will not therefore consent that they shall be received of this Church: And in case any will go about to burthen our free Congregation therewith, so often

Dr. Cox disturbs the peace of the Church.

Mr. Knox's zeal.

often as I come into this place, my text offering just occasion, I will not fail to speak against it. He also affirmed that amongst many other things which provoked Gods anger against *England*, slackness in reforming Religion when they had opportunity, was one, and therefore now they ought to be the more circumspect how they laid their foundation: And whereas some were not ashamed to say, that Reformation was perfected in *England*, he proved the contrary by the want of a good Discipline, as appeared by the troubles which good Master *Hooper* had sustained in King *Edwards* time about the *Rochet*, &c. As also for that some Men were permitted to hold Three, Four or Five Benefices, to the scandal of the Gospel, and to the starving of many poor Souls.

This speech of his was much stomacked by some, especially such as had been Pluralists in *England*, who sharply reproved him so soon as he came out of the Pulpit: And the *Tuesday* following was appointed to speak more fully about these businesses: At which time Doctor *Cox* and his company made earnest request to be admitted to have voices in the Congregation: To this some answered, that this could not be granted, till the matters in controversy betwixt them were first determined, and till they should subscribe to their Discipline, as others had done before them, &c.

Dr. Cox and his company admitted members.

Raise up troubles.

But Mr. *Knox* intreated that they might be satisfied in their request, unto whom some others adhered, by which means they became the greater part, and so were admitted members of the Church; which was no sooner done, but Doctor *Cox* forthwith forbade Mr. *Knox* to meddle any more in that Congregation.

Hereupon the next day Mr. *Whittingham* went to Mr. *Jo. Glanburge* (who had procured the Church for them) and complained to him, that certain newly come out of *England*, had forbidden their Minister, who was appointed to Preach that day, and intended to set up an Order, which, he doubted, would not be well taken; which he thought fit to acquaint him with, least any inconvenience should fall out.

Arbitrators chosen.

Nothing concluded.

Hereupon he presently sent and commanded that there should be no Sermon that day; and sending for Monsieur *Valeran*, the *French* Minister, commanded him that Two Learned Men should be appointed of either part; and that he and they should consult and agree upon some good Order, and make report to him thereof accordingly. Upon this Doctor *Cox* and Master *Lever* of the one side, and Master *Knox* and Master *Whittingham* on the other side, were appointed to decide the controversy, and Master *Valeran* was appointed to set down in writing what they agreed upon: But when they came to speak of the morning Service, and Doctor *Cox* said, *I will have it thus*, they could not agree, and so brake off.

Then did the Congregation draw up a supplication, presenting it to Master *Glanburge*, and intreating him that it might be considered of by the Senators: The tenor whereof was this;

The Presbyterians Petition.

Let it not molest you (most grave and worthy Senators) that your affairs are interrupted with a few words. But least we should trouble you with prolixity, the matter briefly is this: When your great humanity had through the providence of God, granted us a Church, we undertook forthwith (as became us) to consult about Orders, and to draw up a Liturgy; And because we found in the prolix and ceremonious Book of *England*, many things, to speak the least of them, not so perfect; we thought fit to reduce it to the perfect rule of the Scriptures, and to accommodate ourselves to the example of the Church wherein we live, and to which we have subscribed. But when this proved offensive to some of our Countrymen (although the greatest part agreed thereto) as declining from the decrees of our Elders, we were for a few Moneths put to no small trouble: But at length when it could not be otherwise, for peace sake, we gave place to them, and suffered them to pick out of their



Book the best things, upon this condition, that the same should continue without alteration, at least till the last of April, at which time, if any new contention should arise, that then the whole matter should be referred to these Five worthy Men, Calvin, Musculus, Bullinger, Martyr, and Viret. What need many words? The condition was willingly accepted, and confirmed by both parties, which also was drawn up in writing; And thanks were given to God, with great joy, every one thinking that day to be the end of all discord; They also received the holy Communion as the token and seal of their mutual agreement, which had been omitted for the space of Three Moneths. Master Valeran joyned with us herein, and was a furtherer of Concord, and a witness of this our agreement. But now lately some of our Countrymen came to us, who have endeavored by all means to obtrude that large volume of ceremonies upon us, to break the Covenant, and to overthrow the liberty of our Church, granted by your benevolence; which also they enterprise under the name of your defence, abusing the authority of your name to the satisfying of their lusts. We here omit many things that would make for our cause, and remit them to our Brethren, by whom (most Honorable Senators) you may understand the cause of our contention, and so may know easily what to judge of the whole matter.

What manner of Book this is for which they so earnestly contend, you may consider by the Epistle which Calvin lately wrote to us, in which he hath signified his mind plainly, both of the Book, and of the uprightness of our cause.

We could have pointed out to you the foolish and fond things of the Book, but passing over others, we shall instance only in this one; within these Three years arose a great conflict between the English Bishops, and the Bishop of Gloucester [Master Hooper] a Man worthy of perpetual memory, whom we now hear to be burned. This Man being made Bishop by King Edward the Sixth, according to this Book, there was obtruded upon him by other Bishops, a Rochet, and a Bishops Robe; This Man being Learned, and having been long brought up in Germany, because he refused those proud things that are admired by Fools, was cast into Prison; and at length, being overcome by their importunity, he was compelled to his shame, to give place to their impudency, to the common grief and sorrow of all godly minds.

But happily you will say, wherefore speak we of these things which appertain not to us? Yea verily, we think it concerns you much, for if these Men, armed with your Authority, shall do what they list, this evil in time shall be established by you, neither shall there be any end of this controversie in England. But if it shall please your Honors to moderate between us, that this whole matter may be referred to those Five Men above mentioned, not we alone that are here present, but all our posterity; yea our whole English Nation, and all good Men, to the perpetual memory of your Names, shall be bound unto you for this great benefit. We might have enlarged this Narration, for we want not other reasons, but we fear that you would want time, by reason of your more serious busineses; Therefore we leave the rest to the consideration of your Wisdoms.

March 22. Mr. Glauburg came to the English Church, and shewed the Congregation, that it was commanded by the Magistrates (when by his means the Church was granted) that they should agree with the French Church both in Doctrine and Ceremonies: And that they understood that their falling from that order had caused much contention amongst them; Therefore he straitly charged and commanded, That from thenceforth they should not dissent from that Order; For if they did, as he had opened the Church doors for them, so he would shut them again, and that such as would not assent thereto, should not stay in that City; willing them presently to consult hereof, and give him an answer before he departed.

Hereupon Doctor Cox spake to the Congregation, saying, I have read the French Order, and do think it good and godly in all points, and therefore desire you to obey the Magistrates commandment about it; upon which speech the whole

Dr. Cox's dissimulation.  
Peace concluded;

whole Congregation assented, and a report was made thereof to Mr. *Glauburg* by Dr. *Cox*, Mr. *Lever*, and Mr. *Whittingham* before he departed. Dr. *Cox* also requested him, that notwithstanding their ill behavior, he would be pleased to shew them his accustomed favor and goodness, which he most gently and lovingly promised.

The treachery  
of the Prelati-  
cal party.

At the next meeting of the Congregation that Order was put in practice to the comfort and rejoycing of the molt part. Yet such as would fain have had the *English Service Book*, left not the matter thus. For seeing Master *Knox* to be in great credit with the Congregation, they endeavored by a most cruel, Barbarous and bloody practice to dispatch him out of the way, that thereby they might attain their end of bringing in their *Service Book*.

They had amongst them a Book of his, called, *An Admonition to Christians*, written in *English*; wherein by occasion he spake of the Emperor, of Philip his Son, and Mary Queen of *England*. This they presented to the Magistrates; who, upon the receipt of it, sent for Mr. *Whittingham*, and asked him what manner of Man their Minister Mr. *Knox* was? He answered, that to his knowledge he was a Learned, Wise and Godly man. Then said one of the Magistrates, Some of your Countrymen have accused him to us of high Treason, against the Emperors Majesty, his Son, and the Queen of *England*: Here is the Book, and the places which they have turned down, the true and perfect sense whereof, we command you (*sub pena pacis*) to bring to us in *Latine* at one a clock in the afternoon. This he did accordingly, at which time, having conferred amongst themselves, they commanded that Mr. *Knox* should Preach no more, till their pleasure were further known. The words concerning the Emperor were these, spoken by him in the Pulpit in a Town in *Buckinghamshire*, in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign: O *England, England*, If thou wilt obstinately return into *Egypt*; That is, If thou Contract Marriage, Confederacy or League with such Princes as do maintain and advance Idolatry, such as the Emperor, who is no less an enemy to Christ then was *Nero*; If for the pleasure and friendship, I say, of such Princes, thou return to thine old abominations used in the times of Popery, then assuredly (O *England*) thou shalt be plagued, and brought to desolation by the means of those whose favor thou seekest, and by whom thou art drawn to fall from Christ, and to serve *Antichrist*.

The Magi-  
strates dislike  
of them.

Mr. *Knox* driven  
away.

But the Magistrates abhorring this bloody design, when certain of Master *Knox*'s enemies followed them, to know what should be done with him, they shewed evident signs of disliking their unnatural suit; and withal sent for Master *Williams*, and Master *Whittingham*, willing them that Master *Knox* should depart the City, least they should be forced to deliver him, if the Emperors Council (which then lay at *Auspurg*) should upon the like information send for him.

His farewell  
Sermon.

March 25. The night before Master *Knox*'s departure, he made a most comfortable Sermon at his Lodging, to about Fifty persons then present, about the death and resurrection of Christ, and of the unspeakable joys prepared for the Elect, which in this life suffer trouble, and persecution for the testimony of his blessed Name. The next day he was brought Three or Four miles on his way, by some of those persons, who with great heaviness of Heart, and plenty of Tears committed him to the Lord.

The Prelatical  
party prevails.

And the same day one *Adolphus Glauburg*, a Doctor of Law, and Nephew to Master *John Glauburg* the Senator, whom Doctor *Cox* and his party had won to them, sent for Master *Whittingham*, and told him that Three Doctors, Thirteen Batchelors of Divinity, and some others had obtained of the Magistrates, the full use of the *English Book*, and therefore he commanded him not to meddle any further to the contrary; For (saith he) it is fully concluded of that so it shall be. And supposing that Mr. *Whittingham* would oppose it what he might, the next



next day he sent for him again, and before Dr. Cox and others he renewed the same charge. Mr. *Whittingham* answered, That if it were so concluded, he would willingly obey; not doubting but that it might be lawful for him and some others, to join themselves to another Church. But Dr. Cox belought the Lawyer that that might not be permitted: Mr. *Whittingham* answered, That it would be too great cruelty to force Men contrary to their consciences to obey their disordered doings; Adding, that if it would please the Magistrates to give him and others the hearing, they would dispute the matter against all the contrary part, and doubted not to prove, that the Order which they sought to establish, ought not to be admitted in any Reformed Church: The Lawyer answered, That there should be no such Disputation, commanding him again to deal no further in that matter.

The Congregation hearing of the Tyrannical dealing of this Doctor, they sent Mr. *Gilby* with some others to Mr. *John Glanburg*, by whose command they had received the French Order, to mind him of the same, and to shew him that certain lately come in amongst them, had sought to overthrow their Church, by bringing in the *English Service Book*; To which he answered, That he was informed that both parties had consented thereto, and thereupon he had referred the whole business to his Cousin the Lawyer. Then he enquired for Mr. *Whittingham*, whereunto they answered, That he was straitly charged by his Cousin to meddle no more in that matter. Upon this answer he gently intreated Mr. *Gilby* and the rest to be contented, and he would see that nothing should be used, but what should be tolerable, with which answer they departed.

But March 28. Dr. Cox assembled the *English Ministers*, and told them, That the Magistrates had allowed them the use of the *English Book*, and therefore he thought it requisite that a Bishop, Superintendent, or Pastor together with Elders and Deacons, should be chosen. To which Mr. *Christopher Goodman* answered, That he thought fit that they should first agree upon some godly Order for the Church, and to have the consent of the Congregation thereto, that so it might appear that they despised not their Brethren. To this it was answered, That for the Order it was already agreed upon, for other Order then was contained in the *English Book* they would not have; and so nothing was further done.

Then did the oppressed Congregation desire Mr. *Whittingham* to go to *Basill and Geneva*, where it pleased the Lord to stir up the Magistrates Hearts to grant them Churches, and so at his return it was thought good by such as determined to go away, to endeavor a reconciliation before their departure, as Mr. *Calvin* had counselled them; And the rather, for that some of Dr. Cox's company had stiled publicly their departure to be a schism: Whereupon they wrote this ensuing Letter to the Pastor and whole Congregation.

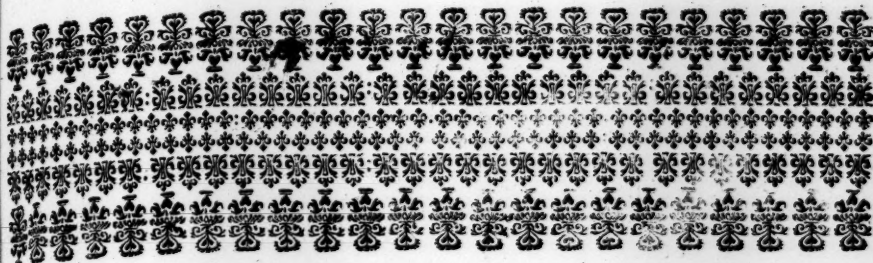
For as much as, through Gods mercy, we have obtained a Church in another place, we thought good to advertise you of the same; And to the intent that slanderous reports may cease, as also that if any offence be taken or given, the same may come to trial, we desire that you for your part would appoint Two Arbiters, and we shall appoint other Two, who hearing the matters, may determine where the fault resteth, at which time we undertake to defend our departure against the slanderous reports of somewhat unlearnedly term it a schism. This, Brethren, we thought good to signify to you, judging it to be the only means for peace; whereof, how desirous we are, our tedious journey may be a sufficient proof, being persuaded that hereby strife may be ended, charity revived, friendship continued, Gods glory advanced, and our Brethren edified. Farewel, Aug. 17. William Williams, Will. Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Christopher Goodman, Tho. Cole, John Fox, Tho. Wood, Will. Kethe, Jo. Kelke, Jo. Hilton; Christopher Soothous, Nic. Purfote, Jo. Escot, Tho. Crafston, Will. Walton, Laurence Kent, Jo. Hellingham, Ant. Carrier.

The Presbyterians Letter to the other party,

The Presbyterians driven away.

This Letter was read publickly in the Congregation by the Pastor, but answer they could get none, save this, That since they were minded to depart, they might depart at their pleasure; But for the reference, or satisfaction, they would assent to neither: Whereupon not many days after, the oppressed Church departed from *Frankford* to *Basill*, where Mr. *Fox*, with some other of them staid, the rest went to *Geneva*, where they were received with great favor and courtesie, both by Magistrates, Ministers and People; And shortly after entering their Church, they chose Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Goodman* for their Pastors, and requested Mr. *Gilby* to supply the room till Mr. *Knox* should come out of *France*. And thus, through Gods mercy, at last they found some rest; whereas that Church that remained at *Frankford*, after that by their violent proceedings they had driven these godly Brethren away, they presently after fell out amongst themselves, and had such continual bickerings and contentions, as could by no means be pacified, till at the end of *Queen Maries* Reign the Church was dissolved, and they returned into their own native Country again. The large and full discourse whereof, it being not pertinent to my scope, who so pleases to read, may find it in a Book called, *A Discourse of the Troubles at Frankford*. Printed *Anno Christi* 1575. and reprinted 1642.





C H A P. XIII.

*Gods Judgments upon the Persecutors of his Church and Children.*



From the first general Plantation of the Gospel in this Kingdom under King *Lucius*, there was never any King or Queen of *England*, in whose Reign so much Christian Blood was shed, as in Four years space, during the Reign of Queen *Mary*: Under whom there suffered, One Archbishop, Four Bishops, Twenty one Divines, Eight Gentlemen, Eighty four Artificers, One hundred Husbandmen, Servants, and Laborers, Twenty six Wives, Twenty Widows,

Nine Virgins, Two Boys, and Two Infants, in all Two hundred seventy seven. Sixty four more were persecuted for their Faith, and Profession; whereof Seven were whipped, and Sixteen perished in Prison, and were buried in *Dung-hills*; many lay in captivity, and condemned, but were delivered and saved by the happy entrance of our glorious Queen *Elizabeth*: Besides those many who were forced to fly the Land, and live in exile.

But as Queen *Mary* was Prodigal of the lives of her best Subjects, and a persecutor of the Gospel, so God followed her with his plagues, both in her life and death; For whilst she lived, nothing prospered which she took in hand. I shall only instance in some few particulars.

Gods judgments on Queen Mary.

First, The fairest and greatest Ship which she had, called the *Great Harry*, was burnt by lightning from Heaven; The Christian world at that time not affording such another.

Then would she needs marry *Philip* King of *Spain*, thereby subjecting *England* unto strangers; yet do what she could, she could never set the *English* Crown upon his Head.

Then did she attempt the restitution of Abbey Lands, and had all the assistance that the Pope could afford her therein, yet she was finally crossed of her desires about them.

Then did God plague her, and her Land with a grievous Famine, so that many of her poor Subjects were faine to live upon Acorns.

Then did she lose *Calice* which had been in the possession of the *English*, during the Reign of Eleven Kings, viz. from King *Edward* the Thirds time, with which loss she was so affected and afflicted, that she told some of her Courtiers, that if they opened her Body when she was dead, they should find *Calice* written in her Heart.

Again, never had Woman worse success in her Child-birth than she. For if she was with Child, and did travel, Why was it never seen? If she was

not with Child, Why was the Kingdom so abused? some in the Pulpit returning thanks for her safe delivery, and taking upon them to tell that it was a Son, and a goodly Prince.

Then God having thus crossed her in her hopes of Children, which above all things she most desired, He also bereft her of that which above all earthly things should have been her comfort and honor, by withdrawing from her the company and affection of her Husband, by whose marriage she had promised to her self such a world of felicity and content; so that now she could neither enjoy him whom she had married, nor have liberty to marry another. And when all these Hands of God would work nothing upon her to cause her to repeal her Bloody Laws, or to abstain from her Bloody Persecution of the Saints of God; the Lord stroke her with a lingring and pining sickness, whereof she died; having only Reigned Five years, and Five moneths; a shorter Reign than any of the Kings of *England* enjoyed since the conquest; *Richard* the Third only excepted.

The Two last years of her Reign, as there was in them most violence and bloodshed for Religions sake, so were they most grievous for temporal Calamities; For besides the loss of *Calice*, and the fruitless attempt upon *Brest* in *Brittany*, which proved both chargeable and dishonorable; The Land was also grievously afflicted with horrible tempests, mortal diseases, plagues and famines. In the former of which years, hot burning Agues, and other strange diseases took away much People; so that between *October* the Twentieth, and the last of *December*, there died Seven Aldermen in *London*, whereof Five had been the Lord Maiors of the City. The same year Wheat was sold for Four Marks the Quarter. Mault for Two pound Four shillings the Quarter. Peas at Two pound Six shillings Eight pence. Whereas after the next Harveſt, Wheat was sold for Five shillings a Quarter: Mault at Four shillings Eight pence; and in some places a Bushel of Rie was exchanged for a pound of Candles which came to Four pence.

In her Fifth year near *Nottingham* was a marvelous tempest of Thunder, which beat down all the Houses, and Churches in Two Towns, cast the Bells out of the Church-Yard, and some sheets of Lead were carried Four hundred foot off into the Fields, writhen as if they had been of Leather. Trees were torn up by the roots, and carried twelfcore off. Divers Men were slain, &c.

Also the same year in the Harveſt time was a great mortality; so that much Corn was lost in the Fields for want of Workmen to gather it, whereby a great scarcity ensued. Sir *Richard Baker*.

Upon *Steven Gardiner*.

In the next place let us consider the Lords dealing with the chiefest of those who were her instruments of cruelty: And first to begin with *Steven Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*: We have before heard of his wretched and woful death, about the midst of *Queen Maries* Reign, and therefore we will not again speak of it; only I will add this, That being upon his death-bed put in mind of *Peters* denying his Master, he answered, *I have denied Christ with Peter, but I never repented with Peter*.

Upon Bishop *Morgan*.

Also *Morgan* Bishop of *St. Davids*, who sat upon the condemnation of the blessed Martyr Bishop *Ferrar*, whose place he unjustly usurped; presently after, he was stricken with such a strange Hand of God, that the meat which he did eat would not go down, sometimes vomiting it up at his Mouth, sometimes through his Nostrils after an horrible manner, and so he continued to his death.

Upon Mr. *Leyson*.

Mr. *Leyson* also being High Sheriff at his burning, having fet away Mr. *Ferrars* Cattel into his own grounds, many of them would never eat any meat, but lay bellowing, and roaring till they died.



Justice *Morgan* who sat upon the condemnation of the Lady *Jane Grey*, not long after fell mad, continually crying out, *The Lady Jane, The Lady Jane; Take away the Lady Jane;* and so continued till he died. Upon Justice *Morgan*.

*Dr. Dunning*, the Bloody Chancellor of *Norwich*, that had condemned many of the faithful Servants of *Christ*, was in the midst of his rage suddenly stricken by the revenging hand of God as he sat in his Chair, and so died. Upon *Dr. Dunning*.

*Berry*, Commissary of *Norfolk*, another Bloody Persecutor, Four days after *Queen Maries* death, having made a great Feast, at which he had one of his Curtesans, and then going to Church in the afternoon, where he administered the Sacrament of Baptism, as he returned homewards, with an heavy groan he fell down to the ground, and never stirred afterwards. Upon *Com: Berry*.

*Bishop Thornton*, Suffragan of *Dover*, a cruel Persecutor of the holy and harmless Saints of God: As he was on a Sabbath day looking upon his Men that played at Bowls, was suddenly stricken with the dead Palsey, and being carried to his Bed, was wished to remember the Lord, *Yea*, said he, *so I do, and my Lord Cardinal also*, and so died after a desperate manner. Upon *Bishop Thornton*.

Another Suffragan that succeeded him in that place, having been before *Bombers* Instrument in persecuting the Saints, going to *Cardinal Pool* in his Chamber at *Grenwitch*, to receive his blessing, as he went from him, fell down the Stairs, and brake his Neck. Upon a Suffragan.

*John Cooper* of *Watsam* in the County of *Suffolk*, a very honest Man, and one that harbored such as were persecuted for the truth, had a couple of Bullocks, which one *William Fenning*, his Popish Neighbor desired to buy; *Cooper* told him that he kept them for his own use, and therefore would not sell them. Hereupon this *Fenning* went and accused him of Treason, for praying, That if God would not take away *Queen Mary*, that then the Devil would. This wicked accusation, though it was altogether false, yet *Fenning* suborned Two Knights of the Post to swear to it; whereupon *John Cooper* was hanged, drawn, and quartered, all his Goods seized on, and his Wife, and Nine Children were turned out of doors, being destitute of all means of subsistence.

But shortly after Gods revenging hand pursued one of those false Witnesses called *Grimwood*: For as he was at harvest work, stacking of his Corn, his Bowels suddenly fell out, and he immediately died miserably. Upon *Grimwood*.

The Parson of *Crondall* in *Kent*, being preaching upon *whitsunday*, told his People that he had received the Popes pardon from *Cardinal Pool*, whereby he stood now as clear in Conscience as when he was first born, and therefore he cared not now if he should die the same hour: The words were scarce out of his Mouth, when suddenly he fell down dead in the Pulpit, and never spake word more. Upon the Parson of *Crondall*.

A little before *Queen Maries* death, died *Dr. Capon*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, a great Persecutor of the Saints; And about the same time, *Dr. Jeffery* his Chancellor (of whose persecutions we have heard before) as he was in the midst of his buildings, suddenly being struck by the Hand of God, yielded up his Ghost. Wherein this is further observable, That just at that time he had appointed to call before him almost an hundred godly Persons, and to examine them by Inquisition, which mischief was by this means prevented. Upon *Dr. Capon*.

*Mr. Woodroffe*, Sheriff of *London* used much to rejoyce at the torments of the poor Saints of *Christ*; And so cruel was he, that when *Mr. Rogers* was carried in a Cart from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, by the way his Children were brought to see him, and the People made way for their coming to the Cart; But *Mr. Woodroffe*, commanded his Men to break the Car-Mans Head for staying the Cart: But shortly after, vengeance overtook him, he being stricken with a deadness all one Upon *Mr. Woodroffe*.

one side of his Body, so that he was not able to turn himself in his Bed, in which manner he languished till he died.

Upon Ralph  
Lardin.

*Ralph Lardin*, the Betrayer of *George Eagles*, was afterwards arraigned and hanged. As he stood at the Bar he said publicly, *This is justly fallen upon me, for that I betrayed the innocent Blood of that good and just Man George Eagles, who was condemned through my means, and I sold his Blood for a little money.*

Upon Richard  
Potto, and  
Justice Browne.  
Mr. Swingsfield  
with Three  
others.

The like vengeance of God fell upon *Richard Potto* and *Justice Browne*, both cruel Persecutors of the said *George Eagles*.

*Mr. Swingsfield* a Deputy in *Thamesstreet*, hearing that *Mrs. Angell* a Midwife, and a good Woman, was at a Womans labor in *Crookedlane*, he took Three other with him, and beset the House, and apprehended her, and carried her to *Bonnors Officers*, by whom she was cast into *Lollards Tower*. This *Mrs. Angell* was great with Child, and by reason of the fright, and a fall which she caught in her apprehension, she fell the next day in labor, and was delivered in that Prison, having no Woman with her to help her in her extremity. But within Ten weeks after, Deputy *Swingsfield* and the other Three that came with him to apprehend her, all Four died.

Upon Burton.

There was one *Burton*, Bailiff of *Crowland* in *Lincolnshire*, who in the days of King *Edward* was a seeming zealous Protestant; But as soon as Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, he turned Papist, and endeavored to persuade his Neighbors to set up the Mass; But they being not forward therein, this *Burton* on the Sabbath went to Church, and when the Curate was beginning to read the *English Service*, he went to him, and said *Sirra, will you not say Mass? Buckle your self to it, you Knave, or by Gods Blood I'll sheath my Dagger in your Shoulder.* The poor Curate being affrighted herewith, betook himself to the Mass. But shortly after as this *Burton*, with one of his Neighbors, rode together upon the Fen-bank, a Crow took her flight over his Head with her usual note, and voiding her Excrements, they fell on his Nose, and ran down his Beard, withal, yielding such an horrible stink, that caused him to fall vomiting in a most violent manner; Whereupon hasting home, he gat him to Bed, but could eat nothing, the stink and vomiting still continuing, which made him with Oaths and fearful execrations to curse the Crow that had poisoned him, and so he continued in extream pain till his death.

Upon a Sher-  
riffs Man.

We have heard before of *James Abbes* Martyr, that was burnt at *Bury*; As he went towards the Stake some poor People met him, craving his Alms, and because he had no money to give them, he plucked off his Apparel to his Shirt, and distributed it amongst them, withal exhorting them to be strong in the Lord; and as faithful Followers of *Christ*, to stand stedfast in the truth of the Gospel, which said he, with Gods assistance I will now in your sight Seal with my Blood. But whilst he was thus exhorting them, there came one of the Sheriffs Men, who hearing him, cried out aloud to the People, most Blasphemously saying; *Good People believe him not, he is an Heretick and a mad Man, and out of his wits; Believe him not for it is Heresie which he speaketh:* And as *Abbes* continued his godly exhortation, so this wicked Wretch belched forth his Blasphemous exclamation till they came to the Stake, at which the constant Martyr was burned. But as soon as the fire was kindled, the fearful stroke of Gods justice fell upon this Wretch, who immediatly before the People fell distracted, wherewith a little before he had charged the blessed Servant of *Christ*, and pulling off his clothes in a furious manner, he said, *Thus did James Abbes the true Servant of God, who is saved, but I am damned;* And so he ran about the Town, still crying out That *James Abbes* was a good Man, and was saved, but he was damned. Hereupon his Master caused him to be bound, cloathed, and kept in a dark Room; but as soon as the company was departed, he tore off his clothes, still raging and crying out, *James Abbes was the true Servant of God, and is saved, but I am damned;* and thus he continued to his death.



One Clerk an open Enemy to the Gospel, and to all the true Preachers of it Upon Clerk.  
hanged himself in the Tower of London.

One Troling Smith, a great Papist, fell down in the street suddenly and Trool. Smith,  
died.

Dale a Promoter, and Persecutor, was eaten of Lice and died.

Dale.

Cox, an earnest Protestant, in King Edwards days, and in Queen Maryes  
a Papist, and Promoter, going well to his Bed, was found dead in the Cox.  
morning.

Alexander, the Keeper of Newgate, a cruel Enemy to those that lay there Alexander  
for Religion, and one that used to go to Bonner, Story Chomley, &c. crying Keeper of  
out Rid my Prison, Rid my Prison, I am too much pestered with these Hereticks, he Newgate, and  
died a miserable death, his Body being so swollen that he was more like to a Mon- his Son,  
ster then a Man, his Intrals also were so rotten, that none could abide the stink  
of him.

His Son James, to whom he left a great estate, soon wasted it all, jeeringly  
saying, ill gotten, ill spent; And as he went along Newgate Market, he suddenly  
fell down and died.

John Peter, Son in law to this Alexander, an horrible Blasphemer, who  
used upon every occasion to say, If it be not so, I pray God I may rot ere I die: He  
was also very cruel to the poor Saints in Prison; But God met with him for all,  
for his Body rotted away by piecemeale whereby he died.

Justice Leland the Persecutor of Jeffery Hurst, died suddenly.

Upon Justice  
Leland.

Robert Baulding as he was apprehending will. Seaman Martyr, was stricken Rob. Baulding:  
with Lightning, whereupon he pined away, and died.

Robert Blomefield the Persecutor of William Browne, shortly after consumed Rob. Blome-  
away, and died. field.

Dr. Foxford, Chancellor to Bishop Stokesly, a cruel Persecutor died sud- Dr. Foxford:  
denly.

Paul, Town-Clerk of London, a bitter Enemy to the Professors of the And the Town  
Gospel, hanged himself. Clerk of Lon-  
don.

The very next day after the death of Queen Mary, died Cardinal Pool, Car. Pool,  
and it was thought that he took an Italian Pill which caused it.

At Brightwell in Barkshire, one Lever said that he saw that ill-favored Knave Lever,  
Latimer, when he was burned at Oxford, and that he had Teeth like an Horse.  
But the Lord suffered not this scorn and contempt of his Servant to go unpuni-  
shed; For that very day, and about the same hour that Lever spake these words,  
his Son wickedly hanged himself.

William Swallow, the cruel Tormentor of George Eagles, was shortly after so Will. Swallow  
plagued by God with sickness, that the Hair of his Head, and the Nails of his and his Wife.  
Fingers, and Toes came off, and his Eyes were so closed up, that he could scarce-  
ly see: His Wife also was taken with the falling sickness, which she was never  
before troubled withal.

Bloody Bonner, though he died in his Bed, yet lay under the spiritual Upon Bonner.  
judgement of impenitency, and as he had been a Persecutor of the light,  
and a Child of darkness, so in darkness at midnight, his carcase was tumb-  
led into the earth; And as himself had been a Murtherer, so he was laid  
amongst Theeves and Murtherers, a place by Gods judgment fitly appointed  
him

I shall add but one Story more, and I have done, and that is of Doctor Wil- Upon Dr. Wil-  
liams, Chancellor of Glocester, a great Persecutor of the Saints, who in the liams.  
beginning of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when Commissioners were sent down for  
the restoring of Religion in that City, was invited to Dinner by Mr. Jennins  
Dean of Glocester, and was requested by him after Dinner to ride forth with  
him to meet the Commissioners which were near at hand, No, said Williams,  
I will never see them. The Dean therefore going without him, Williams retur-  
ned

ned home, and presently one posted after the Dean, and told him that the Chancellor was at the point of death. The Dean presently meeting with the Commissioners, told them this Story, who hasted to *Glocester* to visit and comfort the Chancellor, but before they could get to him, he had breathed forth his last, and thereby verified his own word, That he would never see them.

Job 31. 3. *Is not destruction to the wicked, and strange punishments to the workers of iniquity?*

2 Theff. 1. 6, 7. *It's a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled, rest with us, &c.*

Roma diu titubans variis erroribus acta  
Corruet, & mundi definet esse Caput.

Rome tottering long, laden with errors store,  
At last shall fall, and Head the world no more.

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F I N I S.

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OF  
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*Who shall separate us from the Love of Christ? shall Tribulation, or Distress, or  
Persecution, or Famine, or Nakedness, or Peril, or Sword? Rom. 8. 35.*

*Nay, in all these things we are more than Conquerours, through Him that loved  
us, Rom. 8. 37.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *William Birch*, at the Peacock at the Lower-end of Cheap-side, 1677.

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The Life of Doctor Collet Dean of Pauls, who dyed  
Anno Christi 1519.



John Collet was born of Worshipful Parents in London; his father [Henry Collet] having been twice Lord Mayor of London, by whom he was carefully trained up in Learning. In his younger dayes he travelled into France and Italy, whereby he much improved his learning. At his return into England he went to Oxford, commenced Doctor of Divinity, and began to read publicly upon Pauls Epistles instead of Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, which before were only in request in that University.

His Birth and Education.

His Travels.

His going to Oxford.

When he came to London he Preached often, and had a very great Auditory both of Courtiers and Citizens. His diet was very frugall, his life upright and unblamable: In discipline he was very severe, in so much as being made Dean of Pauls, his Canons complained that they were held in too much by him. He alwaies preferred the honest and honourable estate of Matrimony before the unchast single life of Priests. At dinner time he used to have some portion of Scripture read to him, either out of Pauls Epistles or Solomons Proverbs. He used no supper at all.

He is famous for Preaching. His Character.

He was no friend to the irreligious religious orders of Monks, and Fryars. He was an enemy to the Divinity of the School Doctors, as of Scotus, and Thomas Aquinas, insomuch as when Erasmus highly commended Aquinas for his Learning and acutenesse, Doctor Collet answered; What tell you me of the Learning of that man, who unlesse he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, durst never have taken upon him to discusse and define all things so boldly and rashly as he did? And except he had rather been worldly minded then Heavenly, he would never so have polluted Christs wholesome Doctrine with mans prophane Doctrine, as he hath done.

His Judgment of T. Aquinas.

The Bishop of London at this time was Fitz James, who of a long time bore a great grudge to Dr. Collet, and therefore joyning with two other Bishops, they entered an action of complaint against him before Dr. Warham Archbishop of Canterbury. The Articles exhibited against him were three. First, For preaching against the worshipping of Images. Secondly, About hospitality, for that he Preaching upon those words in the Gospel, Feed, feed, feed: having expounded the two first for feeding by Doctrine and Example; the third he expounded for feeding by Hospitality, yet not so much for feeding the body as the soul by good counsel and conference. The third was for speaking against such as preached before Sermons, declaring nothing to the people but what they bring in their Papers with them: This the Bishop of

The Bishops hate him and Article against him.

The Arch-  
bishop frees  
him.

The Bi-  
shops im-  
placable ma-  
lice.

They ac-  
cuse him to  
the King.

The King fa-  
vours him.

His Cha-  
rity.

London used to do, and therefore took it as spoken against himself, which much irritated him against Doctor Collet. But the Arch-bishop more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with the worth of Collet, so took his part against his Accusers, that at that time he freed him out of trouble.

Another design of *Fitz James* was to make him an *Heretick* for translating the *Pater-noster* into *English*, but the Arch-bishop help him out of that also.

Yet the Bishops malice was restless; For when he could not prevail against Doctor Collet before the Arch-bishop, he laid a train to accuse him to the King, and the occasion thereof was this: About this time King *Henry* the eighth was preparing War against *France*, and the Bishop with his complies took advantages against Doctor Collet, for that in one of his Sermons he had seemed to preferre Peace before any kind of Warre, though never so just. For this they envied against him in their Sermons, and traduced him also before the King; Yet on good *Fryday* after, Doctor Collet preached before the King, at which time he treated upon the Victory of *Christ*, exhorting all Christians to fight under *Christs* standard against the Devil; adding moreover, what an hard thing it was so to do. He shewed also that all they who upon private hatred or ambition took weapons against their adversaries, one Christian to destroy another, they did not fight under *Christs* Banner but under *Sarans*. He exhorted therefore all Christians in their Wars, rather to make *Christ* their Prince and Captain in fighting against their enemies, than to imitate *Julius Caesar*, *Alexander*, &c.

The King hearing this, and fearing lest the hearts of his Souldiers should by these words be withdrawn from the Wars, took him aside into his Garden after Sermon, and had much private conference with him. Bishop *Fitz-James* and his associates seeing this, were now confident that they should see Collet presently sent Prisoner to the Tower, and therefore they waited for his return out of the Garden; But contrary to their expectation, the King used him very courteously, bad him put on his Cap, much commended him for his learning and integrity of life, and agreed with him in all points that he had taught; onely he desired him, lest the rude Souldiers should misinterpret that which he had said, that in his next Sermon he would explain himself more fully to them, which afterwards he did accordingly: And so after long communication, and great promises of favour, the King gently dismissed him with these words, *Let every man have his Doctor as himself best liketh, this shall be my Doctor*. His adversaries seeing and hearing this, durst never after that time molest him any further.

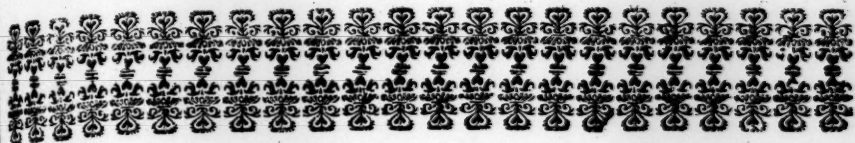
He did many excellent works of Piety and Charity, and amongst the rest he erected that famous foundation of *Pauls* School, *London*, where one hundred fifty three poor mens sons should be taught freely, and for this end he built a very convenient dwelling house for the School-master. He assigned also a large annual stipend both for the Head-Master and Usher, whom he willed rather to be chosen out of the number of married men, then of single Priests with their suspected chastity. He left sundry rents and houses for the payment of those stipends, which he committed to the oversight of the Worshipfull company of *Mercers* in *London*. He caused to be ingraven upon the School in *Latine*, *Schola Catechisationis puerorum in Christi Opt. Max. fide, & bonis literis*, Anno Christi M. D. X. The first Moderator of this School was Mr. *William Lilly*, a man no lesse eminent for his Learning, than Doctor Collet was for this Foundation; He made the *Latine Grammer* which ever since by authority hath been used in all Schools.

Doctor Collet was very expert in the Scriptures, especially in *Pauls* Epistles; which he hath illustrated by his Commentaries. He held Justification freely by the merits of *Christ*, and not by our own works. He was an enemy to the idle



idle and unchast Life of the *Popish* Clergy. He abhorred those that persecuted the Professors of the Truth. He died *Anno Chri.* 1519. and was buried in *Pauls* Church, upon whose Tomb Mr. *Lilly* engraved this Motto,

*Disce mori mundo; vivere disce Deo.*



The Life of Miles Coverdale sometimes Bishop of Exeter, who dyed Anno Christi 1568.



Miles Coverdale was born in the North of England, and from his Child-hood was much given to Learning, and by his Diligence and Industry profited exceedingly therein; So that in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, he was one of the first that professed the Gospel in England. He was very well skilled in the Hebrew, and translated the Bible into English, and wrote fundry Books upon the Scriptures; which Doctrine being new and strange in those daies, he was much

His Birth and Breeding.

The Bible translated.

His flight.

His Bibles printed.

He removes into Germany.

hated and persecuted for it, especially by the Bishops; whereupon he was forced to fly into the Low-Countries. There he printed the Bibles of his Translation, and by sending them over, and selling them in England he maintained himself. But John Stokesly Bishop of London, hearing thereof, and minding to prevent their dispersing in England, enquired diligently where they were to be sold, and bought them all up, supposing that by this means no Bibles would be had; but contrary to his expectation it fell out otherwise; For the same Money which the Bishop gave for these Books, the Merchant sent over to Miles Coverdale, by which means he was enabled to print as many more, which he also sent into England. This caused the Bishops to pursue him with such eagerness, that he was forced to remove himself out of Flanders into Germany, and to settle himself under the Palgrave of the Rhene, where he found much Favour. At first he taught Children for his Subsistence; but having learned the Dutch Language, the Prince Elector Palatine gave him a Benefice at a place called Burghsaber, where he did much good by his Ministry and holy Life; maintaining himself partly by his Living, and partly by the Liberality of Thomas Lord Cromwel, who was his good Lord, and relieved him very much.

At length, when by the happy coming in of King Edward the sixth, Religion was altered in England, and the Gospel had a free passage, he returned into his Native Country, where he did very much good by Preaching.

His return into England.

At the time of the commotion in Devonshire for Religion, he was appointed to go down as Chaplain with the Lord Russel, who was sent to suppress the same; and after the work was over, for his excellent Learning and godly Life he was made Bishop of Exeter, being consecrated thereunto at Lambeth, by Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury Anno Christi 1550.

He is made Bishop of Exeter.

His diligence in his Place.

His character.

His care of his Family.

His Liberality.

He is hated by the Papists.

A special Providence.

His Imprisonment.

His Deliverance.

He goes into Denmark

To the Palatine

He most worthily performed that Office that was committed to him. He Preached constantly every Sabbath and Holy-Day, and most commonly twice in the week he read a Divinity Lecture in one Church or other within the City of *Exeter*. Considering his Means, he was a great lover of Hospitality, and kept a very good House. He was sober and temperate in his Diet, holy and blameless in his Life; friendly to the Godly, liberal to the Poor, courteous to all Men, void of Pride, full of Humility, abhorring Covetousness, and an Enemy to all wickedness and wicked Men, whose society he shunned, and whom he would in no wise entertain or keep in his House or Company. His Wife was a most sober, chaste, and godly Matron: His household another Church in which was exercised all Godliness and Vertue. He suffered no one Person to abide in his House, who could not give an Account of his Faith and Religion, and who lived not accordingly.

And as he was very careful to promote Religion in his Diocese, so was he as ready to give direction for good Government in all Ecclesiasticall affairs: And because himself was not skillfull therein, neither would be hindred from his godly studies, nor encumbered with worldly matters; and yet judging it meet that the Government should be carried on with all uprightnesse, Justice and Equity, he sent to *Oxford* for a learned man to be his Chancellour; and by the assistance of his Friends, he obtained Mr *Robert Weston* Doctor of the Civil Law (and afterwards Lord Chancellour in *Ireland*) unto whose fidelity he committed his Consistory, and the whole charge of his Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, allowing him, not only all the Fees belonging thereto, but also lodged, and found him, his Wife, and Family, horse and man within his own House, and gave him a pension of 40. l. per annum besides, which was a very great matter in those daies; so liberal was this good Bishop in the allowance which he made to this good Chancellor. And surely the Bishop was no more godly and careful in performing his Office of preaching, than his Chancellor was diligent, strict and just in doing his Office without the reproach of partiality or bribery. Yet notwithstanding that this godly Bishop lived most holily, painfully, and virtuously, the common people (whose old bottels were not capable of new wine) could not brook nor digest him; and when they could find no other cause, this was judged a crime sufficient, that he was a Preacher of the Gospel, an enemy to Papistry, and an honest married Man. Hereupon many devices were set on foot for his disgrace, and removing him out of his place; sometimes by flie and false informations against him, sometimes by open railing and false Libels; sometimes by secret backbitings; yea at last, their malice proceeded so far, that they practised his death by Poysoning; but by Gods good Providence the Snares were broken, and he was delivered.

Having thus continued Bishop about three years, it pleased God to take away that famous English *Josiah*, King *Edward*: and his sister *Mary* succeeding him, the Face of Religion was soon altered, and this good Bishop amongst others was deprived, and clapt up in Prison: And though the Malice of the then Prelates and Arch-Papists against him was very great, who also had sworn his Death; yet it pleased God most Miraculously to preserve and deliver Him out of their Hands, which was effected by these means.

The good King *Christian* of *Denmark*, having formerly known him as his being in *Germany*, wrote divers times, and sued so earnestly and effectually to Queen *Mary* for him, that at last he was dismissed out of Prison, and suffered to go over into *Denmark*. There he stayed a while, and afterwards, with the leave of the King, went into *Germany* to his former worthy Friend the Noble Elector of the *Rheine*, who most willingly received Him, and restored him to his former Benefice of *Burghsaber*. The reason why he staid no longer with his deliverer the King of *Denmark*, but chose rather to go into the

*Palatine*



Palatinate, was, because he could Preach in the Dutch language, but not in the Danish Tongue.

At Burghsaber he remained a faithfull and painfull Preacher all Queen Maries daies, till hearing of her death, and of the change of Religion under Queen Elizabeth, he once again returned into his native Country.

His Bishoprick was reserved for him till his return, and then sundry times proffered him, but he would by no meanes accept thereof, but chose rather to live a more private life, yet not out of action; for he continued in London, teaching and preaching the Gospel so long as the strength of his body would permit; and at length being very old and stricken in years, he died comfortably and peacefully in the Lord, being about eighty years old, January 20. Anno Christi 1568. and was honourably buried under a fair Stone in the Chancel of Bartholomews Exchange in London, upon which Stone is engraven this Epitaph.

His return into England.

His Death

In obitum Reverendissimi Patris, Milonis Coverdale  
OGDOASTICHON.

Hic tandem requiemque ferens, finemque laborum,  
Ossa Coverdali mortua Tumbus habet:  
Exonia qui Prasul erat dignissimus olim,  
Insignis vita vir probitate sua,  
Ostoginta annos grandævus vixit, & unus  
Indignum passus sæpius exilium.  
Sic demum variis jactatum casibus ista  
Excepit gremio terra benigna suo.

This I transcribed from the Stone it self before the general Conflagration.



D. SANDES

*The Life of Doctor Sands Arch-bishop of York, who dyed  
Anno Christi 1588.*



*Drin Sands* was born of an Ancient and Worthy Family about the Year 1528. and being trained up in Learning, he so profited therein, both in the Countrey and University, that he was chosen Master of *Katharine Hall* in *Cambridge*, and having Commenced Doctor, he was made Vice-Chancellor of that University; at which time that blessed King *Edward* the sixth dying, and the Lady *Jane Grey* being proclaimed Queen, as we have heard before, the Duke of *Northumberland* was sent with an Army to apprehend the Lady *Mary*. And when he came to *Cambridge* he sent for Dr. *Sands* the then Vice-Chancellor, and some other Doctors, to sup with him; and at supper required Dr. *Sands* to Preach on the Morrow. The warning was short for such an occasion and Auditory, yet he refused it not, but went home and so to bed: The next Morning he arose at three a Clock, and having prayed a good while, rose up, took his Bible in his Hand, and closing his Eyes, earnestly prayed to God that it might fall open at a fit Text for the present Occasion, and accordingly it opened, and the first Text that he cast his Eye upon was *Joshua* 1. 16, 17, 18. And they answered



sworn Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go; according as we hearkened to Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee; only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be that doth Rebel against thy Commandment, and will not hearken to thy Words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to Death, only be strong and of a good courage.

This Text he Prosecuted with such Prudence and Affection, as drew many Tears from the Eyes of his Auditors. After Sermon the Duke and other Nobles desired him to Print his Sermon, and he only required a day and an halfs time for the writing of it, at the end whereof he delivered it to Mr. Leaver, who was presently to carry it to London to the Press: But just at that instant came one of the Beadles to him Weeping, and bad him shift for himself; for, said he, the Duke is retired, and Queen Mary is Proclaimed. Dr. Sands was nothing troubled herewith, but delivered his Sermon to Mr. Leaver, and so went to Dinner to Mr. Moores, one of the Beadles, his great Friend: At dinner, being of an undaunted Courage, and cheerful Disposition, he was very merry, Mistress Moore drinking to him said, Mr. Vice-chancellor, I drink to you, this being the last time that ever I shall see you: which accordingly proved true.

A Prediction.

That Night the Duke sent for him to joyn with him in Proclaiming Queen Mary, and then told him that the Queen was Merciful, and that he hoped for a general Pardon; to which Dr. Sands answered, my Life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that troubleth my Conscience. For what I spake of the State, I have instructions signed by sixteen Counsellors to warrant me therein, neither can speeches be Treason, nor yet have I spoken any thing but what the Word of God and the Lawes of the Land will bear me out in, therefore the will of the Lord be done. But be you assured, my Lord, you shall never escape Death; for if the Queen should spare you, they that now shall Rule, will kill you.

That Night the Duke was apprehended, and some were as busie about Dr. Sands, but Sir John Gates that lay in the Doctors house, drave them away. The next day Doctor Sands was walked into the Fields, when the University in an irregular manner meeting together, ordered Doctor Mause and Doctor Hatcher to go to Doctor Sands his House, to fetch away the University Statutes, the Keyes, and such other things as were in his custody, which accordingly they did, and Doctor Mause, who the day before was an earnest Protestant, was turned now a zealous Papist, and a great Enemy to Dr. Sands, from whom he had received great Curtesies.

Dr. Mause's inconstancy and ingratitude.

That afternoon a Congregation was appointed by them, and the Bell rung to it; when Doctor Sands, coming out of the Fields, sent for the Beadles, asking what the matter meant, requiring them to wait upon him to the Schools according to their Duty, which they did, and Dr. Sands took the Chair.

Mr. Mitch and a rable of unlearned Papists seeing this, withdrew, and conspired amongst themselves to pull him out of the Chair. In the mean time Doctor Sands began his Oration, expostulating with the University about their dealings, and charging them with great ingratitude towards him, affirming that he had said nothing in his Sermon, but what he was ready to justify, and that if he were faulty, they were as deeply guilty in concealing, and consenting to that which he had spoken. In the midst of his Speech in came Mitch with his associates, some laid hands on him to pull him out of the Chair, telling him it was not his place; others called him Traitor, &c. Doctor Sands seeing that they used Violence, being of a great Courage, felt for his Dagger to have dispatched some of them, as Gods Enemies; but Doctor Bell and Doctor Blith prayed him for Gods sake to hold his hands, and Patiently to bear that great wrong; to which he assented, and so the tumult ending,

Dr. Sands his Oration.

ending, he went on, and finished his Oration, and having some Money of the Universities in his hand, he delivered it up, together with all other things belonging to the University, and then resigned his Office, praying to God to substitute a better in his room, and to give them better and more thankful hearts, and so he repaired to his own Colledge.

His Courage.

On the morrow came to him Mr. *Germingham* and Mr. *Thomas Mildmay*; Mr. *Germingham* told him that it was the Queen's pleasure that by two of the Guard he should be conveyed to the Tower, together with the Duke; Mr. *Mildmay* told him that he wondered that so learned a man as he, should speak so unadvisedly against so good a Prince. Dr. *Sands* answered, I shall not be ashamed of Bonds, but if I could do as Mr. *Mildmay* can, I need not to fear them: For, you came down in armes against the Queen, and now you are in arms for her; I cannot thus blow hot and cold with one mouth.

Meeknesse.

He is imprisoned in the Tower.

Presently Dr. *Sands* his Stable was robbed of four excellent Geldings, and an Inventory was taken of all his goods, and he was set upon a lame Jade that halted to the ground; whereupon a friend of his desired that he might lend him a Nagg to ride upon. As he went out at the end of the Town some *Papists* assembled to jeer, and some of his Friends to mourn for him. He was carried through *London* in scorn, and as he entred in at *Bishopsgate* a base Woman threw a stone at him, and hit him so full on the Breast that he was near falling from his Horse. To whom he mildly said, *Woman, I pray God forgive thee.* As he went through *Tower-street*, a woman in her door said to him, *Fye on thee thou Knave, thou Knave, thou Traytor, thou Heretick.* At this he smiled, whereupon she said, Look, the desperate *Heretick* laughs at it. Another woman on the other side of the street, said, Fie neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing thus upon this Gentleman whom thou knowest not, nor yet the cause why he is thus used: and turning to the Doctor, she said, *Good Gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in Gods Cause even to the death:* and thus he was carried Prisoner to the Tower, where the Yeoman of the Guard took from him his borrowed Nagg, and whatsoever else he had: and whereas his man brought some linen after him, that also was taken from him.

Flight refused.

A Jailor Converted.

The first three weeks he was in a very bad prison; at the end whereof he was removed to another, where was put to him Master *John Bradford*.

On the day of the Queens Coronation his prison door was left open, and there came to him one Mr. *Mitchell*, a special friend of his, and said, Doctor *Sands*, there is such a stir in the Tower that neither gates, doors, nor Prisoners are looked after this day; therefore take my Cloak, Hat and Rapier, and get you gon, save your self and let me do as I may. The Doctor refused his offer, saying, I know no just cause of my imprisonment, and if I should do this I should make my self guilty, I will expect Gods good will; yet am I much bound to you for your love. Mr. *Mitchell* not prevailing departed.

Dr. *Sands* and Mr. *Bradford* continued in Prison twenty nine weeks, one *Bowler*, a perverse *Papist* being their Keeper: yet by their affable and loving carriage and converse, he began to mislike *Poperie*, and to favour the Gospel; yea he was so far at last wrought upon, that on a *Sabbath* when others went to Masse, he carried up to them a Service-Book, a manchet and some wine; at which time Dr. *Sands* administred the Sacrament to Mr. *Bradford* and him, and so *Bowler* became their son begotten in their bonds.

When *Wyat* was up in Arms, that room might be made for him and his in the Tower, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Bradford* were put into one prison; and Dr. *Sands* with nine other godly Ministers were removed to the *Marshalsey*.

As they went, the people every where prayed God to comfort them, and



to strengthen them in his truth, whereupon the Keeper of the *Marshalsey* said to Doctor *Sands*, I perceive that the vain people would set you forward to the fire, but I hope you will not prefer your own knowledge before the judgment of so many worthy and learned Prelates; if so, you shall find me as strait a Keeper as one that utterly mislikes your Religion. Doctor *Sands* answered, I know my self young, and my Learning small, its enough to know *Christ* crucified; and he hath learned nothing that fees not the great blasphemy that is in *Papery*. I have read in Scripture of some godly and courteous Keepers, God may make you one; if not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard dealing with me. The Keeper replied, Do you then minde to stand to your Religion? Yea, said the Doctor, by Gods Grace I do. Truly, said the Keeper, I love you the better for it; I did but try you before, and what favour I can shew you, you shall be sure of it, and I shall think my self happy if I may die at the stake with you, and ever after he shewed the Doctor much favour, suffering him to walk into the fields alone, where sometimes he met with Mr. *Bradford*, who being removed to the Kings Bench, found the like favour with his Keeper. He also lodged him in the best Chamber, and would not suffer irons to be put on him, as other Prisoners had, and suffered his Wife, a beautifull Gentlewoman, both in body and soul, to resort to him. He lodged also Mr. *Sanders* with him.

His Name was Thomas Wyat.

To these two holy men there was much resort, and much Money was proffered to them, but they would receive none. Three or four times they celebrated the Sacrament, and had many Communicants, at which times Doctor *Sands* gave such exhortations as drew many teares from his Auditors, and wrought in them an utter abhorrency of the *Masse* and all *Papery*.

When Sir *Thomas Wyat* with his Army came into *Southwark*, he sent to Dr. *Sands* in prison, desiring his company and advice, telling him that the prison doors should be set open for him and the other Prisoners: Dr. *Sands* bad the Messengers tell him, that if his rising were of God he should stand, otherwise he should fall: and that for his own part he was committed by order, and that he would never depart thence except he were discharged by the like order; The like answer made Mr. *Sanders*, and the other godly Ministers that were prisoners there.

Sr. Tho. Wyat profers him his liberty.

His prudent Answer.

Doctor *Sands* having thus lain there nine weeks, at last by the mediation of Sir *Thomas Holcraft*, then Knight Marshall, he was set at liberty; The manner of it was thus: Sir *Thomas Holcraft* made great suit to the Bishop of *Winchester* in the behalf of Dr. *Sands*, yet could get no grant from him except he would turn to their Religion, which if he would do, he should have great preferment; yet at last by importunity he extorted from him, that if the Queen would grant him his liberty he would not oppose it. Then did Sir *Thomas*, by two Ladies of Honour, prevail with the Queen, that he should have his liberty if *Winchester* liked of it: Sir *Thomas* having this grant, watched the Bishops next going to the Queen, and then again moving the businesse, he at last prevailed with them, and gat a Warrant signed by them for his deliverance; yet *Winchester* afterwards commanded him not to release him, till two Gentlemen should give a thousand pound bond for him not to depart the Kingdóm without License. Sir *Thomas* seeing this, procured two Gentlemen to be willing thus to be bound with him; and then sending for Dr. *Sands* he imparted all the businesse to him; to whom Dr. *Sands* said, I give God thanks who hath moved your heart to be so carefull of me; I think my self much bound to you for your love, which God will requite, and I will never prove ungratefull. But as I came a free man into Prison, so I will not go out a bond man; for as I cannot benefit my friends, so neither will I hurt them; and if I be set at liberty I will not stay fix dayes in the Realm, if I can get out. Therefore if I may not go free, send me back to prison, where you shall be sure of me. Sir *Tho. Holcraft* was much troubled at this answer, yet seeing the Doctor immovable

His release from prison.

ble in his Resolution, he said to him, Since I cannot change you, I will change my own Mind, and am resolved to set you at Liberty, come of it what-ever will come, therefore get you gone quickly over-sea, and never write any thing back hither, for so you may undo me, and so friendly kissing him, he bad him farewell, and commanded his Keeper to take no Fees of him.

He is again fought for.

Doctor Sands returning to the *Marshalsey* carried all night, and on the morrow gave his Prison-fellows a dinner; bad his bed-fellow, and sworn stake-fellow, if it had so pleased God [Master Sanders] farewell, they kissing each other with many Teares. Then went he to the Kings-Bench to Master Bradford, and Mr. Ferrar, comforting them, and they praising God for his happy Deliverance; and so he went into London to a private Friend, and the next Night changed his Lodging, hearing that search was made after him. For Doctor Waisson and Christopherson went to the Bishop of Winchester, and told him that he had set at liberty the greatest Heretick in England, and one who had most corrupted the University; whereupon the Bishop sent for all the Constables in London, commanding them to make diligent search for him, and promising five pound to him that could apprehend Him.

A special providence.

Doctor Sands suspecting the matter, shifted from place to place, and appointed his man to provide him two Geldings, purposing the next day to go into *Essex* to his Father-in-Law Master Sands, with whom his Wife was: But that night having a pair of Hofs to long for him, which were made without measure whilst he was Prisoner in the Tower, he then lodging in *Cornhil*, requested the good Wife of the House to send them to the next Taylor to be cut shorter; and it so fell out, by Gods Providence, that the next Taylor was a Protestant, and the man that made them; He knowing the Hofs, went at midnight to the Doctors Lodging, and being admitted into his Chamber, wished him not to be troubled at their unreasonable coming in: To which he answered, Nothing can be amiss, what God will, that shall come to pass: Then the Taylor told him of the Bishops sending for the Constables, whereof he was one, and of their hopes to find him; for, saith he, it's known, that you have provided Geldings, and that to morrow you are to go through *Algate*, where you will certainly be taken: Therefore let your man walk booted and spurr'd to morrow neer where your Horses stand; and in the mean time they shall be conveyed privately to *Bednal-Green*, and at a fit season I will come and convey you thither also: as you go along the Streets look wildly, and if you meet your Brother in the Mouth, know him not, &c.

Accordingly Doctor Sands attired like a Gentleman, and looking wildly, went with the Taylor the next day, who conveyed him through back-lanes to *More-Gate*, and from thence to *Bednal-Green*; where having his Horses ready, he kissed the honest Taylor, and would have given him the greatest part of that little which he had, which yet he would not receive, and so with Teares they parted: Yet afterwards Doctor Sands required him thankfully. That Night he rode to his Father-in-Law, and within two hours after his coming, his Father was informed that that Night two of the Guard would seek to apprehend him there; whereupon he was presently conveyed to an honest Farmers House neer the Sea-side, where he was locked up two days and two nights in a Chamber all alone, and then removed to one *Mower*, a Master of a Ships House at *Milton* shore, attending a Wind for his departure: And while he was there, *Mower* brought forty or fifty Marriners to him, to whom he gave such an Exhortation, that they being taken with it, resolved all of them to die rather than he should be apprehended.

May the sixth the wind served, and he took his leave of his Host and Hostess, who had been married eight years, and had no Child, and when he took



took his leave of the Woman, he thanked her kindly for his entertainment, and gave her his Handkerchief with an old Royal of Gold in it, saying, *Ere A Prophecy a year be past, be of good comfort, God will give you a Son*, and accordingly it came to pass; for when there lacked but one day of a twelvemonth, she was brought to bed of a fair Son.

Doctor Sands, and Doctor Cox were both in the same Ship, and ere it was out of ken, two of the Guard were upon the Shore to have apprehended Doctor Sands: But God gave them a good passage; so that they arrived safely at *Antwerp*, and were invited to dinner to Master *Locks* house; And as they were at dinner Master *George Gilpin*, Secretary to the *English* house, came to them, and whispering to Doctor Sands, said, King *Philip* hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you: Hereupon he immediately rose from dinner, and though it Rained very fast, yet he went out at the Gate that leads towards *Cleveland*, where meeting with a Wagon, he halted away, and came safely to *Ausburg* in *Cleveland*, where he tarried fourteen daies, and then travelled to *Strasbourg*; And when he had continued there one year, his Wife came to him. There he fell sick of a great Flux, which held him nine Monerhs, and brought him to deaths door: He had a Child also that fell sick of the Plague, and died. His godly, and vertuous Wife also fell sick of a Consumption, and died in his Armes.

Whilst he remained there, he was chiefly Maintained by one Master *Isaac*, an *English* Gentleman of *Kent*, and one that suffered Exile for the same cause of Christ: He so entirely loved him, that he was always more ready to give, than Doctor Sands was ready to receive; so that he gave him above a hundred Marks, which Doctor Sands afterwards thankfully repayed again.

After the death of his Wife, he travelled to *Zurick* in *Switzerland*, and there So-journed in the House of *Peter Martyr* for five weeks space, at the end whereof as they sate at Dinner, News was brought them of *Queen Marias* Death, and Doctor Sands, by his Friends, was sent for back to *Strasbourg*. This News occasioned joy to all but Doctor Sands, who was stricken to the heart to think that he was called back to new Sorrows.

Master *Bullinger*, and the other Ministers Feasted him before his departure from *Zurick*, and so he returned back to *Strasbourg*, where he preached, and in the company of Master *Grindal*, he came for *England*, arriving at *London* upon the Coronation-Day of *Queen Elizabeth*.

By her, for his singular Piety and Learning, he was advanced to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, *Anno Christi* 1559. and afterwards, he was removed to the Bishoprick of *London*, *Anno Christi* 1570. And lastly, he succeeded Doctor *Grindall* in the Arch-bishoprick of *York*, *Anno Christi* 1576. In all which places he governed the Church with singular Prudence, and modesty; and having finished his Course on Earth, he went to receive his Crown in Heaven, *August* the eighth, *Anno Christi* 1588. being about the Age of sixty, and lies Buried in the Collegiate Church of *Southwell* in *Nottingham-shire*.

He was a man of whom it is hard to say, whether he were more famous for his admirable vertues, or great learning, as his Sermons yet extant in Print do manifest. He left many children of which three were Knights, excellently qualified both in mind, and body, especially *Sir Edwin Sands*, who deserved so well of his Country.

He flies beyond sea.

A special providence

His sickness.

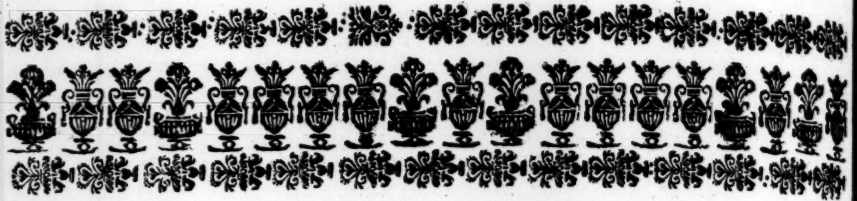
His Wife died.

Charity.

His return to England.

He is a Bishop.

His Death.



*The Life of Master Richard Greenham, who dyed  
about the year, 1591.*

He was Fellow in *Pembrook-Hall*.



His remove to *Dry-Drayton*.

His extraordinary Pains.

His hard Studies.

His Charity.

Can yet learn nothing Concerning the Countrey, Parentage, or first Education Mr. *Richard Greenham*. The first place, where I find him, was in *Pembrook-Hall* in *Cambridge*, where he followed his Studies so hard, and was so eminent for his proficiency in learning, that he was chosen Fellow in that Society, and after a while he was called to a Pastoral charge at *Dry-Drayton*, not far from *Cambridge*, and like a faithfull Minister of *Iesus Christ*, he spared no paines amongst his people, whereby he might advance the good of their souls.

His constant course was to preach twice on the *Lords day*, and before the evening Sermon to Catechize the young people of the Parish. His manner also was to preach on *Mondays*, *Tuesdays*, and *Wednesdays*, and on *Thursdays* to catechize the youth, and again on *Frydays* to preach to his people; and that on these week dayes, the people might have the better opportunity to attend upon his Ministry, his course was to be in the Pulpit in the morning so soon as he could well see. He was so earnest, and took such extraordinary pains in his preaching, that his shirt would usually be as wet with sweating, as if it had been drenched in water, so that he was forced, so soon as he came out of the Pulpit, to shift himself, and this wonderfull and excessive paines he took all his time. Twice a day he prayed in his Family, and after Sermon he used to call his servants together, and examined them of what they heard, and what they remembred. And besides all these his publike labours, he studied very hard, rising every day both Winter and Summer, at four of the clock in the morning.

He was very eminent for his charity to the Poor; whereof we have this notable Example: In a time of scarcity, when Barley was at ten groats the Bushell, (which in those daies was an extraordinary price) he by his Prudence brought it to pass, that the poor had it sold to them for four groats the Bushell of every Husband-man in the Town; and thus he effected it.

There were about twenty Plough-holders in the Town, all which he by his holy perswasions drew to an agreement amongst themselves, to hire a common Granary, and therein to lay up Corn for the poor, some more, some lesse, every man accordingly to his ability; so that some laid up one Coom, some a quarter, some three Cooms, and Master *Greenham* himself laid in five Cooms, all which was delivered out to the poor at a groat a peck. There was one day in the week appointed for all the poor to come and be served, at which time every one received according to their charge; where there were but two in a Family, they received one peck a week, and so more according to that proportion; only no one Family had above three pecks a week. He



He kept but two Beasts himself, that the poor might have his straw, and when other men sold their straw for two Shillings the dayes thresh, he sold his for ten pence: So that in that dear time all the poor in the Parish had been well neer famished, had it not been for his prudence, and liberality which he also continued, till the price of Corn abated, which was suddainly, and extraordinarily; For that Corn which was sold for a noble the Bushell, was within one moneth after sold for fourteen pence the Bushell.

But during the fore-mentioned dearth, by publike Order, the Bushells were cut and made lesse; This Master *Greenham* Preached much against, and Publickly reprov'd wheresoever he came, and withall gave his man a charge, that if the *Clerk of the Market* sent for his Bushell to cut it, he should not carry it in, which was done accordingly, for which he came into some trouble, but the Lord delivered him out of the same. Also at this time though his Bushell was bigger then other mens, yet he would often charge his man not to strike off all the Corn. He used not to trouble himself with reckonings and accounts, but would sometimes ask his man when he came from the Market, how he sold Corn? and if it was dear, he would say, *I pray God bring down the price of it*; and if it was Cheap, he would heartily blesse God for it. Yea, his Charity was not onely extended to the poor of his own Parish, but to others also; for if at any time he had seen a poor body at a distance from him as he rode abroad, he would send his man with money to him; and when at any time he rode by the Castle at *Cambridge*, the Prisoners would never ask him for any thing, nor any one that was with him, for if he had any money in his Purse, they were sure to have part of it. By reason of his great Liberality, though his living was worth a hundred pound *per Annum*, yet he usually wanted Money to get in his Harvest, so that his Wife (formerly Doctor *Bounds* Widow) was forced to borrow money to supply that want: Yet was he so well content with his present Condition, that though he had proffers of livings worth three of that which he had, yet would he by no meanes be perswaded to accept of them.

He was a great Friend to, and promoter of Peace and Concord amongst his Neighbours and Acquaintance, insomuch that if any had come to him who were at Variance, he would either have made them friends himself, or if he could not prevail, he would have made use of other Friends to reconcile them together, thereby to prevent their going to Law.

When *Martin Mar Prelate* came first out, Master *Greenham* being to preach at *St. Marius* in *Cambridge*, spake freely against that Book, manifesting his dislike of the same: For (said he) the tendency of this Book is to make sin ridiculous, whereas it ought to be made odious.

On a time the Bishop of *Ely* sent for him, to appear about his Nonconformity: At which time the Bishop told him that there was a great Schisme in the Church, asking him where the blame was to be laid; whether upon the Conformists, or Non-conformists? To which he readily answered, that it might lie on either side, or on neither side: For (said he) if they loved one another as they ought, and would do all good Offices each for other, thereby maintaining Love and Concord, it lay on neither side: otherwise, which party soever makes the Rent, the Schism lies upon their score. The Bishop was so pleased with this answer, that he dismissed him in Peace.

He was much troubled with a bad Concoction, whereby he had frequent sick Nights, which kept him much waking; but then his manner was (as much as possibly he could) to spend the time in Meditation and Prayer.

We have before heard of his great Charity to mens Bodies: His Charity to Souls was not less exemplary. For having great Experience, and an excellent Faculty to relieve and comfort distressed Consciences, he was sought to, far and near, by such as groaned under spiritual Afflictions and Tempta-

A great Peace-maker.

He disliked *Martin Mar-Pre-late*.

He is commended before the Bishop. His prudence.

He is dismissed.

His Piety.

His skill  
in curing  
spiritual dif-  
eases.

Temptations: all whom he entertained friendly and familiarly, without respecting the person of the rich more than of the poor.

Yea the fame of this spiritual *Physician* so spread abroad, that he was sent for to very many, and the Lord was pleased so farre to blesse his labours, that by his knowledge and experience many were restored to joy and comfort, out of unspeakable and insupportable terrours and torments of conscience. If the Lord had not so soon translated him out of this sinfull and miserable world, there was none more fit, nor willing to have prescribed Rules, and a Method to be observed in this so little a known Art. Of his good will herein, let his own words testifie the forward desires of his heart: For upon a special occasion he thus speaketh of himself; I have had (saith he) for a long time a settled resolution, (which I hope is from God) to study the cases of Conscience, that thereby I may be the better able to succour the tempted and perplexed in spirit.

He was filled with bowels of compassion towards the afflicted, sympathizing, as if he had been afflicted with them.

Many godly and learned friends of his, perceiving his abilities and inclinations thereto, did labour much to excite and encourage him in those studies, upon these and the like grounds. First, that he might hereby the better train up some young men in the like studies, communicating his knowledge and experiences to them therein. Secondly, that he might leave to posterity a Commentary of such particular Maladies as God had made him instrumental in the cure of, together with the meanes by him used for effecting of the same. And because Precepts are wanting, Rules of direction might be framed, partly by his own observation, partly by conference with other learned and experienced persons, whereby in that, and the age following, that Art might be brought into some form and method, to the publick good and benefit of many, not only for the fruitfull curing, but also for the healthfull preventing of manifold mischief.

To such as complained to him that they were troubled with blasphemous thoughts, his counsell was, that they should not fear them, but abhorre them. And when some Poor Christians were miserably afflicted with feares, that they had committed that unpardonable sinne against the holy Ghost, he used to tell them, that if they would not have committed it, it was certain that they had not fallen into it.

The graces of Gods Spirit did all abundantly shine forth in this man of God: all tempered, as with unfeigned love to *Christ*, so with bowels of love and compassion towards men; and he again was greatly beloved of all men.

In the whole course of his Ministry, he was very carefull ever to avoid (as much as was Possible) all occasions of offence, desiring in all things to approve himself as a Minister of *Christ*, and Work-man that needed not to be ashamed.

He much reioyced in, and Praised God for the happy government of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for the blessed calm and peace which the Church and People of God enjoyed under the same, speaking often of it, both publickly and privately, as he had occasion, endeavouring to stirre up the hearts of all men (as much as in him lay) to Praise God with him for it, and to pray also for the continuance thereof. Yea this matter so affected him, that the day before his departure out of this world, his thoughts were much troubled, for that most men were so unthankfull for those wonderfull and happy deliverances, which the Lord of his mercy vouchsafed to that glorious Queen, from the conspiracies and dangerous practices of her *Popish* Adversaries.

He was a special Instrument and meanes under God to encourage, and train up many godly and learned young men in the holy service of *Christ*, in the work of the Ministry, and to restrain, and reduce not a few from errors and *schisme*; striving by all meanes to retain them in obedience to the  
Laws



Lawes of the land, and to Provoke them highly to Prize, and preciouslly to esteem the peace of the Church, and People of God.

Having continued at *Dry-Drayton* about the space of twenty, or one and twenty years, he left it, and went from thence to *London*, about the year 1588, or 89. Yet was very carefull before his remove, to get an honest and able man to succeed him in that place.

His remove to *London*.

The Causes of his Removal, were, partly the untractableness and unteachableness of that people amongst whom he had taken such exceeding great paines. For besides his publick Preaching and Catechizing, his manner was to walk out into the Fields, and to confer with his Neighbours as they were at Plough: And partly he did it upon supposal that he might do far more good in a more publick place by comforting afflicted Consciences, wherein the Lord had given him such an admirable dexterity.

He wholly spent himself in the Service of God and his Church, and therefore often made use of that saying of the Prophet *David: The Zeal of thy House hath eaten me up.*

He was a little Man of Stature, and usually indifferent well in Health; but when at any time he was sick, he would suffer no body to sit up and Watch with him, that so he might more freely converse with God.

He continued not in *London* above the space of two years, but being quite worn out, he comfortably and quietly resigned up his Spirit unto God, *An. Christi* 1591. and about the sixtieth year of his Age.

His Death.

He hath a Volume of Sermons, and Treatises of Divinity in Print.

The

M<sup>r</sup>. THO: CARTWRIGHT.

*The Life of Master Thomas Cartwright, who dyed*  
Anno Christi 1603.

His Birth.

Thomas Cartwright was born in *Herfordshire*, about the year 1535.His Studi-  
ousness.

And being by his Parents kept at School till he was fit for the University, He went to *Cambridge* and was admitted into *Saint Johns Colledge*, Anno 1550. He there followed his Studies exceeding hard, and being a man of excellent natural parts, he profited in Learning more than ordinary; He never used to sleep above five houres in a night, which custom he continued to his dying day.

He is a  
Lawyers  
Clark.

Three years after at the death of *King Edward* the sixth, he left the University, and betook himself to the service of a Counsellor, yet followed his studies very hard, as taking more pleasures therein, than in the study of the Law; Thus he continued till the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth* Reign, at which time his Master meeting with Doctor *Pilkinton*, Master of *Saint Johns Colledge* in *Cambridge*, he told him of his mans Learning and studious disposition; The Doctor desired to speak with him, and thereby perceiving his great abilities, and hopefullnesse, with his Masters consent he took him again to *Saint Johns Colledge*, where his proficiency and Progresse both in the Arts and Tongues, was so eminent, that Anno 1560. He was chosen Fellow in that Colledge, and about three years after he was removed to a fellowship in *Trinity Colledge*, where

His return  
to Cambridge



where for his great worth, he was ere-long made one of the eight Senior fellows.

Anno 1564. Queen Elizabeth coming to Cambridge, great Preparation was made for her Entertainment, and four of the eminentest men in the University, being chosen to keep a Philosophy Act before her, he was one of them, who performed it with extraordinary abilities, to the great content and satisfaction both of the Queen and his other Studitors. Anno 1567. He commenced Batchelor of Divinity, and three years after he was chosen to be the Lady Margarets Divinity-Reader. He read upon the first and second Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, and performed it with such acuteness of wit, and solidity of judgment, as caused admiration in his hearers: and even at that time he was so famous for his Ministry, that when his turn came to Preach at Saint Maries, the Sexstone was fain to take down the Windows, by reason of the multitudes that came to hear him.

His Disputation before the Queen.

He is chosen Professor.

His multitude of hearers.

In his Lectures he was occasioned to discover his judgment about Church-Discipline, which the Doctors and Heads in the University took very haughtily, as being dangerous and destructive to the present Hierarchy, whereupon he was convented before the Vice-Chancellor, Doctor May, and other Doctors, and examined upon sundry Articles, or propositions of Doctrine delivered by him publickly in his Lectures, and elsewhere, which they affirmed to be contrary to the Religion received, and allowed by publick authority in this Realm, and thereupon they demanded whether he would stand to, or revoke the said Opinions and Doctrines delivered by him.

He is questioned before the Vice-Chancellor.

Master Cartwright upon deliberation, desired that he might have leave to set down in writing what his judgement in those things was and what he would stand to; which being granted, he drew up in six Propositions what his judgement was; and setting his hand to it, delivered it to the Vice-Chancellor, who thereupon admonished him to revoke the same, and upon his refusal, punished him by the subtraction of his stipend, and so he continued in his Lecture that year.

But the year after, Doctor Whitgift being chosen Vice-Chancellor, he again convented him before him, requiring his absolute answer whether he did mind to teach his Auditors otherwise, revoking that he had before taught; or whether he would abide in the maintenance of the same? Unto this Mr. Cartwright answered, that for the Propositions delivered by him under his hand to Doctor May, and now shewed to him, they were his own hand-writing, such as he had openly taught, and still continued fully determined to maintain and defend as Truths: Hereupon after Master Cartwright had a while withdrawn, and the Vice-Chancellor had conferred with the other Doctors, Master Cartwright was again called for, and this definitive sentence was pronounced against him by the Vice-Chancellor, Doctor Whitgift, that perceiving that no admonition would help, but that he still persisted in the same mind, he did therefore pronounce him, the said Master Cartwright, to be removed from his said Lecture; and by his finall decree or sentence, did then and there remove him, and declare the said Lecture to be void, and that he minded, according to the foundation thereof, to proceed to the Election of a new Reader. And further he did then and there by Vertue of his Office, inhibit the said Master Cartwright from preaching within the University and the Jurisdiction of the same.

He is expelled the University.

Now that the Reader may be better satisfied what the Articles were which Master Cartwright drew up, and signed with his hand, and for which this sentence was passed upon him, I shall here set them down in his own words, as I have them transcribed out of the Original, standing upon Record in the Registry of the University of Cambridge.

The Articles for which he was expelled.

1. *Archiepiscoporum, & Archidiaconorum nomina simul cum muneribus, & officiis sunt abolenda.*
2. *Legitimorum in Ecclesia Ministrorum nomina, qualia sunt Episcoporum, & Diaconorum separata a suis muneribus in verbo Dei descriptis, simpliciter sunt improbanda, & ad institutionem Apostolicam revocanda: ut Episcopus in verbo, & precibus, Diaconus in pauperibus curandis versetur.*
3. *Episcoporum Cancellariis, aut Archidiaconorum Officialibus, &c. regimen Ecclesie non est committendum, sed ad idoneum ministrum, & Presbyterum ejusdem Ecclesie deferendum.*
4. *Non oportet Ministrum esse vagum, & liberum, sed quisque debet certo cuidam gregi addici.*
5. *Nemo debet ministerium tanquam candidatus petere.*
6. *Episcoporum tantum autoritate, & potestate, ministri non sunt creandi: multo minus in Museo, aut loco quopiam clanculario: sed ab Ecclesia electi fieri debet.*

*Hisce reformandis, quisque pro sua vocatione studere debet (vocationem autem intelligo) ut magistratus Autoritate, minister verbo, omnes precibus promoveant.*

*Per me Thomam Cartwright.*

His travels beyond Sea.

Bezas' testimony of him.

He is Preacher to the English Merchants.

Master Cartwright being thus driven from the University, not long after, finding the way for the Exercise of his Ministry in England obstructed, he went beyond the Seas to visit other Reformed Churches, where he grew acquainted with the famousst men for Piety and Learning in Christendome, with whom he kept Correspondence all his life after. He was also highly prized by them, insomuch as Beza writing about that time into England to a Friend of his, hath this Expression; *Est quidam Anglus nobiscum, nomine Thomas Cartwright, &c.* Here is now with us your Countrey-man, Thomas Cartwright, then whom I think the Sun doth not see a more Learned Man, &c.

He was also chosen Preacher to the English Merchants at Antwerp, and afterwards at Middleborough, where he did very much good by his Ministry, the Lord blessing his labours exceedingly in those parts; and when he understood that the Merchants, by whom he was maintained, through their great Losses decayed in their Estates, he returned his Sallary to them again.

He is chosen to answer Dr. Whitgift.

His imprisonment.

His contempt of the World.

Not long after he came over into England, being earnestly solicited thereunto by Letters from Master Dearing, Master Fulk, Master Wiborne, Master Leaver, and Master Fox; about which time the Non-Conformists having drawn up an Admonition to the Parliament for the Reformation of the Church, Doctor Whitgift, who was then preferred to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, answered the same in Print; whereupon the Ministers which wrote the Admonition, consulting, but not agreeing upon the choice of one to reply to Doctor Whitgift, Master Cartwright was at last chosen by lot to undertake it, and performed it so well, that his very Adversaries were heard to advance and commend him for it.

Yet was he with divers other of the Non-Conformists brought into the High Commission Court, where, for refusal of the Oath *ex officio*, they were clapt up in Prison, and afterwards proceeded against in the Star-Chamber; But it pleased God so to order it by his Providence, that those very Witnesses which were brought to accuse them, did so clear them, that they were dismissed, and sent home much more honoured and beloved than they were before.

Whilst Master Cartwright was Prisoner in the Fleet, he had thirty pounds sent him from a Noble Friend, of which he took but ten shillings, returning the rest with many thanks to the Donor; and when the Earl of Leicester of



offered him the Provostship of *Eaton-Colledge*; saying, That it was a hundred pounds a year more than enough, besides the conveniency of the place; Master Cartwright answered, That the hundred pounds more than enough was enough for him.

His favour with the Earl of Leicester.

About the year 1580. his Fame was so spread through the Reformed Churches, that King James, then King of Scotland, sent for him, professing to make him Professor in the University of Saint Andrews: whereof twenty years after, upon King James his coming into England, Master Cartwright makes mention in his Epistle before his Commentary upon Ecclesiastes, which he dedicated to King James, returning humble thanks for that Royal favour. The Arch-Bishop of Dublin also sent for him into Ireland, proffering him preferment in that Kingdom.

King James sends for him into Scotland.

He was sent to from divers eminent Divines beyond the Seas, wherein they craved his advice for the direction of young men in the method of their studies, as also in the behalf of the Churches in general, for his counsell in regulating their proceeding in the weightiest affairs.

He is sent to for counsell.

Alto about the same time the Earl of Leicester preferred him to be Master of his Hospital at Warwick, which place was worth to him about one hundred pounds *per annum*: His employment was to pray with the Poor men twice a day, to catechise twice a week, and to preach once on the Lords-day at the Parish Church: This place he willingly and thankfully accepted of, because he was therein exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Prelates.

He is made Master of the Hospital at Warwick.

His carriage and deportment was such, that there was not a Nobleman or Gentleman of quality in all the Country that looked Heaven-ward, or was of any account for Religion and Learning, but they sought to enjoy his company, and found much pleasure and content therein; for his conversation was such, that scarce a word came from his mouth that was not of some good use and concernment.

His esteem in the Country.

He was of a very laborious and indefatigable spirit; it was his meat and drink to be doing the Will of his heavenly Father; so that besides all his paines in Writing, and in the Hospital, he preached every Sabbath-day in the morning, about seven a clock in the lower Parish of Warwick, and, when he could be suffered, in the upper Parish in the afternoon; Besides which he preached a Lecture on *Saturdays* in the afternoon in the upper Church, in which he went over a great part of the *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes* with singular judgment and profit; and this he did of his own free Will without demanding or receiving one penny for his paines. And whereas he was sometimes suspended by the Bishops from preaching in the Churches, his manner was at those times to preach in the Hospital, whither many resorted to hear him, though they were sure to be brought into the Bishops Courts for the same.

His diligence in the Ministry.

Presently after his coming to Warwick, the English Seminary at Rhemes published their Version of the *New Testament*, and Annotations upon it in English, which coming over into England, it was looked upon by all as a Book of dangerous concernment, and therefore fit to be answered by the ablest pen that could be found; Hereupon (as I have heard) Queen Elizabeth sent to Beza to request him to undertake the answer; but he modestly excused it, and returned answer that she had one in her own Kingdom, far abler then himself to undertake such a task, and upon further enquiry declared that it was Master Thomas Cartwright.

He is importuned to answer the Rhemist Testament.

Then Sir Francis Walsingham, a man of eminent place and power, who herein, as in other affairs was accounted the mouth and hand of the Queen and State, wrote to Master Cartwright, earnestly requesting him to undertake the work, assuring him also of such aid as should further him in the finishing thereof; for which end he sent him one hundred pounds towards the charges

Encouraged by Sir Francis Walsingham.

He is solli-  
cited there-  
to by the  
Doctors of  
Cambridge.

\* Church-  
Discipline.

And by the  
Ministers of  
London and  
Suffolk.

His discour-  
agements  
in the work.

The work  
left imper-  
fect.

His going  
into Gernsey.

His con-  
tempt of the  
World.

charges of buying Books, and procuring Writers which were to be employed by him therein; This was Anno 1583.

The same year also he was earnestly solicited by the most learned men of the University of Cambridge by a solemn Epistle, with joynt consent written to him to undertake the answer, wherein amongst other passages they have these expressions; *With you we are earnest (most Reverend Cartwright) that you would set your self against the unhallowed endeavours of these mischievous men, either by refusing the whole Book, or at least some part thereof. It is not for every man Work-man-like to frame Gods Tabernacle, but for Bazaleel and Aholiab; neither is every one rashly to be thrust forth into the Lords battles; but such Captains are to be chosen from amongst Davids Worthies; Of which, as we acknowledge you to be one by the former battels undergone for the walls of our City, the Church\**; we doubt not if you will enter this War (which truly you ought to do according to the Zeal and Piety you bear to your Countrey and Religion) but that you fighting for Conscience and Countrey (yea even for the very inmost holy place of the Temple) will be able to tread underfoot the forces of the Jebusites, which set themselves to assault the Tower of David. Moreover, (which may marvellously sharpen the edge of your courage) you are not now to fight with a Brother, or fellow of the same Religion (which maketh the Conflict more faint) but with the most inveterate enemies of Jesus Christ, &c. Then they thus conclude: *You see to what an honourable fight we invite you. Christs business shall be undertaken against Satans Champions. We stir you up to fight the battels of our Lord, where the Victory is certain, which the triumph and applause of the Angels will ensue. Our Prayers shall never be wanting unto you. Christ without doubt, whose cause is defended, will be present with you. The Lord Jesus much increase your courage and strength, and keep you very long in safety for his Churches good. Vale.* This was subscribed by Roger Goad, William Whittaker, Thomas Crak, John Ireton, William Fulk, John Field, Nicholas Crane, Giles Scintler, Rich. Gardener, William Clark, &c.

But besides these, the Reverend Ministers of London, and Suffolk, did by their severall letters earnestly exhort him to this work; and Master Cartwright, was at last by these importunities drawn to undertake it, and neither diligence nor constancy was wanting in him to have carried it on to perfection; but he met with such great discouragements and hinderances from Potent Adversaries, that he was forced often to lay pen aside; yea Archbishop Whitgift sent him a positive command that he should deal no further in it; yet afterwards by an Earl and privy Counsellor of great note, and some other noble Personages, he was at last drawn to take pen in hand again; But receiving new discouragements, and having such continual employment in the Ministry, he lived not to perfect that work.

Whilst he was at Warwick, being silenced by the Bishops, he was requested by the Lord Zouch, Governour of Gernsey, to go with him into that Island, with whom he continued some time, and in the mean space he substituted one Master Lord, a godly and holy Minister, then living at Woolstone, in his room at the Hospital in Warwick, allowing him the greatest part of the profits of the place during his abode there: and the rest he caused to be distributed amongst the poor.

He was far from seeking after great places or great things in the world, and for riches he sought them not, yea he rejected many opportunities whereby he might have enriched himself; His usual manner was, when he had good summes of gold sent him, to take only one piece, lest he should seem to slight his Friends kindnesse, and to send back the rest with a thankfull acknowledgement of their love, and his acceptance of it, professing, that for that condition wherein God had set him, he was as well furnished as they for their high and great places.

His



His manner was not to keep any more money in his purse, but what might serve for charitable uses; He was very bountifull to poor Schollers; He distributed money every *Sabbath-day* amongst the poor of the Town of *Warwick*, besides what he gave to the prisoners, and upon other occasions both at home and abroad. His charity.

For his Household affairs, he never troubled himself with them, but wholly left them to be ordered and managed by the Prudence of his Wife.

He was very carefull to regulate and order the businesses of the Hospital for the best advantage of the poor Brethren. He continued his diligence and assiduity in his studies even in his old age, and his usual manner was to rise at two, three, and four a clock in the morning at the latest, both summer and winter, notwithstanding that his bodily infirmities were such, that he was forced to study continually kneeling upon his knees. His Prudence. His studiousness.

He was of a very meek and quiet spirit, as appears in those conflicts which he had with Doctor *Whitgift*, and Dr. *Sutcliffe*, wherein he used soft Words, and hard arguments; He could not endure, so much as in private, to hear his adversaries reproached, and if any in his presence used disgracefull speeches of them, he would sharply reprove them for it, saying, That it's a Christians duty to pray for, and not to reproach his adversaries; and when *Martin Mar-Prelates* Book came forth, he shewed much dislike of the *Satyrical* and tart language used therein. His meekness.

He was also very humble, not enduring to hear any thing spoken in his own commendation, or any titles given him, which in the least measure favoured of ambition; He affected not popularity, but avoided it as much as possibly he could. His humility.

Indeed all his ambition was to advance the Kingdom and cause of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and to promote Gods glory. It was the great joy and rejoycing of his heart to hear of the welfare and prosperity of the Churches at home and abroad; for this he earnestly and daily prayed; and when he heard any ill tydings, with *Nehemiah*, he sat down and mourned, and fasted, and prayed before the God of Heaven; so that all that conversed with him, might easily discern that nothing did affect him in any degree, like the good or ill tydings of the Churches state. His sympathy with the Church.

He was frequent in Prayer every day, and in his younger years hath risen many times in the night to seek out private places to pray in. And as his labours were very great in the work of the Ministry, so it pleased the Lord to make them very successfull for the conversion and confirmation of many, and for terrour and restraint unto others. His frequency in Prayer.

There was a woollen Draper, in *Warwick*, who made a Profession of Religion, but many times brake out into scandalous practices; Master *Cartwright* on a time walking with him in his Garden, dealt plainly and faithfully with him, rebuking him for his miscarriages, and shewing him the dishonour that he brought to God, and the Gospel thereby; This so wrought upon him, that he presently sunk down, and being carried home, died within a few hours after. The success of his Ministry. A remarkable judgment upon a loose Professor.

In his old age, he was much troubled with the stone and gout, which much impaired his strength, yet would he not intermit his labours, but continued preaching when many times he could scarce creep up into the Pulpit. The *Sabbath*, before his death, which was the last Sermon that he made, December the 25. he preached upon *Eccles. 12. 7. Then shall the dust return to the earth, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it.* The morning before his death, which was the Tuesday following, he was two hours on his knees in private Prayer: in which (as he told his Wife) he found wonderfull and unutterable joy and comfort, God giving him a glimpse of heaven before he came to it, and within a few houres after he quietly resigned up his spirit unto God, December the 27. Anno Christi, 1603. His last Sermon. Joy unspeakable.

## The Life of Master Paul Baines.

His Death. 1603. And of his Age sixty eight. Master *Dod* Preached his Funeral Sermon.

During his abode in the University, he was of great Power and Credit in the Regent-House, so that the Doctors feared lest the Precisians (as they were then called) should choose him Vice-Chancellor, whereupon they procured the alteration of the Statute, whereby the Choice was formerly in the Regent-House; and confined the Election of the Vice-Chancellor to one of those two whom the Heads should prick.

After long discontinuance Master *Cartwright* coming to *Cambridge*, was importuned to Preach on a Week day in Saint *Maries*, where there was a great Confluence of all sorts to hear him; Grave men ran like Boys in the Streets to get places in the Church. After Sermon he dined at Master *Chaddertons*, and many went to the House to see and hear him speak.



## The Life of Master Paul Baines, who dyed Anno Christi 1617.

His Birth,  
and Educa-  
tion.



*Paul Baines* was born in *London*, and had his Education in his younger Years at *Withersfield* in *Essex*, under one Master *Cosens*, his School-master, from whence, being fitted for it, he was sent to the University of *Cambridge*, and admitted into *Christs-Colledge*, where his Conversation at first was so irregular, that his Father, being grieved at it, before his death, being intimately acquainted with one Master *Wilson* a Sales-man in *Birchin-lane*, he left with him forty Pounds by the year,

His Fathers desiring him, that if his Sonne did forsake his evil courses, and become an Prudence. honest man, he would then give him that fourty Pounds *per annum*, if not, that he would never let him have it.

His conversion. But it pleased God, not long after his Fathers decease, to shew him his finnes, and to work effectual Repentance in him for the evil of his waies; so that forsaking his former evil company and practices, he became eminent for Piety and Holiness, and according to that of our Saviour, *Much being forgiven him, he loved much*. After which gracious change wrought in him by the goodness of God, it was not long before Master *Wilson* fell dangerously sick, and hearing how God had dealt with Master *Baines*, he sent for him, and desired him to pray with him, by which as also by his savoury discourse, finding that what he had heard of him rather came short of the truth than exceeded it, according to that trust reposed in him, perceiving

Mr. Wilsons fidelity-

himself to be upon his death-bed, he told Master *Baines* of the fourty Pounds *per annum*, which his Father left with him, and so faithfully delivered up to him those Writings of the Agreement which had passed betwixt his Father and him; and being like to leave behind him a Wife and two Children, he intreated Master *Baines*, that as he had faithfully and carefully dis-

charged



charged his trust towards him; so when God should take him away hence, that he would have a care of his Wife and Children, and be a Friend to them. And Master *Baines*, after Master *Wilson's* death, that he might fully discharge that trust which was reposed in him, and also by way of Gratitude for that Friendship and Fidelity, which he had found in Master *Wilson*, married his Widdow.

Mr. *Baines*  
his Grati-  
tude.

But before this, for his eminency in Learning, he was chosen Fellow in *Christ's* Colledge, where he so much (through Gods blessing on his studies and endeavours) improved his time, and talents, that he became inferiour to none for sharpnesse of Wit, variety of Reading, depth of Judgment, aptnesse to Teach, Holy and pleasant Language, wise Carriage, heavenly Conversation, and all other fulness of Grace. By his holy Life and Conversation also he did largely Preach to all such as came neer unto him: And for the Heavenly Frame of his Spirit, what it was, his incomparable Writings will sufficiently Demonstrate to all Future Generations.

He is cho-  
sen Fellow

When Master *Perkins*, who was Lecturer at Saint *Andrews* in *Cambridge*, had there for many years held forth a burning and shining Light, the Sparks whereof did fly abroad into all the Corners of the Kingdom, and after he had served in his Generation, was taken up into Heaven, there was none found so meet to receive, as it were, the Torch out of his Hand, and succeed him in that great Office of bearing it before such a people, as Master *Baines*, upon whom also the Spirit of that *Elias* was by experience found to be doubled. In which Station he so demeaned himself for some years, that impiety only had cause to complain. But all that favoured the wayes of God, or favoured of Religion, rejoyced, and gloried in him and his Ministry, as in a Spiritual and Heavenly Treasure.

He is cho-  
sen Lectu-  
rer.

Sometime after Master *Baines* was silenced, yet preached sometimes where he might have liberty, and as the weakness of his Body would suffer. The rest of his time he spent in Reading, Writing, Meditation, and Prayer, saving that upon occasion, he instructed and comforted those that came to him in private, wherein he had a very happy and heavenly Gift. He was indeed all his Life after pressed with want, not having (as he often complained to his Friends) a place to rest his Head in. Yet did he never so much as consult with himself about his denying his sincerity, and complying with the Bishops, of whom, and their courtes, he was wont to say, *They are a Generation of the Earth, earthly, and savour not the Ways of God.*

His pain-  
fulness and  
piety.  
And pover-  
ty.

Whilst he lived a private Life, his Wife died, and being Thunder struck by the Bishops bolt, he had time and leasure to apply his able Wit and Judgment, about the discussing of many Questions, which if the Prelates had not forced such leasure upon him, it may be, he would have passed by with others.

He was of such an holy and heavenly Temper, that he was revered by all good Men that knew him. His manner was in the Summer-time, to go from one Gentlemans house to another, and happy were they that could get his Company. He had such a Divine and Heavenly Majesty in his Countenance, that it would awe any man to look upon him. Little Recreation he used, but sometimes to play at Chess.

Once he was called by Bishop *Harsnet*, to the Councel-Table, the Bishop having laid a designe, to suspend and banish him under the pretence of keeping Conventicles, the Reason whereof was this. He was an excellent *Casist*, and thereupon many doubting Christians repaired to him for satisfaction in cases of Conscience, which the Bishops would needs have to be keeping of Conventicles. When he was accused hereof before the Privy-Councel, one of the Noble-Men said to him, Speak, speak for your self: Whereupon he made such an excellent Speech, that in the midst thereof, a Noble-Man stood up and said, He speaks more like an Angel than

The Bi-  
shops ma-  
lice.

Gods Pro-  
vidence.

than a Man, and I dare not stay here to have a hand in any Sentence against him; upon which Speech they dismissed him, and he never heard more from them.

His faithfulness and prudence.

Upon a time he went to the House of Mistress *Sheafe* who was his VVives Sister, at *Cranbrook* in *Kent*; were observing that she, and others of the Family used to play much at Cards, and such like Games, as the Custom was, and still is too much used in Gentlemens Houses, he took occasion on the *Sabbath* Day in his Sermon to speak against such Games: And it pleased the Lord so to work upon Mistress *Sheafes* Heart by that Sermon, that when she came home, she came crying to him, saying, Oh Brother, Why would you thus suffer me to live in Sin, to the dishonour of God, and would never tell me of it before? To which he replied, that it was best of all that God had wrought on her by the publick Ministry, and that it might not have been so well if he had spoken to her in private.

His Character by Dr. *Sibbs*.

He was a Man of much Communion with God, and acquaintance with his own Heart, observing the daily passages of his Life; and was much exercised with spiritual Conflicts, whereby he became the more able to Comfort others with the same Consolations which himself had received from God. He had a deep insight into the Mystery of Gods Grace and Mans Corruption, as appears by his Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*. He was one that fought not after great matters in the VVorld, being taken up with Comforts and Griefes, unto which the VVorld is a Stranger. One that had not all his Learning out of Books: Of a sharp VVitt, and clear Judgement. So that though his Meditations were of an higher Strain than ordinary, yet he had a good dexterity, furthered by his love to do good, in explaining dark points with lightsome Similitudes.

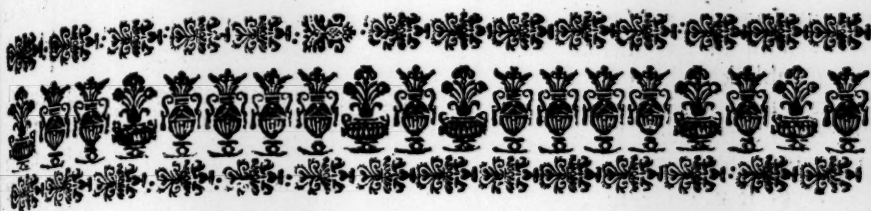
His Prayer in his Family was not usually above a quarter of an hour long; and having Respect to the VVweakness, and Infirmities of his Servants and Children, he used to dissuade others from tediousness in that Duty.

It pleased God to make him an Instrument of the Conversion of that Holy and eminent Servant of Jesus Christ Doctor *Sibbs*.

The manner of his Death.

In his last Sicknes he had many Doubts and Feares, and God letting Satan loose upon him, he went out of this VVorld, with far lesse Comfort than many weaker Christians enjoy. He resigned up his Spirit into the hands of God, in *Cambridge*, *Anno Chri. 1617*.





*The Life and Death of Master William Bradshaw, who dyed  
Anno Christi, 1618.*



T hath from time to time been the lot of divers persons of singular VVorth, and eminent Parts, that they have lived in obscurity, and in a low condition, and past their time without that due respect, and regard, which their excellent endowments might justly have claimed; partly through the shortness of outward supplies; (for, *they get not up easily, though never so well deserving, that are scanted in that kind*) partly by reason of an inward bashfulnesse, and over-awing modesty, accompanied with an undervaluing repute of themselves, and their own Abilities; and partly through the iniquity of the Times, wherein they have lived, and the disaffection of those who have swayed most in the State and Government under which they have resided. Such was the condition of that worthy and faithful servant of the Lord, Master *William Bradshaw*, though a man richly endowed, as well with such spiritual Graces, as in Truth are of highest esteem, being peculiar to Gods Favourites, that have interest in his Christ, as with such Gifts and Parts also, as might, and did render him useful and instrumental for the publick good of Gods People; yet never enjoying any plentiful condition; howsoever never prone to complain of want; nor forward at any time, or in any place to put himself forth, as having ever a very low and mean conceit of his own Parts, and admiring in others; what his own Eye either could not descry; or would not take notice of (howsoever to others conspicuous enough) in himself; and being never suffered to continue long quiet in any settled place of more publick Employment, through the envy and malice of some that had a jealous Eye on him, and the disturbances of him in the work of his Ministry, set on foot by others ill-affected towards him, but accreving from the same, pursued by some of those, who were of greater Power and Authority in *Ecclesiastical* affairs, and could not brook any, that did not in all particulars comply with them and their courses, as they conceived him not to do.

He was born at *Bosworth*, a Market-Town in *Leicestershire*, famous for the *Buwell* fought near to it, wherein that bloody Usurper, *Richard* the third lost his Crown, (attained by the unnatural murder of his two Nephews in their Non-Age,) together with his Life. His Father *Nicolas Bradshaw*, His Parents, though descended from an ancient Family of the *Bradshaws* in *Lancashire*, with the Crest of whose Coar therefore being a *Buck-bronzing*, this our Brother used to Seal; yet living but in a mean Condition, and being not so well able therefore to Train this his Son up in Learning as he desired, an Uncle that he had at *Worcester* undertook the Education of him; wether being *Master* of the *Free-school* there, as some have supposed, or of some other Profession; as some others conjecture: For that he hath been heard

His Education at *Worcester*.

His return  
to Bosworth.

Gods Pro-  
vidence in  
providing  
for him.

His going to  
Cambridge.

Admitted  
into Emma-  
nuel Col-  
ledge.

His Dili-  
gence in his  
Studies.

to report, that Master *William May*, (who was sometime by the Turkey Merchants employed at *Aleppo*, and afterward lived and ended his Days in or about *London*, a Man of more than ordinary Skill in the Learned Languages, and in Exposition of Scripture very accurate and Exact) was Teacher in a publick School at *Worcester*, while he lived there; relating withal, what a neat man he then was, howsoever in his after-dayes he grew Cy-nically sordid, and by his uncouth deportment and jealous disposition, made himself nothing so useful to others, as otherwise he might have been. But however it was for his Uncles Profession, under him (who by some Relations of his, may not improbably be deemed to have been a *Scrivener* or public-like *Notary*) he was brought up and kept at School, until it pleased God to bereave him of this Support by his Death. After whose Decease, returning home to his Father at *Bosworth*, he was enforced, though very much against his mind and desire, to intermit the prosecution of his Studies in Literature for some space of time.

His Father now designing him to some other course of life out of despair of maintaining him in a way so chargeable, as his means, being not large, would not reach unto; especially having other Children, three Sons and two Daughters to provide for, besides him. But while the disposal of him hung thus in suspense, it pleased the Lord (who is wont to have a more speciall Providence over those, whom in his secret purpose he hath fore-design'd unto the work of his Ministry, to have them fitted for the same) to stir up the spirit of one Master *Ainsworth*, a man of much worth, then School-Master at *Ashby de la Zouch* in *Leicestershire* to divert his Parents purpose of disposing him to any other employment. For by his favour, (having taken notice of his capacity, industry, eager desire of farther progresse in good literature, fitnessse of disposition to be wrought upon to that purpose, and by some buds sprouting out from such seeds thereof as had already been sown in him, conceiving good hopes of such future fruits, as did accordingly ensue) he was taken into the *Free-School* there; where he so profited, and made so successfull a proceed, that after a years continuance, being then about eighteen years of age, he was deemed sufficiently fitted and furnished for the University; and in the year 1589. was, together with that worthy man of great renown, *Joseph Hall*, afterwards Bishop of *Exeter*, then of *Norwich*, and *Hugh Cholmeley*, (who had both been trained up in the same Schooll with him, and did continue also afterward a kinde affection to him, and friendly correspondence with him) he was admitted into *Emmanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*; where with them also he followed his studies under the tuition of that reverend Divine Master *Gilbie*, then Fellow of that Colledge; being there maintained, partly by the allowance of some Gentlemen his fellow-pupils under the same Tutor, and partly by some supplies afforded him from two noble Knights of the honourable house of the *Hastings*, Sir *Edward* and Sir *Francis*, (on the latter of whom his Father also had some dependence) upon the recommendation, and at the motion of that worthy servant of God, now with God, Master *Arthur Hildersham* who was himself also allied to that Family.

In the Colledge with these supports he continued, husbanding his time to the best advantage, with an abundant blessing of God upon his sedulous endeavours, to a clear evidence of large improvement, manifesting it self in such schollerly exercises, as his time and place there required (in the performance whereof speciall notice was taken of him, as an acute and eager disputant) untill he had taken both *Degrees*, first that of *Bachelor*, and after that of *Master of Arts*. But then, being not capable of a *Fellowship* in that Colledge, for that the *Statutes* of the *House* admitted not above one of the same *Shire*, and of that one for *Leicester-shire* Master *Joseph Hall* before-mentioned, being of the same time and standing with him, was already possessed; and having refused a *Vicarage*, endowed with some competent



petent yearly revenue, by that Noble Knight Sir *Edward Hastings* one of his Patrons tendered him, not daring yet to adventure on a work of that nature; Master *Laurence Chaderton* then Master of the Colledge, and the first from the very foundation of it, bearing a singular affection to Master *Bradshaw*, as well for his parts of learning, as for his pious deportment, but being unable for that cause above-mentioned to bring him in there, cast about with himself, how to procure a place, and get some employment for him else-where.

Dr. Chaderton's care for him.

Some years before, that right Honourable and thrice Noble Lady *Frances Sidney*, Countesse of *Suffex*, had by her last Will and Testament given order for the erecting and endowing of a Colledge in *Cambridge*, to be furnished with a certain number of *Fellows* and *Scholars* under one Master or Head.

Sidney Colledge built.

The Colledge was now in building, by the provision of the Right Honourable the *Earl of Kent*, and Sir *John Harrington*, instructed by her for the performance of that work; and Master *James Mountague* Sonne to Sir *Edward Mountague*, then living as *Fellow-Commoner*, but *Student* in *Divinity*, among the *Fellows* of *Christs Colledge*, was designed for Master. With him dealt Master *Chaderton* in Master *Bradshaws* behalf, To have him set down for a *Fellows* place there: which through his Mediation was from those Noble *Trustees* without difficulty obtained. But because some space of time would runne out, ere the building of the Colledge could be consummated and made fit for receipt; it was thought good in the interim, to dispose of Mr. *Bradshaw* for some employment elsewhere, untill he might be settled there. It fell out (God so disposing it) that Sir *Thomas Leighton* Governour of *Guernsey*, wanting one to be employed about the instruction and education of his children, and having requested that worthy servant of Christ Master *Cartwright*, abiding then at *Cornet-Castle* with him, to write unto Master *Chaderton*, to furnish them with one fit for such a charge; this Letter of Master *Cartwrights* arrived with Master *Chaderton* in that juncture of time, wherein he and Master *Montague* had this businesse in agitation about Master *Bradshaw*: and the matter being by them broken to him, who referred himself wholly to what they should advise, it was joyntly agreed, that Master *Bradshaw* should be sent, or lent rather, unto them, to undertake that charge, and continue in the discharge of it, untill the Colledge building were compleated, wherein upon return thence he was then to reside.

Thither therefore without delay, being furnished with Letters of recommendation from those here to them there, he addrested himself; and, through Gods goodnesse, arriving safe there, he was with all kinde and courteous entertainment by them received. By this occasion he became thoroughly known to, and inwardly acquainted with Master *Cartwright*, who highly esteemed of him, and renewed or pursued rather his acquaintance with him, after both Master *Bradshaws*: and his own return also into *England*, (as may appear by entercourse of Letters yet to be seen, written by him to Master *Bradshaw*, while he stayed behind him in *Guernsey*, and from *Warwick* also after his departure from thence) and to his dying day continued expressions of entire affection to him, and due respect of him, as also both before and after his decease, his Children, both Sonne and Daughters, and those that they were matched unto, and his Widow also, did.

His journey into Guernsey.

And indeed such was his demeanure, wheresoever he came, that he left behind him a gratefull memory of him, in the hearts and minds of all well affected, that had occasion to take notice of it; not unlike therein to musk or civet, that leave a sweet scent behind them, even for a long time after they be gone, in the Boxes wherein they were formerly kept; the which continued after his departure thence, not among the *French* Ministers alone in that Island, but among such also of the old *Garrison* Souldiers, on whom

Mr. Cartwrights love to him.

Master Cartwrights Ministry had some efficacious and gracious work; Who, as Sir Peter Osburn, who had afterward the government of that place, hath been heard to relate, would be oft talking of one Master Bradshaw, that had lived sometime there, and speak with much affection of him.

His carriage in his place.

His return to Cambridge. Mr Cartwrights commendation of him

But for his constant carriage during his abode there, his piety, industry, integrity, fidelity in discharge of the trust reposed in him, and charge committed to him, together with his course of life and conversation otherwise unreprieveable; as also the love and affection to him, earnest desire, if it might have been, of his continuance with them, and loathness to leave him, with these, who were, after some time spent among them there, then, to part with him; all these things will by no means better appear, then by the Letters of Master Thomas Cartwright, and the relations concerning him therein contained, being written and directed to divers in these parts, either neer upon, or at Master Bradshaws departure from thence,

Among others, in one to Sir Francis Hastings of September the fifth 1598. wherein he assures him of his diligence in following his studies, and of his sharp and ready capacity, likely through Gods blessing to bring forth such fruit of Learning, as he might have good cause to rejoyce over any cost that he had been at with him, or should farther bestow that way on him; as also, of his love to the best things, and his conversation in the Family without reproach, for ought he could learn, having had an eye constantly on him. In another to Master Chaderton of December the fifth, (the time, it seems of his departure thence) wherein he thankfully acknowledgeth the great benefit they had received by Master Bradshaw, procured by him to take so long and painfull a journey to them, and his wise and loving care in so good provision for them; returning thanks also to him, from Sir Thomas Leyghon the Governour, and his Honourable Lady for him; and withall requesting him, that they may once again taste of his accustomed love and care in that kind.

And in another yet more fully of the same date to Master Mountague in these words; *The Law commandeth, that of things borrowed great care should be had for the well usage and due restoring of them. Both which we have endeavoured in Master Bradshaw: But the full performance must rest rather in yours and his acceptation, then in pay. For as touching the former of them, his desert of care to profit those committed to his charge, and his Behaviour otherwise in the house, hath been more then every one is able to esteem, and therefore in all respects not so fit to reward. For the other, (unless unwilling parting with him on all hands be against duty) you shall (we hope in the Lord) have him duly restored; Out of all doubt with all thankfulness to your Worship, by whose kindness, both we have enjoyed him some good time, since you of right might have taken him away, and he hath received a supply of recompence for that we were not able to make good unto him. And so with hearty thanks and commendations from the Governour and his Honourable Lady, and my humble thanks for your love; and this fruit I have received thereof by Master Bradshaw, I commend you to the gracious keeping and blessing of God in Jesus Christ. Unto this Letter Master Mountague now Master of the Colledge, upon Master Bradshaws access thither, returneth answer, both thanking him, for the reminding of him to them; (so that on no side thanks for him were wanting, so well was he esteemed of on either part) and withall advertising him of a very great danger, and no lesse deliverance, that neer unto his journeyes end had betided him.*

His gracious deliverance in his return.

Whereunto Master Cartwright in a Letter of March 7. the same year thus replieth; *Sir, It cometh from the abundance of your love, to thank me for that which duty it self required at my hands towards Master Bradshaw, and therefore the thanks are returned unto you, who esteem so highly of duty; as to let it go in the account of a Benefit or good turn. My hope is the same with yours,*



your, that the Lord, who by deliverance of him from so great a death, bindeth him to a straighter obedience, hath set such an impression of it in his mind, as will be in stead of a watch to waken him every morning to all cheerfull service, which his place will require. And indeed the Letter he wrote of that matter, carrieth that sound, and even undertakes so much in his behalf. And in one to Master Bradshaw himself, after receipt of that from him, touched upon in the close foregoing; That the Lord our most mercifull Father delivered you from so great a death, it pledges unto you deliverances hereafter, especially if they be inferiour to this. So much the rather, as the swimmer sunk like a piece of lead, and he that could no more swim then the Iron-head of the Scholars hatches, was graciously born up: and therefore by how much the Proverb is true *יְהוָה בְּאֵן מַיִם יִשְׁעֶה אֶתְּךָ*, by so much we have cause to praise God, that by the Angel of the waters saved you: And withall you may help to encourage others against the excessive fear of drowning in passing the Seas: Seeing it was more safe to you to passe the winter-Seas, even when they rage most, then the small brook of Hawston-Mills. I remembred you to Sir Thomas and my Lady, who told me, that if any entertainment would have holden you, they would not have suffered you to have gone from them; and rejoyced much at your gracious escape. Subscribed, Your assured loving Brother and Friend, Thomas Cartwright.

The Escape in those Letters mentioned was this: Master Bradshaw being to leave Guernsey, shipped himself for England. Nor was his passage by Sea wholly free from hazard, for with so violent a storm were they surprized at Sea, that the Passengers most of them expected nothing but wrack, and a Gentlewoman among them, with another, whom she much affected attending upon her, did in a cord, by the waste, fasten themselves either to other, that they might perish together, and draw their last breath, or breath it out rather, in the mutuall embraces either of other. But that storm being allayed, and the danger of it over, and the Ship with her Passengers now arrived in safety, Master Bradshaw having attained London, did there hire a Hackney, such as are commonly used on that Road, to convey him to Cambridge, there to enter upon the Fellowship prepared for him, and assigned unto him; by help of which Beast, he got so far on his way in safety, that he was now within three miles of his journeys end. But danger oft lieth in wait for us, where we least of all either expect or suspect it; and then many times overtakes, and surprizeth us unawares, when we deem our selves wholly past danger, and are neer approaching our intended, much desired, and now fully expected Port, and have alwaies need therefore both of an eye of Providence constantly on us, and of an hand of Protection continually over us.

For being there to passe a small Brook crossing the road near to a Village called Hawston, and the Water-mills seated on it, thence Hawston-Mills; he that had escaped so eminent that apparent a danger at Sea, lighten on, and fell into that unexpectedly, and proved much more hazardous on land, where no appearance was of ought in that kind: For being unacquainted with the course of the stream, otherwise passed ordinarily, and that daily without danger, and having not fetched a compasse far enough, as he ought to have done, the Beast that bare him plunged suddainly into the Mill-pond, or pit; and being not able to recover it self, therein perished, and there left him floating in a strong vertiginous current, unskilfull in swimming, (nor had any such skill in likelihood been available in such a case to have saved him) and altogether unable to shift for himself; where he must of necessity have gone the same way with the Beast, had not either some one occasionally looking out of the Mill, or some Passenger on the way, espoying one floating in that manner, and at the very pinch of perishing, called hastily on the Miller, or those next at hand to let slip down the Flood-gates; by means whereof the stiffe current of the water-course was stayed, and this Servant of

Gods special Providence over him.

A Miracle of mercy.

God,

God, though not without much difficulty, rescued out of the water, and delivered unexpectedly out of that his, in a manner, even desperate distresse.

And it may indeed justly be deemed a wonder of wonders, (in regard whereof that venerable Minister of *Christ* before-mentioned, seems to have apprehended the ministry of an *Angel* used in it) that he was not suddainly in an instant, either swallowed up in that whirling gulf, or hurried away with the violent course of the current, and that he should bear up and keep above water, so long in a place of that nature. For he hath been heard to relate, that while he continued thus floating and struggling with that wheeling surface, it troubled him not a little, that he could not address himself as he desired to prepare for his departure, though having nothing but death in his eye, while his ear was taken up with the voice of some talking in the Mill, from whom he supposed yet some help might come, though neither was he able to call unto them, nor they to hear him.

Thus even *Gods Children themselves find a defect oft in themselves, that they cannot with such an exact composure of spirit, in times of desires address themselves unto God, untill he have pulled away all outward prosperity, as well hopes, as helps from them.* But being by a special providence of God thus recovered: and as another *Moses* drawn out of the water, and brought into the Millers house, he was there shifted, and put into such dry apparell, as the Miller himself used to wear, in which Garb when some of his Acquaintance found him, who upon Tydings of this occurrent, came posting over to him from *Cambridge*, they could not forbear smiling to see him sitting in that Habit, though not a litle affected with the casualty occasioning it. and no less heartily gladdened for the gracious Issue that God hath pleased to afford it, and expressing much thankfulness for his Mercy and goodness therein manifested. The Lord it may seem would hereby fit this his Servant relieved to other hot and hazardous services, unto a farther and firmer dependance in and under them upon him.

But thus his Horse lost, (which to the Carrier its owner, as by his default miscarrying, requiring it, was made good) being after his Escape and recovery somewhat revived and refreshed, and fitted again with a wonted Suit, he was with some of those his acquaintance accompaied to *Cambridge*, and repaired to the Colledge; where having presented himself to the *Master*, he was entertained in the Chamber of one of the *Fellows*, that assigned him, being not yet fit to receive him, (as indeed they came all to very raw Chambers at first) and the use of that offered him, untill his own could be fitted and furnished for him: which being his first entertainment there, albeit but a sorry courtesie to speak of, yet did so affect him, as upon occasion, to some of his familiar friends he afterward professed, (of so ingenuous and gratefull a disposition he was, and so prone with thankfulness to acknowledge, and to set an high rate on the least kindnesse shewed him, or meanest Office done for him) that it laid the ground-work, or first stone thereof at least with him, for such an Union of inward and entire affection, and well fastned knot of unreserved familiarity and strictest friendship, as did afterward ensue between them two; and so continued, not only while they abode in the Colledge together, by a mutual communication of their Studies, Counsels, Courses, and purposes either to other; but even after also, when through distance of abode they were severed the one from the other, by a constant course of Vicissitudinary writing, therein advising either with other, and discussing mutually such questions and doubts, wherewith either of them were occasionally encountered; by means whereof they received much help and light either from other, and albeit in some particulars either not so clear, or not so cleared to their joynr apprehensions, their judgement might, and did sometime differ, (which having on occasion professed to a Friend, desiring to know their joynr

He is admitted Fellow in Sidney Colledge.

His Gratitude.

Mr. Gataker.



judgment in a case then questioned; and seeming to marvell that they should be of divers minds in ought, he made answer, that it was no wonder at all, it might rather be wondred, considering mans condition in intellectual, so impaired and clouded, that any two seriously set upon the search of truth, (should not in many particular cases dissent; yea that if in every particularity they should wholly concur, it might seem to savour rather of a cunningly contrived compact or conspiracy, than a reall and rational consent) yet whereby force of argument they seemed convict, or any mistake manifested; they were ready to yeeld, and did indeed in not a few things, come home either to either, unto their mutual much advantage; nor did their remaining differences ever produce any breach, or abatement of affection between them, but that the knot once knit, from the first to the last, continued firm and inviolate, never loosed nor slackned, so long as God was pleased to lengthen out the time of his life.

His Humility.

His inviolable friendship.

In the Colledge he so demeaned himself, that though the Fellows were not all of one mind, or one way, and there were among them (as usually in societies of that nature) men of divers dispositions, and sub-divisions consequently of companies, consisting of such as more familiarly consorted, and more inwardly conversed with some few, whom, Selected from the rest, they most affected; yet so loving and lowly, yeelding to all, and complying with all, was his carriage, that notwithstanding he were by some deemed over-trieth, and would freely as occasion was, speak his mind, and deliver his judgement, yet he retained ever the professed, at least, good liking, and external kind usage from them all: Where it will not be amisse to relate a speech of one of them, (a man by occasion of some discontents strongly and strangely possessed with a spirit of jealousy and suspiciousness of every one, even his inwardest and entirest friends, which in the end proved his overthrow) who having entertained a conceit, that something spoken by Master Bradshaw in a dispute should have a glance closely at somewhat that concerned him, and having discovered that his suspicion to a common bofome Friend of them both, (by whom also upon disclose of that groundless conceit, he was evidently convinced of his error therein) he used these words of him, *Although I am sure, he had a gird at me, yet the man is of so kind and loving disposition, that I could not be angry with him, though he had broken my head.* But I cannot let passe one remarkable Instance that may evidently manifest in him a due temper (which is not over-frequently found) of freedom of spirit, and discreet demeanure, wisely mixed, and well consistent the one with the other.

His prudent and winning Carriage.

During his abode in Guernsey, a Question was on foot, among Divines, of special note, on either side yet in debate, concerning the lawfulness of some pecuniary contracts, wherein Master Cartwright having by writing declared his mind, in way of answer to some arguments objected against it: Master Bradshaw being required by him freely to discover his judgement therein, and seriously to consider of that his answer, albeit of himself he would not have adventured to undertake such a task; yet being so put upon it, he did it freely and largely, with as much strength of wit and argument, (it may not without ground be deemed) as any have done, that have hitherto dealt on that subject; and yet so discreetly and respectfully managing the business, that although being then of a contrary judgement, he used his best forces, and strongest endeavours to shake and shatter Master Cartwrights grounds, yet did it not breed any breach, between them, nor did it (that could be discerned) lessen Master Cartwrights either affection to him, or esteem of him; which from time to time, as occasion was, and as in part hath already been shewed, he was ever ready to expresse. Howbeit it must withall for a truth be acknowledged, that Master Bradshaw, howsoever in the Colledge performing a Divinity Problem, as they term it, did still stiffly maintain that his former denial.

His Prudence.

His self-Tenet

Tenet; yet upon farther consideration in his latter dayes, he is known to have altered his judgement therein.

He enters  
into the Ministry.

His im-  
ployment at  
Abington.

And at  
Steeple-  
Morden.

The occasi-  
on of his  
first trouble.

While he stayed in the *Colledge*, that he might with more freedom employ that talent that the Lord had committed unto him, he entred into the Ministry; the rather advised (as some other also were) so to do, while admission was yet more easie, and the way of entrance lesse obstructed; in regard of some things, which out of diversity of judgement, and tenderness of conscience he take stuck at; then was by prudent men, observing how State busineses began to be carried, deemed like to last long. And at the motion of one Master *Pigot*, a religious Gentleman residing at *Abington* about eight miles from *Cambridge*, he rode weekly over thither, there to preach every *Lords-Day* for some good space of time; joyning also in a weekly *Lecture* as he had opportunity, with some other neighbour Ministers, at a greater Town called *Basingborn* not farre thence distant. Afterward he was drawn over to *Steeple Morden* in the same shire, by one Master *Martin*, an ingenuous Gentleman, who enjoying the appropriation, entertained him as a *Lecturer*, in regard of the infirmity of the party that was possessed of the *Vicarage*.

But while he was thus taken up with employments abroad, there arose a storm against him at home, and that upon this occasion. About that time two *Lecestershire* Ministers of his acquaintance, Master *Darrel* and Master *Moore*, being questioned about the dispossession of *William Somers* and *Thomas Darling*, (besides some others) supposed to be by evil spirits possessed; the one of them, to wit, *Darling* stood stiffely in avowing the truth of the thing, and refused to acknowledge any deceit or collusion therein; yea though many slights were used to induce him thereunto, and Letters forged and tendered to him in Master *Darrells* name, as beginning to grow somewhat suspicious of the businesse, yet nothing could prevail with him; But the other, to wit, *Somers*, being in like manner dealt with, and enticed by large Promises of such provision to be made for him, that he should be sure not to want, nor should need to go down into his Countrey again, was perswaded to accuse Master *Darrell* to have set him on work, and taught him how to act sundry strange feats and gestures, whereby he might be deemed to be a *Demoniac*.

Whereupon some of the Bishops, *London* especially, in whose house the boyes had been kept apart, eagerly pursuing the businesse, the two Ministers were cited into the *High Commission Court*, and there being charged with imposture, were suspended and imprisoned untill further cognizance, and Master *Hafnet* [*Londons* Chaplain] mean while set on work to pen and publish a virulent Pamphlet against Master *Darrell*, traducing him therein as a *Grand Impostour and Fugler*, and the whole action about the possession and dispossession of *William Somers*, as a meer *Puppet-play*. Hence Master *Darrell* thus traduced, was enforced to write and publish something for the defence of himself, and clearing of his guiltlesness herein; and so did first in a briefer *Narrative* concerning the manner of their proceedings with him, entituled his *Trial*, and afterward in a larger *Answer to Hafnet*, in way of farther *Apology* for himself. Of these Books some Copies being sent down to *Cambridge*, were directed to Master *Bradshaw*, and a parcell of them by him delivered to one *Underwood* a Taylor, who dispersed of them as well in the *Colledge* as in the *Town*. Intimation hereof being given to Bishop *Bancroft* at *London*, that such Books were in divers hands at *Cambridge*, he writes to the *Vice-chancellor* to make diligent enquiry after the dispersers of them. He lights on *Underwood* whom upon examination, confessing that he had received a certain number of them from Master *Bradshaw*, he bindeth him in a bond to appear upon warning before the *High Commission*, and chargeth him withall not to give notice of ought to Master *Bradshaw*.



The next morning by seven of the Clock Letters came from the Vice-Chancellor to the Master of the Colledge, requiring him at eight of the clock to repair unto him, and to bring Master Bradshaw with him. About the same time that these Letters came to the Master, an unknown Scholar repairing to Mr. Bradshaws Chamber, telleth him, that Underwood was in trouble, and he should do well to look to himself. Master Bradshaw upon these rydings thus brought him, went presently to Mr. Wright the Senior Fellow of the house, to ask advice of him what to do in this case: He wished him to withdraw himself, and withall, directed him to Grantham Town about Nine Miles distant from Cambridge, as a fit place of retire, where one Master Castle, a Gentleman well affected, and Master Wrights Brother-in-Law, he well knew, would be right willing to receive him. But Master Bradshaw resolved first to have an assay made by some other, whereby it might be discovered, what the Masters mind herein was. Hereupon Master Ward was sent for, who being requested to break the matter to the Master, was right-willing and ready to undertake that Office. The Master meanwhile upon receipt of the Vice-chancellours Letter, had sent his man presently to enquire for Master Bradshaw at Master Gatakers Chamber; which in his absence then discontinuing, he had the charge of, and kept most in, being more convenient than his own; He not finding him there, was returned back, just as Master Ward came in to the Master: Who upon his repair to him, having but named Master Bradshaw, the Master, before he could deliver any part of his errand, demandeth of him where Master Bradshaw was, and saith he must speak with him. Master Ward told him, *It was not safe for Master Bradshaw to come to him, because he was in danger of the Vice-Chancellor.* The Master replied, *That therefore he must come; for that he had Letters from the Vicechancellor to bring him presently to him.* Which Letters while he stept into his closet to fetch, that he might shew them to him, Master Ward, a fast and true-hearted friend, more carefull of Master Bradshaws safety, than fearfull of the Masters displeasure, and his own danger, stayed not the Masters return, but slipt away with all speed to acquaint Mr. Bradshaw how things stood. The Master at his return missing Master Ward, was exceedingly enraged against him, and threatened to punish him, by setting a deep fine for example upon him. But the hour being now elapsed, which the Vicechancellor had set, the Master wrote back to him, that Master Bradshaw could not as yet be found. Master Bradshaw hereof advertised, albeit that all his friends there, were earnest with him to withdraw, yet for the present refused, and requested Master Wright to repair to the Master, that by him he might understand from him, what his resolute will was, which he purposed not to withstand. Master Wright, according to his request, repairing to the Master, found him in much heat: no nay he would have, but Master Bradshaw must needs go, it would else endanger him, and endanger the Colledge, &c. Master Bradshaw informed hereof by Master Wright, not at all fearing to suffer in a good and just cause, as hee deemed it to be, and no less loath to have any other endangered, or endangered for him, (notwithstanding that his friends were all utterly against it) without farther dispute or delay, went presently to the Master, and presented himself to him; who entertaining him with hot and high terms, the good man answered him in a calm and meek manner, that he had no cause to be so much offended with him, or incensed against him; he knew not of any such Commission that he had, when he sent at first to him; but sent only to him for counsell in that case; deeming it better for him to do it by some other rather than by himself; and being loath to come into trouble in these turbulent times: (for the Earl of Essex his business was then on foot) and that so soon as he understood his pleasure, he readily condescended thereunto. The Master thereupon charged him by the authority of his place, to bring him all Master Darrels Books, that he had in his hands, and to go presently with him unto the Vicechancellor; which without farther reply he yeelded unto. But while he was gone to fetch the Books, the Vicechancellor

A special Providence.

sent his servant to the Master, desiring him to come to himself; and the Master, his man to Master Bradshaw, charging him to stay within until he returned.

He with-  
draws from  
the Colledg.

At his return Master Bradshaw of his own accord repaired to him; who then charged him, at twelve of the clock to repair to his Chamber, that he might take his *Answer*, and a *Bond* for his forth-coming. But Doctor Barrell, Master of Christs Colledge, in the mean space coming to him, (whether about that business or upon some other occasion is uncertain) by his advice (it seems) the Master altered his mind; and in likelihood the rather, after much mutual consultation, and better consideration past between them, because both the Masters had themselves bought of the Books: For he sends for Master Wright, and now tells him, that *it would be the best course for Master Bradshaw to go out of the way*: which accordingly he did. The Bishop of London not long after wrote again to the Vicechancellor to imprison Underwood, and to make farther inquiry after Master Bradshaw, concerning whom, the Master being by the Vicechancellor demanded; made answer, that *he was not in the Colledge*: whereunto he replied, that *it was best so for him*, not willing (as may be deemed) to be used as an instrument in molesting him, if it might be avoided. The carriage of this business, together with the several overtures and circumstances of it, is out of a *Narrative* of his own, the more particularly related, to shew both the discreet and modest, and yet ingenuous and couragious disposition of this Servant of God; and the remarkable passages of Gods providence in a concurrence of occurrences so unexpectedly managed, that he should thereby be kept out of the clutches of those that were so exceeding thirsty to seize on him, and so fiercely bent against him.

His Letter  
to a Friend  
about it.

Master Bradshaw being thereof informed by some Friends, and considering how the Bishop persisted in enquiry after him, conceived that Cambridge for the present could be no safe or quiet place for him: and having therefore withdrawn himself, though retaining his place still there, he spent his time for the space of some moneths, partly with Master Pigot at Abington, and partly at Morden with Master Martine, in which places he had formerly exercised his Ministry, and as occasion required, so still did. Thus there hovering, in a Letter to a speciall Friend, whose good opinion of him he much valued, he thus writes; *I fear it will be somewhat offensive unto you, and that you will condemne me for being too rash and indiscreet in this matter. But I trust you will consider that the thing I have done, was to pleasure most good and Christian Friends, that the cause, it is the cause of God, and the glory of God hath been much increased by it, by reason of the truth of God shining therein; unto which I could not perform a less duty; there being nothing in the Books (as I am perswaded) against the State; howsoever there are many hot words, that might have been spared, though none that have not been deserved. I wish they had past my poor censure before the coming forth of them, they should not then have given so much advantage to the enemies of the truth. I will (God willing) flee the danger as much as I can, especially in these troublesome and tragicall times, which seem of purpose to be chosen, that they might do the more injury, and the speech may be the less. And in another to the same party; My danger for Master Darrel troubleth me not a whit, I thank God; neither do I repent of any thing I have therein done, so long as you think never the worse of me: other matters trouble my mind more, yet such is the goodness of God, that though they distract my mind from other studies needfull for me to wade into, yet when I come to exercise my poor Ministry, and to study for my Sermons, my mind is free enough. Thus is the Lord wont in more special manner to support the spirits of his servants, for such particular employments, as he hath more specially assigned them unto.*

The



The matter that more troubled him; was concerning his entrance into any settled place for the exercise of his Ministry, which he supposed would be, and upon some triall indeed found, every way so obstructed, that, albeit places of imployment enough were offered, and his imploment in them much desired, yet he could not conceive how it might be cleared in regard of the tenderness of his Conscience, and scruple of some things that he stuck at, which were like to be rendred unto him, and pressed upon him, before admission thereunto; and that the rather in probability in regard of the prejudice now had of him for the business concerning those Books. For he had been offered the *Rectory* of *Abington* by Master *Pigot* the *Patron*, who would have compounded with the present *Incumbent* for the bringing of him in: And Master *Wendy* likewise, a Religious Gentleman in those parts, had, together with some others, been endeavouring to bring him in at *Basingborn*: but neither of them took effect. He was invited also to *New-Castle* in *Staffordshire*, whither also he repaired, but found not matters to his liking there: and after unto *Yarmouth*, to be *Lecturer* with them, with assurance of a liberal maintenance from them; for they very much affected him. But that their design was crossed by the Bishop of the *Diocese*, having a jealous Eye as well on them as on him, and being desirous to prefer and place a Chaplain of his own therefore there, To the Colledge he returned again after some time spent abroad, the storm seeming now to be over-blown, and howsoever there he met with no renewed molestation about the fore-mentioned business, yet had ye no heart at all there to continue; partly in regard of the departure thence of a special Friend, whom he intirely affected, of whose return thither, being now elsewhere settled, he was wholly out of hope; and partly because he perceived, that the *Master* did not then so affect him; as formerly he had done.

His return  
to the Col-  
ledge.

Amidst these distractions, a *Preachers* place falling vacant at *Chatham* in *Kent*, where a great part of the *Navy-Royal*, and Officers of the same attending, did usually reside; the business of supplying them with an able and faithful Teacher was by general consent referred to Master *Chaderton*, being at that time in *Kent* not far from thence, thither drawn over from *Cambridge*, about the consummating of a Marriage between that Reverend man of God Master *Josias Nichols*, who had passed many sharp Bickerings and Brunts in those times, and the reliet of that famous Worthy Doctor *Whitaker* Deceased. He commended Master *Bradshaw* to them. Concerning whom the piously affected Party; after diligent inquiry, received such ample Testimony, that (whereas divers others made first for the place, and by their labouring with some Friends had wrought a fiding among them, to prevent such Obstructions as thence might arise) they sent an expresse to *Cambridge* on purpose with instructions, in the first place to Master *Chaderton*, to entreat him, that he would not any wise give consent to have any other designed to the place, but him only whom he had already propounded: For that they rested in his Choise; and longed much to see and hear him. And in the next place to Master *Bradshaw*, to request him, that he would make no doubt or delay of coming to them; wherein he would not be slack, if he knew how earnestly they longed to see and enjoy him; and withal to signifie to him, what had been delivered to Master *Chaderton* from them; that they desired only the Sincere Milk of God's Word, and a Pastor bearing a sincere Affection and tender Heart to his People: That they had wrought great meanes to obtain him, that if he refused to come to them, he did not know what he did; and if he came, and found them not worthy of him, yet his labour and charge should be fully made good. Thus being inportuned, (as by his own Letter to a Friend of *July* the eighth 1601. appeareth) though by some still pressed for *Abington*, with hopes suggested, of clearing the way there for him; he came up to *London* and after advice had with some Friends in the City, from thence went down to *Chatham*. And though it go for a common by-

He is sent  
for to *Char-*  
*ham*.

He goes to  
*Chatham*.

word, oft verified, that *personal presence abateth much of foregoing Reports, and great Expectations preconceived, are wont seldome to receive full satisfaction*; and if it be true that Master Bradshaw was not a man of much out-siee, nor forward to put out himself, of a very bashful and demis, but not fawning deportment; insomuch that his *bodily and personal presence* might (as the Apostles somtime,) seem *weak*, and not to promise much, with such especially, as look no further than the Face: Yet when he came and was heard, and his meek and discreet carriage by the generality observed, and by the wiser sort well weighed, he was by joynt consent agreed upon; and a solemn Letter of invitation appointed to be drawn up by Master John Cook, sometime Fellow of Trinity Colledge, then enjoying an Office under Sir Fulk Grivel, Treasurer to the Navy, and afterward Secretary of State to King James, subscribed by the Officers there belonging to the Navy, and the most of any Note and Repute in the place; intimating their *Election of him by joynt consent to the place, professing a willingness to submit themselves to his Ministry, and promising to afford him all due support and assistance in the same*. Upon the receipt hereof he fully now Resolved without farther Delay, to entertain the call, and accept of the place, and having signified so much unto them, was very lovingly received by them, and quietly for some good space of time (to wit, from July 1601. unto April 1602.) laboured in the Word and Doctrine among them, (together with Master John Philips, who enjoying the Vicarage did, as Pastor of the place, therein joyn with him) with good success and much comfort, and to the great contentment and gladsonness of People well affected in those parts. Being thus then settled there, with good hope of continuance, motion was made to him by some of his Friends there (supposing that might be some means of further Engagement of him for to stay with them, of a match with a Widow, an housewisely Woman, and one that had lived always in good Repute with them. Which not fore-seeing in likelihood, what would afterward ensue, he did, not unwillingly, so far forth hearken unto, as to entertain some good liking of the Woman; howsoever in regard of the ensuing change of things, the business was no farther then proceeded in, but by mutual agreement between them laid aside, and delayed, untill God should see good to make way by some meanes, for their more convenient coming together, and comfortable Cohabitation of either with other.

His faithfulness in his place.

A motion of marriage made to him.

Satans malice against the progress of the Gospel. He is accused to the Bishop.

For those Halcyon Seasons lasted not long; The common Adversary of God and Man, who out of his inveterate Envy and Enmity, can in no wise Brook the Propagation of the Gospel, and dilatation of Christs Curtains, began, at first more covertly and under hand to contrive some course whereby to cast a rub in his way, and to procure a restraint of his farther proceeding in a course so succesfull, and advantagious for the glory of God and the good of his people. For about the time above mentioned, some neighbour-Ministers, envying the recourse of people to his teaching, began secretly to plot against him, though they would not be seen in it; by suggesting to the Bishop of the Diocess, that he was a man not conformable to the Rites of the Church, nor well-affected to the present Government. This how far forth it prevailed with the Bishop that then sat there, doth not appear; but the business being smelt out, and by some means discovered, to prevent trouble from him, and settle Master Bradshaw (as they supposed) more surely in the place, it was by divers of his people and Friends there deemed most expedient, (though therein peradventure much mistaken) to have some means used to obtain a Confirmation of him therein from the Archbishop of Canterbury, unto whom Rochester was as Suffragan, and no man being deemed fitter to deal in this business with the Archbishop than that Noble and Religious Knight Sir Francis Hastings, he



he was by a Letter from Master Bradshaw requested to make some tryal of his interest in, and power with Archbishop Whitgift, to that purpose in his behalf. He upon the receipt of Master Bradshaws Letter, the very same day, April 22. 1602. returned him this most kind, Christian, and affectionate Answer, My love to your self you know, and shall ever know it in any thing, wherein I can make it known: my duty, your duty, and all our duties to God, his Church, you know better than my self; and my duty to further a good people to a good Minister, a longing people to hear, to a labouring speaking Minister to teach them, is a bond of duty, that I may never forget, and a work of duty, that I must ever be ready to perform. Adjust your self therefore, my velle shall not be slack; and if my posse can prevail, I shall be glad, I will say no more: but pray to my God to encrease his graces in you, to teach profitably; to encrease grace in your people, to hear diligently; and to multiply his graces both in speaker and hearer, that they may speak and hear fruitfully, &c. Subscribed, Your true Christian Friend, Francis Hastings.

Nor was he more ready to promise, then forward to perform, For within three daies after, to wit, April 25. he wrote to the Archbishop this modest, pious, and zealous Letter: May it please your Grace to pardon me, that I do not personally attend you, but presume to write:--- I make bold to become suitor to your Grace, for your favour to a young man, being one that I hold my self interested in, and to whom I owe my best help, to further him to some place of employment and maintenance, which causeth me to become an humble suitor for him to you, not without a special regard to that people, who so Christianly thirst after knowledge and instruction. The man for whom I sue, is one Master Bradshaw, a Master of Arts of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge: The matter I sue for, your Graces favour and allowance that he may preach: The place where his labours are desired, is at Chatham. And I most humbly beseech your Grace, that however you may find or hear, that he is fearfull to do some things that may be urged on him; yet seeing he is well qualified with gifts, and of honest carriage fitting for his calling, let not his fearfulness prejudice him with your Lordship, but vouchsafe him liberty to bestow his talent; and I will undertake to your Grace for him, that he shall not offer any disturbance to the peace of our Church either in word or action; but shall painfully bestow himself in this place, to preach Christ Crucified, and to arm his people with some measure of knowledge, to stand Christianly and courageously for the truth of Christ, and to resist all Errours broached against that holy Doctrine. And the rather I make bold to tender this suit to your Grace for him, because I find plenty of practising by Seminaries and Jesuites to corrupt and pervert the peoples hearts both in knowledge and obedience; and that through penury of preaching in some places it may prove dangerous: I never heard the young man preach my self, but I hear his gifts greatly commended; and I know him to be learned, and painfull also, and carefull in that he taketh in hand. And though I know the tendernes of his Conscience some waies, yet I dare engage my credit again, (as before) to your Grace for him, that he shall walk dutifully, wisely and discreetly in the whole course of his preaching, without all offer of disturbance to the peace of the Church. And so longing to hear that my suit may find my desired success with your Grace, I commend my humble duty to you, and commit your Grace, and all your godly proceedings to the protection and direction of the Lord Almighty. Subscribed, Your Graces most bounden, and ready to be commanded, Francis Hastings.

Sir Francis Hastings his Letter to the Archbishop in his behalf

What Answer the Noble Knight had from the Arch-bishop, or what effect this his Letter had with him, we cannot certainly say; but by what followed it may well be deemed, that of the Archbishop it was not

Master  
Bearblock's  
malice a-  
gainst him.

He is charged with  
Heresie.

His Letter  
to Master  
Bearblock a-  
bout that  
Charge.

not very well relished; who in cases of this kind, was seldome wont to do ought without the advice of Bishop *Bancroft*, in whose stomach the memory of Master *Darrells* business stuck still, and of Master *Bradshaws* act about his Books. For not without some animation in likelihood from above, those Master *Bradshaws* back-friends, who had before dealt in the dark, did shortly after begin to disclose themselves, and to manifest their malice, which had formerly lain hid, as embers raked up in the ashes. The first of them that openly appeared in the business, was one Master *Bearblock* Minister at *Stowd*, a Town or Village adjoyning to *Roche-ster*, a man of very mean parts for learning, and of a very scandalous life; but one of those whom the Prophet *Jeremy* speaketh of, that had a singular faculty of *slicking and smoothing his tongue*, to sooth men up in their finnes. This man (among other) vexed at the concourse of people that repaired from the places adjacent to Master *Bradshaw* teaching, (although Master *Bradshaw* desirous to comply, so far forth as without offence he might, with him) used to frequent his week-dayes *Lecture*; stuck not both in Private meetings to tax Master *Bradshaw* for delivering *Heretical Doctrine*, and publickly also in a Sermon on the *Lords-Day* so to charge him therewith, that the Auditory, though he named him not, might well know whom he meant. Now, albeit the man himself were of no esteem, and his censure consequently little to be regarded, yet Mr. *Bradshaw* deemed, that a publick charge of that nature, should not be let pass with silence. Howbeit, not willing, nor esteeming it meet to pester the pulpit with Apologies, he chose rather to deal with this his Opponent and Traducer by a Letter, which it will not be amiss here to insert.

"Master *Bearblock*, I was informed by some of your Christian Auditors at *Stowd*, that in your fore-noons Exercise, you took occasion in the repetition of your former Sermon, to adde thereto something in bitter terms, against some *Heretical Doctrine* lately broached in some neighbour-Church; which divers of your most charitable, and the most of your judicious Hearers, conceived to be directed against me. At the first, I had no cause easily to entertain the Report, because I was no way guilty to my self so much as of the least shew of any occasion given unto you, to break out in that manner against me; and did presume you had better Learned the Laws of Charity, than in such an open manner to traduce a fellow Minister of the Gospel before you were better possessed of the cause. Besides, I thought, that reproachfull Reports, that have been bruied against your self, should have taught you, if you be innocent, that a Minister of the Gospel may be much abused and mis-reported of, both for life and Doctrine; and therefore that you would not teach by your own practice, me or any other thus in open manner, to make the Reports of men a sufficient Text to preach against your life, as you have made them to preach against my Doctrine. But since that time I am given to understand, that you have given it out at one Master *Morelands* Table, that I was the man, that you then before God and his Holy Angels indicted and arraigned; and that of no lesse a crime than gross *Heresie*; and that some of your Congregation were purposed to proceed in Law against me for it. You know there was a Law, (and it were well if it were now in force, to bridle distempered Tongues) that if one were accused of a crime, which could not be proved, the Accuser should suffer the punishment due to that crime; and then, Master *Bearblock*, if *Heresie* deserve a punishment, if you should but accuse me of that, which methinks you have already condemned me of, your back should bear the punishment of two *Heresies*. For, first, it is most untrue that I have taught any such Doctrine; and Secondly, if you could not prove that Doctrine, as I know you cannot, this you here so tax to be *Heresie*, your Doctrine that calleth it *Heresie*, deserves no less, *lege Talionis*, than *Heresie*; which I speak not so much



much in regard of your weakness, as in Grace, of the strength of the cause ; wherein though with the dim eye of mine own judgement I could see nothing, yet I have cause to be confident, in regard of their judgement whose shadows it would become you and me to give room unto, yea, and to run away from. And I am verily perswaded, that though some of your spirit may be found to judge it an Errour to hold, *That a bare Reading Minister, is not a Lawfull Minister before God*; yet that none that deserves the name of a man of judgement, will push with such horns against it, as you do, that it is an *Heresie*, and that a *gross and abominable one*. I would I might be worthy to know, upon your better consideration of the point, whether that heart of yours, that set your Tongue on fire so against this poor *Heresie*, would serve to set fire to the pretended *Heretick*. But blessed be God, that Supream Authority keepeth the fire-brands from the hands of such furies; else there where some cause to fear, lest the Saints of God (I give them no other title, than your own Conscience gives them, nay than your own mouth in publick hath given them) should find your hands as hot, as they now feel your tongue; For methinks in your Divinity, to make but a question of any thing in Religion established by Law, is no less than Treason and *Heresie*. There must be some Mystry in it, that every poor man must not presume to look into; that one that is so full of charity towards Adulterers, Drunkards, Blasphemers and other sinners that swarm in the Church, should be so fiery against these new *Hereticks* of your own making. What? Are they of all other past hope of Repentance? Or do not the mercies of God, wherewith your mouth is so oft sugred, of all other, belong to them? My self on the week-day am one of your Auditours, and I hope, none of the worst-minded, and then you seem (as oft as ever I heard you) as if your soul did overflow with Charity towards us all. You cannot be ignorant of the words that so often were in your lips; *That* none that hear you, but they are Gods faithfull Children; *That* though they be foul, grievous sinners, yet they are repentaunt, and Gods mercy belongs unto them; *That* no man is without sin, but the best and holiest are unclean. This hath been your tenor for this half year; the Sermon is yet to come, that ever with the least zeal you spake against Lewdness of life: And yet now how full of zeal are you against Errours in Doctrine, of this sort especially? whereas considering the slanders that run of you, (for I call them so, as I desire for the Gospels sake they may prove) you could take no better course, than to be most zealous in Doctrine against those sins, that same hath gone about to brand you withall; and to condemn such with your own mouth to Hell, rather than to set open Heaven gates so wide unto them, as you use to do; as though your self were out of hope of Heaven, except the lewdest of your Congregation go to Heaven. I may be bold being the injured party, and knowing you better than you me, to take this leave to tell you thus much of your self, who have so freely given leave to your self, to speak to others worse things of me; that if the Lords judgements should pursue me so fast, that mine inward corruptions should break out into notorious crimes, and yet should dare for all that to exercise an holy Ministry, that then of all methods of teaching that ever I heard, I would surely follow yours. To keep you from advantage, I acknowledge the Doctrine that you have taught in my hearing to be very sound and true: But this is it that I affirm, and you may keep it to your self if it please you, that in dealing against sin, in all the Sermons I have ever heard you, you have said no more in substance, than what you shall have alwaies running in the wickedest mouthes; *That* All men are sinners; *That* the godliest do fall seven times a day; *That* men must not despair of Gods mercy; *That* they are sorry for it, when they have done; *That* it is their corruption of nature, &c. which are all very excellent

“and

"and comfortable, Doctrines to a broken heart, but very poyson to an  
 "impenitent; so that if a Minister should preach them to the stewes, he  
 "should have as many applauses and *Amens* there to them, as any  
 "where else. If therefore a foul life be as abominable in the eyes of God  
 "and man, as false Doctrine; if this zeal of yours against false Doctrine  
 "were of God, you would blow as strong a blast against the other, as you  
 "do against it, and a stronger too, considering that the other having bor-  
 "rowed the wings of fame, is flying continually in your own face: This,  
 "if you could have let me alone, would never have bitten you. But to  
 "draw to an end, if my bare deniall, and the voices of them, that with  
 "best understanding heard me, and are best able to repeat the heads of  
 "that Sermon, can perswade you, that there was no such Doctrine then  
 "delivered, I hope you will satisfie that Congregation, whose ears you have  
 "abused with that report; and especially the Gentleman, to whom you rela-  
 "ted the particulars. If you cannot be moved to this; yet be contented,  
 "such you say the Law must proceed upon me, to stay the proceeding of  
 "your tongue against me, till you have tried me guilty or not. If you can-  
 "not yield to this, but have a purpose to pursue the matter, let Religion o-  
 "ver-rule you thus far, to deal with me in the points by private writing.  
 "But if you have resolved to go on in this indirect course, openly thus to  
 "injure me; do it I pray you, in your weekly exercise, that I may not trust  
 "to the report of others, but may be a witness to my self of mine own a-  
 "buses, and then I shall know the better how to satisfie you. It is the  
 "humour of most of your stamp, under pretence of a zeal to her Majesties  
 "proceedings in matters of Religion, to take your liberty of speech against  
 "some, that are perswaded somethings might, and should be reformed, if the  
 "State had Leisure to look into them: and you know it full well, that such  
 "as you are, shall find ears enough to receive your accusations against such;  
 "else upon equall ground you would not be so confident, thus hand over  
 "head to condemn as good Subjects (without any disgrace) as your self, of  
 "no less than *Heresie* and *Treason*. As for my self, I thank God, I have  
 "had that care, both of mine outward conversation and Doctrine, that none  
 "of any civility, I trust, shall find a face to reproach me for the one, nor a-  
 "ny of any judgement in Religion, will accuse me of the other. And as for those  
 "Reports, that are given out against me, out of yours and others mouthes;  
 "your shame shall send them home again, and I will wear them about my  
 "neck as Chains and Garlands. In particular, for your self, (though I  
 "desire the love, acquaintance, and favour of any well-gifted Minister) it  
 "will be no great disgrace to me, to sit at home without your countenance  
 "except your self were in greater Countenance with them that truly fear the  
 "Lord. Thus leaving you at this time to a better spirit, than that which set  
 "you so greedily on work against me, I commit you to the Grace, mercy,  
 "and pardon of God; and my self to his wise direction, hereafter to take  
 "heed, how I give mouthes, so readily open to reproach to my Ministry, any  
 "just and direct occasion. *Chatham* the last of *April* 1602, Your Fellow-la-  
 "bourer and Minister in the Lords work, desirous of peace, and if it were  
 "possible, of love also, *William Bradshaw*.

The Antino-  
 mians pra-  
 ctice.

This Letter, though somewhat large, it seemed not amiss at full to relate;  
 because it representeth to the Life, both the *Character* of many such *Teachers*,  
 as were forwardest to oppose Gods Faithful *Messengers* in those times, and  
 the manner of their Teachings, which the most of our *Antinomian* Party  
 that give out themselves as the only *Gospel Preachers*, come so near unto  
 now adiaies; And the most unequal and unchristian courses also, that were  
 by such then commonly practised, to work them into disgrace with the Peo-  
 ple, and to procure trouble to them from the State. But the malice of the  
 man stayed not here; which, of it selfe for ought he was able to do, was



was not much to be regarded. For being Netled by this Letter, upon Consultation had with some of his complices, a Knight of Note in that County, a man of some parts of Learning and Wit, but of loose Life, utterly averse from, and adverse to the profession and practise of Piety, was by them procured, to come down from Rochester, where he then was, to Chatham on a Lords Day, to hear Master Bradshaw, and that for no other end, but to pick somewhat, (if it might be) out of his Teaching, for which, upon his information against him, (a Practise most unworthy a man of his Rank) his Mouth might be stopped, or he inhibited at least from further employment in that Place. And according indeed to their wicked design and ungodly desire the Plot proceeded. For, whereas Master Bradshaw being then entred upon the handling of the story of *Christs Temptations* (related by two Evangelists; on which his Sermons, much desired by many that heard part of them, and though not fully perfected by him, yet by some small supplies being made up, may peradventure hereafter see Light) had observed, that this was the main scope of Satan in his first encounter, to bear our Saviour in hand, that howsoever he had been put in some hope by a Voice, as from Heaven, that he was *the beloved Son of God*; yet God by his present neglect of him, and leaving him in such difficulties, destitute of all necessities, did thereby manifest that he did not respect, or regard him at all. Hereupon he took occasion to admonish all true Christians, to Arm themselves diligently against this Temptation, and to strengthen their Faith in the assurance of Gods favour towards them; care of them, and undoubted Truth of his Promises made to them; using this as an Argument to incite them unto the greater care in this kind, for that (said he) *If this Temptation do once fasten upon us, that we shall come by Satans sleights to be perswaded, that there is no such matter, that God hath no such respect or regard unto us; it cannot but cool our love unto God.* Which words of his, very wholesome and good, the Knight perverting and misreporting, enforced underhand against him, that he should deliver, *That a man was not bound to love God, unless he were sure that God loved him.* Hereupon Master Bradshaw was shortly after, by a short note under Doctor Buckeridges hand bearing date May twenty six, 1602. and directed unto him at Chatham, made acquainted, that it was the pleasure of his Lords Grace of Canterbury, and his Lord of London (the main prosecutor of the business against him) that he should the next Day by nine of the Clock appear personally before them at Shorn, a Town situate between Rochester and Gravesend: Whither accordingly he repaired, and thereupon appearing, after some questions moved, and Answers thereunto returned, the Bishop of London began to charge him with teaching of false and ungodly Doctrine, such as had been suggested by the Knight before-mentioned; whereunto when he answered Negatively, relating withal truly and sincerely, what he had delivered, and offering to produce not a few of good Credit, who could and would testify what then he taught, that would not be admitted; London affirming, that what had been enformed, was averred by such, as were able to conceive, being learned; and to understand aright what it was that he delivered, and received it not by report from others, but had been Ear-Witnesses of it themselves. However at last, to strike all dead sure, subscription was tendred to him; whereat they knew he would stick: which because he professed that he could not condescend unto, they inhibited him to preach any more at Chatham, and having bound him to appear, when he should be farther called upon, for the present so dismissed him.

A Spie sent to entrap Him.

He is falsely accused  
He is summoned before the Bishop.

Subscription made a snare.

The next Lords Day was one suborned, in the habit of a Traveller, to repair early in the morning to Master Bradshaws lodging at Chatham, who asking to speak with him, pretended that he came on purpose out of his way to hear him, and demanded of him whether he preached that Day or

He is suspended from Chatham.

Another  
Spy sent to  
entrap him.

The Inha-  
bitants of  
Chatham  
Petition for  
him to the  
Bishop.

no? Whereunto he answering, that he did not, being by Authority inhibited, he made show of such sorrow, as being frustrated of his Expectation, but he was defcried to be no other than a Spie, sent to sound Master Bradshaw what he intended to do, so greedy were they to have farther enlarged him, if by any means they might. The same day Master Bearblack was observed at *Strowd*, as triumphing after a Victory atchieved against some great Adversary, to have appointed to be sung before his fore-noon-Sermon, the former part of the 27 Psalm. Those of Chatham much affected with the inhibition of their faithful Teacher, and grieved in their Souls for the restraint of that precious Food, which they had formerly received from him, were not backward to use what means they might for the taking off of the inhibition, and removal of the Restraint. To this purpose a Supplication was framed in the Name of the Parishoners of Chatham unto the Bishop of Rochester, their mediate Diocesan; in these Words, Right Reverend Father, and our very good Lord, If we were not by manifold Trial and long Experience assured of the Love that you bear, and the care that you have over that Flock, which the Lord hath committed unto your Charge, we could not with so good hope and comfort, as now we do, become Petitioners unto your Lordship, in the behalf of our too much wronged Preacher, Master Bradshaw; Unto whom, in sincerity of a good Conscience we do voluntarily yeeld this Testimony, that he is a man so far in every respect from desert of those misreports, wherewith his causelesse Adversaries have endeavoured to sentence your good Lordship against him, as his Accusers have been from the remembrance of that Duty, which they ought to bear to your Lordship, whom they have abused with sinister and unjust informations; his Doctrine always Holy, Wholsome, True, and Learned, utterly void of Faction and Contention; his Life so thoroughly garnished with unblemished Vertues and Graces, as Malice itself cannot reprove, or suspect him; directing all his Labours only to the beating down of Sin and Wickedness, the comfort of the Faithful, and the instruction of the ignorant, without intermeddling at any time, with the needless and conceited Controversies of this factious Age. May it therefore please your good Lordship with Favour (according to your wonted goodness) so to tender this your little poor Flock of Chatham, as to restore unto us our Vertuous and faithful Teacher; lest otherwise we be as sheep without a Shepheard. Which being obtained, we your humble Supplicants will account it so great a Blessing of God from the Hands of your Reverend Father-Hood, as that we shall hold our selves bound faithfully to pray unto the Almighty, for your good Lordships endless prosperity. This their Petition after their own frame conceived, is the rather here inserted, to shew their reverend estimation of Master Bradshaw, and their earnest desire to have retained him still with them. But the business was in higher Hands, London was the man that must do it, if ought were done. With whom Master Chaderton going up to London upon occasion of some Colledge-Affairs, promised to deal in Master Bradshaws behalf; and in likelihood did: but (as appeared) without success.

Gods Pro-  
vidence for  
him.

He departs  
from Chat-  
ham,

Thus was this blessed Servant of God tossed to and fro, and could not be suffered to abide long in a place; though a man of peaceable carriage, a most meek and humble Spirit, and a kind and loving Disposition. But Gods pious Providence over his, and gracious Provision for them, never faileth. He is oft working for them, when they least see it, and where or whence they least look for it. He was then preparing a retiring and resting place for him, when he seemed to be now utterly out of hope of any. For being now driven from Chatham, he came up to London, whence after some short stay with a Friend, having at present no employment, he thought good to look down into Leicester-Shire to visit his Friends there. And he indeed intended the journey only as a Visit: Howsoever the Lord in his hidden disposal, unknown unto him, had a farther aim in it than he was then aware of, as by the



as by the event appeared, and he afterward took special notice of, and did thankfully acknowledge.

For upon his coming down into those parts, by the good hand of God, using that his worthy Servant of blessed Memory, Master *Arthur Hilderham* (as formerly sometime, so now again) as an instrument therein, he was brought into some notice with, and commended unto one Master *Alexander Redich* a religious Gentleman, then residing at *New-Hall*, an House of Note, situate neer to *Burton upon Trent*. in the confines of *Darbyshire*, *Leicester-shire*, and *Stafford shire*. He not only received him into his house, but obtained also for him from the then Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, being a moderate man, a Licence to Preach in any part of his *Diocess*: Which favour and liberty, Master *Bradshaw* without any interruption enjoyed in those parts during that Bishops Life, yea, and after too, without any trouble (a light and short storm only excepted, and that soon again laid, the Year before his Decease, (whereof somewhat hereafter) unto the time of his Release-ment.

He is settled at *New-hall*.

For his entertainment there, though the means allowed him were very small, in regard that the Gentlemans estate was much encombred, and he by reason thereof disabled to do what he otherwise desired; the Lady *Ferrers* his Wives Mother yet surviving, who had an estate for life in that part of the Land, which was to come to his Wife, whereon he then resided; nor, in regard of Religion (for a strong and zealous Papist she was) so well-affected towards them, being forward another way; and some other part of it, by concealment of some Evidences being wrongfully detained from him, as in proceess of time upon discovery thereof did evidently appear: Yet the small pittance that was allowed him, together with their kind carriage toward him, and the loving affection to him that he found generally in the Family, did give him very good content. For in a Letter to an inward Friend he professeth, that he found both the Gentleman, and his Wife, very tender hearted and sincerely Religious, so kind unto him, as his heart could not desire more, and that in gifts they were otherwise beneficial unto him; and the truth is, (saith he, for you have his own words) it is impossible to find more love in a place than I do find, more and more both of great and small in the House: so that the Lord, I see, hath not clean forsaken me. And in another to the same party, Now let your mind be troubled about the smallnesse of my Maintenance, it is more than he from whom it cometh can well spare, yet as much as my labours upon them deserve; and more than many of my betters have. To the same hereunto some farther matter of encouragement, and contentment, he withall signifieth, that the Lord had blest him there with a most kind neighbour, (abiding in a house not far from thence with the Lord *Paget*) a young man of *Oxford*, and a *Londoner* by birth, one Master *Hassal*, a man of very rare parts for all kind of learning, of most prompt and ready speech, and of a very courteous and affable disposition. With him he entertained familiarity, and maintained a good correspondence, while they abode so neer together. For he was not nice to embrace acquaintance with any moderate man, of endowments especially; and very forward to take notice of the good parts of others, and to set them out as occasion was offered, to the utmost: so far was he from that malevolent humour so rife with too many in these times, of extenuating or blurring the endowments and abilities of others, such especially as do not in every particular con-  
ceit; though but groundlessly oft fancied, comply with themselves, as also together with his ingenuous composure of spirit, his pious disposition may herein be observed, in taking notice of, and acknowledging a passage of divine providence in every accommodation, that might any way, or in any measure, improve the comfort of his present condition.

His small means of Maintenance.

His contentment.

His Letter to a Friend about it.

His humility.

But that the great moderation of mind in one of such worth as was this Servant of *Christ*, may the better appear, we shall compare the means of maintenance afforded him, and his employments, whereof he professed before, not to deserve so much as so small a pittance amounted unto, the one with the other. That the allowance was very small, may very justly be deemed, when his friends were so much troubled and grieved, to think that one of his endowments should be driven to accept so low and slender conditions: and the truth is, as by his own relation appears, the allowance at first agreed upon, was but *ten pounds by the year, his diet, fire, candle, and all kind of attendance*, as himself draws it out at length to make the most of it. That which is here specified not in any will to asperse the Gentleman, whose present condition would not then well afford better termes, and yet shewed his good will by free addition to what he stood engaged for, even in his first year of abode with him; and afterward also, as charge grew upon Master *Bradshaw*, though means were not much amended with him, yet strained himself unto a further enlargement, as hereafter shall be shewed. But to manifest the exceeding, and almost unparallel'd modesty of the man, esteeming his labours beneath so poor an allowance. For his employments that himself so much undervalued, what were they? Besides his private exercises at set times performed in the Family; he preached at first constantly twice every *Lords day* in a Chappel of some capacity, belonging to the Gentlemen's House, and situate within the park wherein the House stood, and afterward, when the resort from other parts more remote, grew so great, that the place could not well contain them; (that the more might enjoy the fruit of his Ministry, and with the more ease to them, though the less to him and the Household) he was easily induced, (the Governours of the Family, out of their religious disposition, well approving thereof, and condescending thereunto) to bestow his labours, as he had before done in the Chappel, in a more Publick place, at a Parish-Church (where a Reading *Vicar* only was) at a Village called *Stapenhill* or *Stapenhall*, about a mile distant from the place of his abode.

His great  
pains.

And this he did constantly for above twelve years at least, at such times as the Gentleman abode with his Family at *Newhall*, which was the Principal place of his settled abode: receiving for such his pains among them, no consideration at all from the people of the place; (the most or them deeming him more beholden to them, for coming and staying to hear him, than themselves to him for coming to preach to them;) save that on the *Lords day* for his better ease and refreshment, between his forenoon and afternoons employment, he was usually entertained at the House of one Master *Alexander Buckley*, who had sometime belonged as a *Bayliff* or *Steward* to Master *Rediches* Family, and whose Wife, Mistress *Anne Buckley*, a very sweet natured, humble and godly woman, was both a *Mary* and *Martha* to him, no lesse diligent to attend his teaching with the one, then sedulous to make fitting provision for him with the other; and that some of the better affected sort among those that heard him, would now and then gratifie him with some kind of Countrey-courtesies, When He kept House by himself.

Monstrous  
ingratitude.

Having thus spent above a twelve-moneth or more with Master *Redich*, his thoughts began to be more solicitously renewed concerning that business of *Marriage* propounded to him at *Chatham*, and so farre forth as hath been formerly shewn, embraced then by him; which in regard also of some other emergent occasions had hung hitherto in suspence. This to Proceed in and consummate he much desired, not so much in regard of himself, as in regard of the other party, who had been held in expectation thereof so long already, and might deem it some wrong, if it should be



be still so delayed. But how this might consist with his continuance in Master Rediches Family he was not able well to conceive; and how very loath he was to part with a Family, where he had found so much love. Howsoever he resolved to break the matter unto them, before he would proceed any farther therein; that if no fit meanes of compliance there could be contrived, he might with their good leave look out for some other place of employment, and they have some convenient space of time for the fitting and furnishing of themselves with some other to succeed with them in his room. Upon relation hereof, according to such his resolution, (having taken a fit time for it) made unto them, enforming them truly and freely in all circumstances, how the case stood with him, and how he stood affected towards them, it was strange to see (it is in his own words related) how great affection they shewed to bear unto him, expressed even with teares; that on no condition he must depart from them; such course should be taken, as that, when he should in that kind change his condition, he might still conveniently and comfortably abide with them. Whereunto he subjoyneth; And this indeed is the first hour of my solid comfort, that the Lord hath vouchsafed me a standing place, where I may settle my self. And indeed God was pleased to work in some particulars somewhat strangely and unexpectedly, beyond what he was than able to foresee or fore-cast, toward the farther accomplishment of his desire in this kind; as hereafter shall be shewed.

Mean while Master Redich by occasion of busineses drawn up to London, and having taken some lodgings for himself and his retinue neer unto Christ-Church, with purpose to make stay some good space of time in the City, Master Bradshaw abiding there with him, was requested to preach sometime at Christ-Church: which accordingly he did, and that with such approbation and good liking of the well-affected in the Parish, that the afternoons Lecture there becoming vacant, albeit Doctor Milward, a man of some note in those times, stood for it, yet by the greater number of votes, in a Vestry purpose-ly for that end assembled, Master Bradshaw was chosen to be their Lecturer; though not having sought it himself, but having been without his privity pro- pounded by some such of them as had been much taken with his former Ser- mons. But the will of God (it seems) was, that he should still adhere to that Family, which he was fallen into, and where he had found so much affection; that which to his dying day also he did. For though by some of those, who ear- nestly desired him, great means were made to the Bishop, yet would he in no wise condescend to give way thereunto.

He is cho-  
sen Lecturer  
at Christ  
Church Lon-  
don.

During his stay in these parts, looking down to Chatham, he there consum- mated that businesse, which hitherto had been delayed. And in regard that Master Redich with his Wife and retinue were by reason of his urgent affairs in divers kinds likely to continue for a longer space of time in the City than a first was expected; Master Bradshaw having brought up his Wife with him from Chatham, did for awhile board her with a sister of hers, before married and seated in the City, and afterward took part of a tenement for himself and her, who being a woman that affected employment, for their better sup- port, taught there a few Scholars. Much about this time, by occasion of that formall conference acted and transacted at Hampton-Court, wherein some of our chief Prelates endeavoured to possesse the Kings Majesty with a preju- dice against those that made suit for a Reformation of things amisse in Church affairs (his disaffection to whom, he had himself also in some writing of his, partly discovered already) and to perswade him, that for Ecclesiastical affairs all things were so well settled, that no Reformation needed, but some strict injunction only of a precise conformity unto, and constant observation of things already established; which began thereupon in many places with much vigor to be pressed; It came to passe that many Books came abroad, being private- ly

His matri-  
age.

Conformity  
strictly pref-  
sed.

ly printed, wherein divers godly Ministers, who were of a contrary judgement, declared their grievances, laid down their exceptions, set forth their grounds of dissent, and returned answer to the *Arguments* produced and urged against them to induce them to *Conformity*.

For Books of this nature, search was made in the City; for one, more especially among the rest, that had (it seems) given our great *Clergy-Masters* most offence, and Master *Bradshaw* being known to abide then in the City, a man in much suspicion with them, two *Pursuivants*, accompanied with Master *Norton* the *Kings Printer*, were sent with Commission to search his house both for it and him. Whither accordingly repairing, but not finding him at home, they enforced his Wife to open his Closet or Study, the Chests, Trunks, Boxes, and Presses, to make search for such Books, but found nothing. For the truth is, (and there was a good Providence of God in it) after that Master *Bradshaw* was that morning gone out, not above half an hour before that this business fell out, his Wife looking into his Study, and seeing some of those Books there, to prevent future danger, (which yet she then little deemed or dreamed to be so near at hand as it proved to be afterward) had taken them out from thence, and cast them into a hole between two Chimneys, where being covered over with old besomes, they remained undiscovered. But howsoever they could meet with nothing of that which they looked for, yet on his Wife they seized, who would rather have had him; her they took and led unto *Doctors Commons*, where having presented her before Doctor *Stanhop*, Doctor *White*, and a third party, whom she knew not, a number sufficient to make up a compleat *High Commission Court*; they examined her, yet without oath: first, *Where her Husband was?* whereunto she answered, *she knew not*; then, *What means of Maintenance she had, and from whom?* To which she made answer, that *she got her living by her work, and teaching of a few young Children*; after that, *What Children she had?* she told them, *none yet*; but *on she hoped in her belly*, being then great with Child: which was her first-born Son, now a *Minister of the Gospel*, afterward born in that House they then dwelt in, in *Thred-needle street*, and baptized in the Church near thereto adjoining, where the Minister of the place, somewhat thick of hearing, by a mistake, instead of *Jonathan*, nam'd him *John*, which name therefore he bare afterward, and doth to this day. But after divers such questions to little purpose propounded and answered, in conclusion they told her, that *they knew well enough that the Book they then searched for, was none of her Husbands making, though he might have a hand in the venting of it*; and withall, that *if they had been disposed, they could have had him, for all his keeping in a Lancashire Gentlemans house*. So they termed Master *Redich*, because his own Lands of Inheritance lay in those parts. Thus having parlied with her, they dismissed her, not suffering those greedy Harpyes the *Pursuivants*, who were eager upon her for their fees, to exact ought from her only binding her at a daies warning to appear again before them.

Thus through Gods goodness and watchfull eye over his Servant, too regardlesse in some sort of his own safety, having escaped the snare that was set for him, he returned after some space of time, Master *Rediches* main businesses being now dispatched, together with him and his, unto their former place of abode at *New-Hall*, taking his Wife and little one together also along with him.

Being there arrived, the Gentleman both enlarged his maintenance, and assigned him and his Wife certain Chambers in his House conveniently furnished; as also herbage in the Park for a certain number of Kine, and of Swine, and some Poultry, together with a convenient Room for a Dairy, wherein she might exercise her hufwifery; which she very well could do, and accordingly did.

Now

Gods good  
providence  
over him.

The trouble  
of his  
Wife.

Gods mercy

His return  
to Newhall.



Now while they thus lived together in Master Rediches House, Master Bradshaw went on cheerfully in his wonted course, both of private exercises for the instruction of the Family, and of publick employment on the Lords day for the benefit of others also abroad. But the old Lady Ferrers, Mistress Rediches Mother, a woman of a great spirit, and a resolute Papist, though not an absolute professed Recusant, could by no means brook Master Bradshaw, and the lesse now because married, and for that he had brought his Wife also to live with him in House with them: yea she had conceived such an extream hatred against him, professing to hate him above any man in the world, that she had made a vow, that she would never set her feet in the house where he was, and it was therefore feared, not without some just ground of suspicion, that the Family might from her, fare the worse for him. But the hearts of all men, and women also, are in Gods hand, and he can wind and turn them which way he will: and when a mans waies do please the Lord, he can, if he see it good, yea, doth oft, when he seeth it will be for the good of his, make of his utter foes, his Friends. And even so fell it out here. For the Lady notwithstanding this her extream disaffection, so deeply Rooted, and so vehemently expressed, yet in proceesse of time being enduced by some that were in credit and repute with her, to visit her Son-in-Law and Daughter, and make a stay for some time (which they much desired) in house with them; and being withall informed and assured by them of Master Bradshaws mild and moderate demeanure, and his meek, kind, and lowly carriage, she was over-wrought by them, contrary to that her former unnaturall and irreligious engagement, to repair thither, and take up her lodging with them: where it pleased God, withall, not long after her accessse thither, (being now an eye-witnesse her self of what she had formerly heard by report of him from others) so to alter, that her former disaffection to Master Bradshaw, and to cast it into a clean contrary mould, that all that beheld and observed her carriage on all occasions towards him, wondered exceedingly at it, to see so strange an alteration, and such not unexpected only, but unusual carriages in her. For, albeit she were otherwise, a Gentlewoman, as of very proper and personable presence, and in that regard much admired by the Scottish Women that suffered here, whom she also much affected, so of her self no lesse forward to take and keep state; yet she used Master Bradshaw with very much courtesie and complement, at table drinking to him, and carving for him; resorting twice a day constantly to prayer with him and the Family, and speaking reverently of him; yea whereas formerly she could not be induced to hear any of our Ministers preach; howsoever for fashion sake, and to escape penalty of Law, she might sometime repair to hear the Liturgy read; yet was she content to hear Master Bradshaw, and commended his Sermons. Which the better to work upon her, he wisely framed to such subjects as he deemed would best serve, to take off such false imputations, as are wont by the adverse party to be cast upon our Profession and Preaching, as if we were utter enemies to mortification and good works. For first out of Math. 5. 16. he took occasion to speak of the necessity and nature of good works; the ground from whence they spring, and the end that must be aimed at in them; and after that out of Psal. 51. of repentance and mortification, with both which discourses she seemed to be very much affected. What farther work these things had upon her after her departure thence, we are not able to say; but certain it is, that while she abode there she seemed to be much better disposed, not towards Master Bradshaw only; but (contrary to what was formerly feared, and strongly suspected) toward her Son-in-law and Daughter also. For before she went thence, she sealed them a Lease for three years, of the Land they held from her, with abatement of an Hundred pounds by the year of the Rent formerly paid, and a remission of thirty pounds by the year besides, otherwise accruing to her, (God might bless the House, for his Josephs sake) and her continued good opinion of, and affection to Master Bradshaw

The Lady Ferrers respect to him though a Papist.

His prudence in his Ministry.

*Bradshaw* she farther Manifested, by her free Consent, to have an House built for him and his Wife to live in, on a parcell of land that she had interest in, which was accordingly with as much speed as might be, not long after effected. *Then which* (saith he, so modest and moderate were his affections for the things of this life) *I desire no more worldly things, than that I may be settled in that little House, and rest there in quiet, which these times give small hope of.*

This he conceived the lesse hope of, because the Bishop under whom he had hitherto lived quietly, about this time, was deemed not like long to continue, and indeed shortly after deceasing, it was given out, that Bishop Neal, translated from *Rochester*, was to succeed (that which he much dreading, in divers of his Letters had oft up, *Lord keep us from Rochester*) and so he did indeed, though not immediately, yet not long after. For Doctor Abbots Dean of *Winchester*, who came in between them, fate not long there, but before many moneths expired, stept from *Litchfield* to *London*.

**Bishop Neal** But Bishop Neal was the man, whom all the pious, as well private men as Ministers, in these parts mis-doubted would do the most mischief. And it was reported, that the Bishop was minded to reside from the space of time at *Drakelow*, a place not far distant from *New-hall*; whose neighbourhood was like to prove no more beneficial to Master *Bradshaw*, than the brass pots

**Gods Providence over Him.** company in the Fable to the earthen pitcher. But, as *dangers oft befall us, where we least mis-doubt or suspect ought much less expect any*; so (the Lord on that wise disposing things for the safety of his servants, and the enuring of them to a constant dependance on his providence) it falleth out sometime on the other side, that

*we prove least assailed or annoyed from thence, whence we have been most affrighted with the greatest expectation of much damage, or sore distress.* So it fell out with Master *Bradshaw* here. For, howsoever in one of his Letters he manifesteth his fears to that purpose, that in regard of the considerations before-mentioned, he much doubted that *Zone would be too hot for him*, yet in another afterward he signifieth that *he had not as yet heard ought from him, or of any complaints that had been made to him against him.* Nor indeed doth it appear that he was at any time after molested, or disturbed in the exercise of his Ministry by either of them, by what means soever the Lord was pleased so either to repress or divert, as well the malice of the one, as the might of the other, that neither of them should fasten to any purpose upon him, untill the year before he died.

About this time Master *Redich* bestowed his eldest Daughter, Mistress *Grace Redich* in marriage with Sir *Robert Darcie*, Son and Heir to Sir *Edward Darcie*, a Kentish Knight, a very religious Gentleman, in great favour and repute with that Illustrious Prince *Henry*, of rare parts, and great hopes, of whom this land was not worthy, and one that highly esteemed Master *Bradshaw*, as he justly deserved. He, making his abode most at *New-hall* untill his Fathers decease, (where his Lady a very gracious Gentlewoman according to her name, not inferiour to her Husband, either in piety, or in sincerity of affection to Master *Bradshaw*, was the Second time delivered of twins, and became Mother of four Children, within compass of a year) Master *Bradshaw* by his company there received much comfort and encouragement in the work of his Ministry, and furtherance also in his Studies. For Sir *Robert* being a Scholar and studious, had a Library furnished with many of the best Writers, as well in *Divinity*, as in other kindes of literature, whereof Master *Bradshaw* had the free use; and he brought also upon his motion, divers others on purpose, that might be usefull for him. And this his affectionate and courteous carriage to Master *Bradshaw*, toward whom he ever demeaned himself with much reverence and due respect, was continued by him untill his decease, which did not many weeks precede Master *Bradshaw*.

In the year 1613. it Pleased God to take from him that worthy Gentleman Master *Redich*, his Patron, who in a very holy and Christian manner at *New-hall* departed this life. His frequent removals from *New-Hall*



hall to Longford, another house that had befallen him in those parts not long before his decease, was occasion of much distraction to Master Bradshaw, now settled with his Family at Stanton Ward near Newhall, but his decease much more: Concerning which he thus writes, among other things in a Letter to a Friend, *Master Rediches decease hath made an heavy alteration in this Family; and for mine own estate, Mistris Redich giving over house, as she intendeth to do, and to live somewhere hereabout, as privately as she may, for the better discharging of her Husbands debts, it will be the lesse comfortable, and more chargeable to me then it hath been. But I am willing for her good to undergo any thing. Master Redich on his death-bed was willing to have assured me of something during my life. But the force of his disease did so grow upon him that he could do nothing. If God lend Mistris Redich life, till the debts be discharged, or a sure course taken for them, I hope she will, if it lie in her power: for she hath promised so to do; and I assure me, she will do her uttermost to effect it. But whatsoever fall out, I trust I shall be content, having been hitherto at the Lords finding; who hath shewed himself at all times a loving Father to me his unworthy Child; and our time here, though it be full of wants, is but short.* Thus it pleased the Lord to inure this his Servant to a dependance from day to day for provisions upon his Providence; and as a grave man of God sometime said, *Whereas many other have, and eat their bread stale; to receive his bread, and eat it daily new from his hand;* that which he also, you see, was very well content to do. Mean while the good Gentlewomans incumbered and unsetled estate she was left in, being to take course for the payment of her Husbands debts, and to compound for the Wardship of her younger Daughter, who was afterward matched to one of the Lord Chief Justice Cooks Sons, could not but exceedingly distract Master Bradshaw, as well as her self; and drew him up to London together with her, oftner then he had any mind of himself, or desire thereunto. But from that Family the main means of his maintenance accrued; and to it therefore he constantly addicted himself, as in duty he deemed himself obliged to do.

His Letter about Master Rediches Death.

At Stanton Ward, not far from Newhall, as was before intimated, his Family still abode in the little house there built for him: Where, while Mistris Redich abode in those parts, or when he had any liberty to get down from these parts, while she was longer then usually detained in or about the City; he went on constantly in his wonted course, teaching freely at Stapenhill every Lords day, as formerly he had done. Only in the year 1617. coming down from London, (upon what occasion, or through whose instigation, is uncertain) he was welcomed home by the Bishops Chancellour, with an inhibition to preach there, till he heard further from him. But by the mediation of a couple of good Angels, the one from himself, (so willing and forward was he to redeem his liberty, for the benefit of others, without advantage to himself) and the other from a Friend, the Chancellour was soon pacified, and the restraint removed; whereby it appeared that the Prohibition proceeded Principally from his own avarice, rather then from mis-information from any thereabout, or injunction from above.

He is inhibited from Preaching.

But soon Restored.

Amidst this his restless and distracted condition; and constant pursuit of his religious employments, the Lord was preparing a place of settled rest for him, and a royall reward in the highest Heavens, for his faithfull service here upon earth, drawing on apace now to its utmost period. For in the year 1618. being come up from Stanton, to attend Mistris Redich, while he lodged with her at Chelsey, not far from the City, visiting a Friend at Rederith, whose house he usually frequented when he was in these parts, he complained of some malady that by his present distemper he mis-doubted might be growing upon him, and though by

His last Sickness.

his Friend he was earnestly urged to take some speedy course, by the *Physicians* advice, for preventing the farther growth of it; yet being too regardlesse of himself, while he neglected so to do, he was suddainly surprized with a violent and (as the *Physician* affirms) malignant Fever, which so fiercely set upon him, that in its very first apparent encounter it cast him down upon his couch. And notwithstanding all the means used, that either were desired, or could be procured; no care being omitted, or cost spared, by that worthy Gentlewoman, who most tenderly and intirely affected him, for advice of *Physician*, who constantly repaired to him, assistance of Apothecary, according to direction with all requisite necessities supplying him, and diligent attendance, as well of those in the Family, as of some other also for that end procured from abroad, without intermission successively about him; even the Gentlewoman her self (though advised to forbear, in regard of some malignity deemed to be in the disease) frequently resorting to him, sitting by him, and with her own hands offering, for his better ease, to be helpfull unto him, which yet he was very loath to admit; in all which from the first to the last she expressed a very great measure of cordiall affection unto him, and no lesse an earnest desire, both of his present relief, and future recovery also, if God should see it so good; yet the time being now come wherein the Lord had determined to put an end to his faithfull Servants labourious employments, continued distractions, and restless condition, and to translate him hence to a place of endlesse rest, and peace never to be interrupted again; the force of the disease within the space of a few daies fretted asunder those bands that kept soul and body together, and leaving the one behind to be laid up in the bowels of that element whence it had its first original, set the other at full liberty to return unto him, from whom alone it immediately received its existence at first.

His Death  
An. Christi  
1618.

His behavi-  
our in his  
sickness.

During the short time of his sickness, wherein yet, through Gods goodness, he continued free from any notable sense of pain, and was accompanied with much freedom of mind and memory, he had his heart and tongue in meditation set wholly upon God, acknowledging his special favour and goodness unto him, who had so far forth vouchsafed to cast a gracious eye upon him so vile and loathsome a creature, while he yet continued in his native condition, as to give him an interest by Faith in his Christ; yea so farre farther to grace so unworthy a wretch, as to call him to be a Minister of his Word, and Publisher of his Will, and to make his weake endeavours and worthlesse labours, at any time in any measure efficacious to any of his people, (as he hoped in some sort with some at least they had been) either for the conversion and bringing of them home unto him, or for the establishing and building of them up in the saving knowledge and belief of his truth, and in the graces and comforts of his Spirit. Withall seriously professing this to be his comfort, the testimony of his conscience in the sight of God bearing witness in his behalf, that in sincerity of heart, though with much weakness and amidst many failings, through the whole course of his Ministry, his main end and scope in all his labours and endeavours had been both in publick and private, to seek the glory of God, the delivery of his truth, the peace of his Church, the spiritual good of his people; in all things to approve himself to him, and continue faithfull with him, who hath been pleased to take him into his service; and desiring now nothing more, than that he might be so enabled through the support of his good Spirit, that by his Christian and comfortable carriage under his Fatherly hand, in this close of his day-work, he might confirm and seal up to others the truth of those things that he had formerly Professed and Taught, Withal earnestly Exhorting all that came about him, to Learn now to Die before they came to it, to be sure to lay a good Foundation in time of Life and Health, for matter of firm Support and sound Comfort in time of Sickness, and at the hour of Death; and to make as much Provision

His counsel  
to his  
Friends.



*Provision and strong Preparations against that time as they could, assuring themselves, that they should find all their utmost endeavours and carefullest Addressee to be little enough, when they came once to that Work.*

Amidst these and the like Religious Meditations and Pious Employments, perceiving his desired end now to Approach, and having requested Prayer to be conceived in his behalf by a special Friend, who had accompanied him most part of his sickness, not long after that Office performed by him, he quietly and peaceably resigned his Soul into the hands of his blessed Saviour, no less ready (doubtless) to receive it from him, than himself was desirous and forward to recommend it unto him.

His Funeral Rites were performed at *Chelsey*, where he drew his last Breath; His Burial most of the Ministers of better Note about the City, either constantly residing, or occasionally detained there, besides a very great multitude of private Persons well affected, repairing therenunto. Who were all there, after the usual manner in such cases and on such occasions, entertained at the Charge and by the Bounty of that worthy Gentlewoman of singular Piety, in whose House he Deceased. From which Place his Corps being conveyed on the Shoulders of six of his Reverend Brethren of the Ministry, who of their own accord offered themselves unto that Office, to the place of publick Assembly, where it was to be interred: Master *Thomas Gattaker* his ancient and inward Friend, though full of Grief for the loss of one, who so entirely affected him, and whom as well for the high esteem he had of him and his worth, as for that entire affection which he constantly bare to him, was most deservedly exceedingly dear to him, and in regard thereof not so free or fit for performance of that Office, yet enforced himself to Preach at his Funeral, and to give, though very briefly, such Testimony of him, as was generally approved of by his Reverend Brethren there present. And he was indeed a Man of eminent Parts, for sharpness of wit, clearness of apprehension, soundness of judgment, exactness of Method, and Powerfulness of Delivery, and singular dexterity in beating out perplexed and intricate Debates, descrying and discovering where the Knots lay, stating of Controversies aright, and dissolving of difficult cases of Conscience; to which purpose not only many even from remote Parts resorted unto him, either of their own accord, or directed and recommended unto him by other his Brethren of the Ministry, as one most likely of any to give them Satisfaction in their doubts; but divers of them also, of good note, (as by their Letters to him may appear) deemed it no disparagement to seek resolution from him in questions of that nature themselves. Neither was he one that kept his Talent wrapt up in a Napkin; though he were cooped up mostly in an obscure corner, through the harsh courses of those, that would not suffer his Light to shine forth in any eminent place; yet was he exceeding laborious in those parts wherein he lived, both in private employments at constant set times in the Family, and in publick also, where he might be permitted, though without benefit to himself: That which may appear by abundance of papers and Note-Books yet extant, though by many Casualties a multitude of them have miscarried. Besides his constant course of Preaching at *Stapenhill*, for the most of his time from his first Admission into that Family, save only by interruption, through occasion of Removals, which neither usually lasted over-long, nor, though distracted him in his Studies, did any whit lightly lessen his Labours; he was frequently drawn forth to join with other his Reverend Brethren in their Meetings and Exercises, at *Ashbie de la Zouch* in *Leicester-shire*, at *Repton* in *Darby-shire*, and at *Burton* upon *Trent*; at some of which Meetings the manner being, that some one of them Preached his Hour on the Scripture propounded the meeting before, and the rest or a certain number of them spent afterward, each one in his halfe Hour or thereabout on some other portion of Scripture, one being appointed to moderate

derate, by minding each that spake, if occasion were, of the time, and to close up all with some succinct Rehearsal of what had been Delivered, together with an Additament, if it seemed good, of somewhat of his own. It hath been reported by some of those Ministers, who frequented these Exercises, that when they could get this our Brother, into that Number, or into the Chair, which latter he could hardly be drawn into, he was observed to have a reach still beyond the rest; and in regard of his depth of judgment, and Dexterity in due ballancing of Points controverted, and differences in Opinion concerning the same, he was commonly stiled among them *The weighing Divine*, as hath been attested by that worthy Servant of Christ now at rest with him, Master *Oliver Bowles*, from the mouthes of some of them, who in his hearing related it.

His method  
in teaching.

For his ordinary manner of Teaching, it was in some kind somewhat different from the usual Method of most Teachers in those times. For he seldom made any Excursion into the handling of common places, or drew his subject matter out at length by any prolixly continued Discourse: But the main frame both of his publick Sermons and private Exercises, for the most part, if not wholly, consisted, after some brief and genuine Relation of the context, and explication of the Terms, where need required, of Notes and Observations, with much variety and great Dexterity drawn immediately from the Text, and naturally, without constraint, issuing and flowing either from the main Body, or from the several Limbs of it, with some useful Application annexed thereunto: Which though neither of them long insisted upon, yet were wont with that vivacity to be propounded and pressed by him, as well might, and oft did, pierce deep into the Hearts of his Hearers, and not only rectifie and clear their judgments, but have a powerful Work also upon their Affections. Nor was it his manner to quote many Scriptures, finding it troublesome to his Memory, and supposing it would be so to his Auditours also: (that which was the practise and Opinion also of Doctor *Chaderton*, as they well know, that heard him on *Matth. 21. 13.*) besides deeming it the less needful, in regard that his Observations being grounded immediately on the Scripture he handled; and by necessary consequence thence deduced, seemed to receive proof sufficient from it. A constant form of Prayer he used, as in the Family, so in his publick Ministry; only varying or adding upon some special occasions, as occurrences intervening required; The reason he gave thereof, was this, because hesitation, (which he said he was much subject unto) was in prayer more Offensive, than in other Discourse; unto prophane ones especially, whereof in mixt Multitudes, and Meetings some lightly, too many usually, were; that which he affirmed also to have been Master *Cartwrights* Practise, with whom sometime he conversed.

The efficacy  
of his  
Ministry.

He used a  
form of prayer,  
and  
why.

The Scriptures  
which  
he preached  
over.

In such manner of Teaching he went over divers Portions of Scripture: Among others, the *fifty first*, and the *hundred and nineteen Psalms*: the *story of Hanna*, *1 Sam. 1.* and of *Naamen the Syrian*, *2 Kings 5.* Part of *Christs Sermon on the Mount*, *Matth. 13.* and of the *Rich man and Lazarus*, *Luk. 16.* the Relation of *Christs Temptations*, Recorded by two of the Evangelists; the whole *History of Christs Apprehension. Arraignment and Execution*; together with *Judas his end*; the *four first Chapters of the Epistle to the Romanes*, the *three last Chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrewes*, beside many other more particular parcels of Scripture.

His works  
that were  
published.

Of this sort was by himself published in his Life-time, *A Preparation to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper*; at first written out at the request of that right Religious Lady *Darcy* for her private use, and by importunity afterwards, more publick for the farther benefit of others. Therewith many have been much taken, (by means whereof it hath oft been reprinted) and among others one *Thomas Foster*, a Mercer by Trade, living at *Shefford* in



in Bedford-Shire, a very honest, humble-minded, and sincere-hearted Christian, hath heard to professe, that that Book, and that part of it more specially wherein are laid down certain *marks and signs of Faith and Repentance*, was as far (as he was able to deem) the only outward Instrumental means of his Conversion, through the gracious co-operation of Gods Spirit working powerfully and efficaciously upon his heart in the reading thereof. And since his death have been published, *A Nuptial Sermon*, entituled, *A Marriage Feast*, on John 2. 1. - 12. *A Meditation of Mans Mortality*, on Psal. 90. His *Sermons on the second Epistle to the Thessalonians*. *A Treatise of Christian Reproof*, on Matth. 18. 15, 17. And another of the *Sin against the Holy Ghost*, on Matth. 12. 22. - 32. which in his life-time he had been, by that worthy Knight Sir Robert Darcy, who died not long before him, much pressed to publish; but could not prevail with him, being very backward in that kind, much undervaluing his own works, and very rarely, if ever, satisfying himself in ought that he undertook. For the use of the Family wherein he lived, he drew up a twofold *Catechism* as they Term it; the one somewhat large, the other more brief, for young beginners extracted out of the former; which latter, to save labour of Transcribing, he permitted to be Printed.

What spare time he had from his constant Employments, either private or publick, when not taken off by occasional Occurrences, he spent most of it principally three ways.

First, In labouring to clear some Points about the *Doctrine of Faith and Justification*; Concerning the latter whereof, after many Debates (first occasioned by some Lectures of Doctor Grey, sometime Fellow of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, then reading on that Subject at Greysam-Colledge in London) that passed to and fro by reciprocal Letters between him and a special Friend of his, he began to set upon an exact *Treatise* of that Argument: Which being upon the first Draught of it communicated to that Friend of his, upon some *Advertisements* from him, he in divers particulars farther cleared; he being afterward imparted to divers of prime Note in either University, he was by them not much encouraged only, but earnestly incited to divulge it; that, which though by much difficulty drawn unto, yet at length he did. And howsoever that accurate Piece was but courtly entertained by one of his Brethren in the Ministry, then living in the City, traducing it publickly in a Lecture at Pauls, quarrelling with him who had Licenced it for the Press, and framing a bitter *Invective* against it; which upon perusal was found so Virulent, that he could not get it permitted to the Press; yet was the Work so well approved by many Learned and judicious in both our Universities, that divers of them have professed to have received more Light thence in that Point, than they had ever before from the Writings of any that had dealt in that Argument. Hence it was that having occasion to be sometime on the Act-Day at Oxford, one of those that had seen it, and seeming not undeservedly of the work-man by the Work, seeing him passe along in a plain russet Clock, is reported by some that were then in Company with him, to have said to them, *Do you see the man that goeth yonder, in that plain Habit, and in that self-neglecting Garb and Posture? He hath more sound Learning in his Head, than twenty of us have.* And that famous Professor Doctor Prideaux, after his Decease, in some Company hearing his Son yet surviving then present there Named, demanded of him whether that Master Bradshaw, that wrote the *Treatise of Justification* where his Father? And being informed that he was, he professed himself heartily glad to see the Son of that man, for the old Acquaintance he had, not with his Father himself, but with that Work of his; For those were the Doctors own Words. Hereunto may be added the Verdict of the great and grave Counsellour of State, so much esteemed for his judgment in Law - Cates, the Lord Cook,

Cook, who visited the Gentlewoman (by the marriage of her Daughter to his Son, now neerly linked to him) at her house where Master Bradshaw then lay sick, and finding the Book lying accidentally in a Window, after the perusal of some good part of it, freely professed, That he *had seldome Read a thing more Pithily and Pregnantly Written.*

Nor was this work of his in such esteem at home only, but with other learned also abroad. Among whom Master Lewis Chappel, a man of special Note for variety of Learning, and Professor of Divinity at *Salmure in France*, having received the Book sent him from London by Master Aaron Chappel his kinsman, then Minister of the French Church there returneth him many thanks for it; requesting him withal, to enquire after the Authors place of abode, and convey from him unto him the Letter enclosed; In the Superscription whereof he stileth him, *Doctissimum, ornatissimum, clarissimumque virum*; and in the Superscription, out of his respect to him, and estimation, yea admiration of him, in regard of that piece alone, thus writes of himself, *Tui non studiosus modo, sed cultor & admirator.* In the body of the Letter, after signification, how upon some occasion being to part with the Book, he had taken pains, before he would let it go out of his hands, to translate it out of English into French, he passeth this Censure of it, *A little Book, small for bulk, but for Learning, Wit, and Acuteness a grand one. -- To speak ingeniously, I never hitherto read ought in any humane writing of Doctrinal Divinity, that so exceedingly liked me; so learnedly, acutely, soundly, pithily, plainly, and yet with admirable Brevity is this Argument so fully comprised, and thoroughly handled therein, I want words wherewith to commend and extol it according to its due desert; I have oft read it over, and yet never have enough of it; but the oftner I return to it, and read it over again, the more eagerly is mine Appetite stirred up unto it, so much Light and Brightness of Learning, Wit and Art shineth forth in it.* And whereas treading then precisely in *Piscators* steps, he propounded his doubts withal, concerning some particulars, wherein Master Bradshaw seemed to swarve from *Piscator*; Master Bradshaw to give him farther satisfaction therein, and yet save much writing at large to and fro, reviewed his own work, and endeavoured to clear those things somewhat better; wherein also he was farthered by some *Exceptions* from Master *Wootten* imparted unto himself, unto which he had returned an Answer; and having turned it so revised into Latine, he sent a Copy of it in Writing unto Master Chappel, who upon receipt thereof, wrote back at first briefly, but not long after more fully, in these words; *Right worthy Sir, I wrote before to you, that I had received your truly golden Book, enlarged by you and turned into Latine, and that presently I read it over, but in haste; so eager an Appetite had I unto it, by reading the other Edition of it in English before. Since that I have read it over again, not once, but often, and taking leasure thereunto. Which the oftner I read over, the more it pleaseth me, and is approved of by me, so accurately and exactly is it Composed by you. I hope this Birth and Issue of your Mind will find Approbation with peaceable and moderate Dispositions, on whether side soever, albeit you condescend not unto them in all things that they require. You so space in the middle between either Opinion, that neither of them ought to be displeased with you, if they truly love Peace and Concord.*

Thus that learned man word for word translated out of his Letters in Latine, which in the same language have been represented also, and published elsewhere. Whereby may appear, what entertainment, approbation, and estimation this *Treatise* (which yet the Author speaks so meanelly of himself in private Letters to his Friends) found with the learned in foreign parts, and he himself also, where otherwise wholly unknown, for it. And whosoever shall with a regardfull eye read over the generally well approved, and deservedly much esteemed writings of those worthy Servants



of God, now with the Lord, Master *William Pemble* and Master *Samuel Twiss*, concerning this subject, collated with this of Master *Bradshaw*, which came forth some good space before either of them had writ ought; he shall easily discern, on whose foundation they built, in whose steps they trod, with whose heifer they ploughed, at what Torch they lighted their Tapers, and from whence they received much of their light in that Argument. For it may be with good ground of truth be averred, that amidst the extream opposition of Divines in this point dissenting, this our Brother did herein beat out such a middle tract between them, as appears not to have been formerly discovered by any, wherein these two men of special note coming after him for the main matter of their principles, have kept close to his footsteps, in the path by him cut out and cleared to their hands. Of this latter in Latine, a Copy being sent over by him to Doctor *Ames* not long before his decease, was by him not long after it printed. Unto this his purpose was to have added a *Treatise of Justifying Faith*, the proper nature, peculiar act, and Office of it in that work, and great pity it was that such an head as this one piece shews him to have had, was not set apart for such like employments. How many points of much difficulty might haply been clear, if one of his parts received encouragement, and means of support, to apply himself and his main studies unto so usefull an employment? Surely what he saith of another, might be well said of him, *That if such as he was, had the handling of Controversies, Questions would not be so infinite and intricate oft as they are, and being aright stated, some that now fight most eagerly one against another, would be found to agree, being brought at length aright to understand either other.*

A second businesse whereunto he applied himself, about which he took much pains, was in the discussion of the matters then in controversie, for which he so much suffered, about *Subscription*, the *Ceremonies* then pressed, the *Civil Power*, and the *Prelatical*, in affairs of that nature. Of this kind discourses penned by him were underhand printed, and published as they could be secretly got out and dispersed, these following: *A Protestation of Supremacy: The English Puritanism: A Treatise of True and False Worship: Twelve Arguments against the Ceremonies, and conformity therunto: Of the Nature of things Indifferent.* Of which Argument also he wrote in Latine *Answer to Master Gabriel Powel*, which yet was not published. And it is well known to some yet surviving, that the greatest part of that which was done in that grand *Controversie* with Doctor *Downham* concerning *Episcopacy*, for the main matter of it, came forth of his forge; (howsoever of his labour and paines therein taken, another bare the name, and received the reward of the work) the tart and bitter language only, wherewith it was rather pickled than seasoned, proceeding from another pen somewhat too much steeped in Vinegar and Gall, that which he complaineth of as much misliking, in a Letter to a Friend: for he was a man of a very mild and meek spirit, and of a moderate disposition; and how farre forth in his judgment and practice he could have acknowledged, submitted unto, and complied with some kind of *Superintendency*, or *Episcopacy*, as it is commonly stiled, may appear by his demands propounded to Master *Francis Johnson* in his *Answer to his Reasons for Separation*, of which more anon.

Divers other subjects he had set upon, and made entrance into, but afterward laid aside; whether for want of time and opportunity, or for what other cause, uncertain, among others, of the former sort, was a *Refutation* in Latine of Dutch *Thomsons Diatriba, de amissione & intercessione justificationis & gratia*; which upon notice given him of Doctor *Abbots* undertaking of that task, he surceased; of this latter sort, in English, *An Answer to Master Hookers Ecclesiasticall Polity*, a work so much cried up, and

and admired by the most; and it were greatly to be wished, that he had had life and leasure (had the Lord seen it good) to have gone through with it: but the Lord had otherwise disposed.

His Zeal against Sectaries and Separatists.

In the third and last place, amidst these his labours about, and suffering for those controverted matters, he bent his forces as much also another way; to wit, against *Sectaries* and *Separatists*. To this purpose he had divers bickerings with them, and with some of the chief leaders among them, both by *Conferences* with them, and by writings against them, and the courses taken by them, whereby many were stayed from going those wayes, and some also reclaimed and brought back again. Among others, at the request of a Gentleman of *Lincolns-Inne*, (for the stay of some that were staggering, and warping that way, that one Master *Clifton* had gone before them, seduced by Master *Smith* sometime Fellow of *Christs Colledge*, who had thrice been baptized) having imparted to him a *Relation* in writing, of what had past between *Smith* and *Clifton*, who by that their mutuall *Collation* pretended, as upon good and just grounds, being convicted in conscience, to have past over to him; he wrote a large *Discourse*, wherein he discovered a great deal of weaknesse, as well in the *Arguments* of the one, as in the *Answers* of the other, thereby making it manifestly to appear, by what slight and ill-wrought twine rather than twist, that might have easily been snapt asunder; Master *Clifton* had been drawn away, and induced to leave his former station, and abandon his wonted profession; nor was his labour herein without its desired successe with those, for whom it was undertaken: As also thereby he took occasion to write A *Defence of the Baptism of Infants*, against the same parties. Against Master Francis Johnsons *Reasons for Separation*, he wrote a Book Entituled, *The Unreasonableness of Separation*, and that upon this occasion. One that was deemed to be a man of an ingenuous disposition, was earnestly solicited by some with whom he conversed, to withdraw from our Congregations, and seeming to be much perplexed with Master Johnsons *Arguments*, was yet perswaded by some of his discreet Friends, to do nothing inconsiderately in a businesse of that concernment and consequence; but to consider seriously first of it, and have conference with some grave and godly Ministers, such as he deemed as well judicious as conscientious, whereby it might be descried, whether the grounds that he was in this course intended to go upon, were such as would endure triall or no: This advice of theirs was hearkened unto, and choice made by himself of Master Bradshaw and another, whom he conceived to be both understanding and moderate men. The place for conference was agreed upon to be in a common Friends house, and the meeting intended to be very private, not above two or three of that party, besides himself, the two Ministers and those of the house; but such of them whose presence alone he desired, having acquainted divers others of their complices therewith, a multitude of them intruded themselves. Now in regard of such an unexpected company, it was deemed meet to proceed the more warily. And the party in the conference principally concerned, being put to his choice, whether he would *Argue* or *Answer*; was willing rather to *Argue*, and to make use of Master Johnsons *Arguments*, then to frame others of his own: that which very well pleased those of the separating side, as deeming Master Johnsons *Arguments* unanswerable. To prevent mis-reports, it was mutually agreed, that two persons, one of either side, should write down each *Argument*, as it was propounded; and each *Answer*, as it was returned thereunto; and should read audibly, what had passed in the prosecution of any *Argument* at the close of it, before entry upon a new, which was accordingly done; and so many of Master Johnsons *Reasons* discussed as the straits of time would permit; in pursuit whereof was so evidently shewed how

A Disputation.



how grossly Master *Johnson* had abused divers passages of Scripture, quoted for proof of those propositions; whereunto he had affixed them, that the whole company of them were exceedingly puzzled with it, and some of them to save their Champions credit, would faine have fastned some fault upon the Printers, but could not well find how to do it.

The evening coming on, the debate ceased for that day: and Copies on either side taken, being read, collated, and interchangeably delivered, the conference was adjourned till afternoon the next day, what time the other Arguments were to be scanned. But the party, whom the businesse concerned, being perswaded by the rest of them, (as it seemed) to desist, did the next morning make known his unwillingnesse for some pretended causes to go on, and so it brake off. Howbeit Master *Bradshaw* having waded so farre in examination of Master *Johnsons Reasons*, was much importuned to proceed on therein, and to go through with the rest, considering how needfull a work it was, and how usefull it might prove. Which being at length drawn unto, and that the rather because Master *Johnson* had fetcht some Arguments from grounds laid by him in that *Treatise against Conformity*, which it stood Master *Bradshaw* upon therefore to consider of, and give satisfaction unto; that which was drawn up by him, after perusall and approbation of some, on whose judgment he much relied, was by their advice sent over to Master *Ames*, who with an *Epistle* of his own prefixed, caused it to be printed in those parts, where he then abode. Neither was there any Reply ever returned unto it, in defence of Master *Johnson*, either by himself, while he lived, or by any other in his behalf, so long as Master *Bradshaw* survived; only many years after Master *Bradshaws* decease, an attempt was made against it by one Master *Can of Amsterdam*, which was not long after returned back upon its Author by a Friend of the deceased.

And indeed to Separation he was ever very adverse, and to withdrawing from the publick places of Assembly, or from any part of Gods Worship there used. To which purpose shall be related out of his papers in his own words the ensuing passages; delivered by him in a Sermon at Longford on *Matth. 5. 1.* It is the great mercy of God toward us, that we have no cause to seek the word in deserts and wildernes, in woods and caves and desolate mountains; but such worthy edifices as these to assemble in, dedicated only to this use. And where Gods people have by publick authority such places as these appointed and allowed ordinarily to assemble and meet in, we are fowly at least to suspect those Assemblies, and the worship done therein, which forsake those places, and fly into woods and deserts. It is true, that among the Jews at this time there was the Temple, and besides sundry Synagogues, answering to these Churches of ours; and which is more, the doors of the Pulpits were generally open to Christ himself; and yet our Saviour often taught in other places, but this was upon extraordinary occasions, such as seldome or never fall out with us; and so carried by our Saviour, that there was no Schisme or Separation made by him, or any of his speciall Disciples or followers, from the Assemblies then established. And after concerning the places of Assembly themselves: It is indeed an honour, that those which are in Authority and ability, should do to the Worship of God, to see that comely and seemly places be dedicated and separated from other common uses thereunto; and it is a disgrace and contempt to Gods Worship, when men that may remedy it, care not how base and contemptible the place of Gods Worship is; when men have not that care of the place, where the holy Assembly of God meets, as they have of their barns and stable. As also concerning some circumstances of Gesture used in them; From Christ sitting to teach, we learn in such externall behaviour to follow our Saviours example; that is, in matters not doubtfull, and controversal, at least to conform our selves to such outward fashions as are generally used in those times, and that Church wherein we live. For example, in the like case; It is the general custom in our Church, that the Ministers

nisters preach standing in a seat higher than the People, and bare headed: and this gesture is no peculiar gesture, but borrowed from the common practice of Orators, and such persons as make speeches to solemn Assemblies. It's meet therefore in such cases, that we should not be singular and odde, but conform to the received fashion of the Church. So that if we should sit and preach as Christ did, we should not conform to Christ; because we should cross that, which was the ground why Christ sate. Lastly, concerning repair to all parts of Gods service, from those words; *And his Disciples came to him, &c.* This also is a matter of order, that, as much as may be, divine Worship should begin, when the Congregation is assembled and come together. Therefore the Members of an Assembly should make more conscience than usually they do of coming together sooner. I urge this the rather, because it is a general fault in our Assemblies, not committed only by them, that care not which end of Religion goeth forward, but generally of most, that so they come to some part of Gods Worship, it is well enough especially if they can come time enough to the beginning of the Sermon. Hence many times the Minister with the Clerk are fain to perform a great part of the publick Worship of God alone, or with one or two at the most, and the rest of the Church come dropping in one after another at their own leasure; as though the publick prayers of the Church, and reading the Scriptures were a Worship that concerned the Minister, and Clerk only, and not the whole Church. This is the rather related, and here inserted, because not published, to manifest the moderation of the man, notwithstanding so much hard measure as he sustained from the hands of those, who so grievously abused the power they had in those times.

Thus have a rude and crude delination of this blessed and faithfull Servant of Gods course and race, whose life was indeed as a continual peregrination here upon earth; extracted, partly, from Letters written to him by others, communicated, for the better making up of this module, by Master Samuel Hilder sham, Pastor of the Church at West Felton in Shropshire, Son to that famous man of pious memory Master Arthur Hilder sham, and Master John Bradshaw, at present Minister of the Word at Echingham in Suffex; Son to this worthy Champion of Christ Jesus, both genuine heirs of their Parents best parts; and partly from Relations of his own and others of good credit, his Letters especially to a bosome Friend, whom he was wont from time to time thereby to acquaint with most occurrents of Note that befell him, or did any way concern him, while they lived at a distance. It might have been more exactly and intirely performed, had not some Letters of his been lost, and a bundle of others to him miscarried, torn by Rats in his absence from the place where they lay, the Losse whereof in a Letter he much Laments, and wishes that as many of his Books, to save them, had undergone the like ill-usage.

His death was much lamented, as by all that knew his parts, and how usefull he might farther have been to Gods Church, had the Lord been pleased to Lengthen out the line of his Life; so more especially by the well-affected of that Family, whereunto he had adhered; but in a degree farre above the rest by the head thereof, Mistresse Katharine Redich, the Relict of Master Alexander Redich, deprived now of a second stay, and principal support, for spiritual helps especially, since her Husbands decease; a very tender-hearted Gentlewoman, much addicted to Hospitality, and of very remarkable devotion and piety, Reported by those who were inwardly acquainted with her more retired courses, to have been wont constantly to spend privately twice a day, at several set-times an hour at least, in meditation and prayer, mixed oft with many tears. She, good soul, was so affected with his departure, and so feelingly apprehensive of her own losse thence ensuing, that albeit she survived him about, if not above, some twelve years; yet was it observed by those that conversed with her, that to her dying day, she could very feldome with dry eyes, either speak of him, or hear him spoken



ken of by others, that which made divers forbear speaking of him; what they well might, in her presence, for the renewing of her grief. Nor was her hearty affection to him, and due esteem of him manifested in such kind of expressions alone, (wherein, even counterfeits, though not so constantly, yet can at sometimes exceed) but it was made to appear in beneficence to her ability; and in carefull provision to her power for those he left behind him; for what by her Husband was intended, though she met with many obstructions in the pursuit of it, the estate was so entangled, she at length got made good, and settled according to his desire. And for his eldest Son, (for he left three, whereof two yet survive, and a Daughter,) being set apart for a Scholar, she maintained him at Grammar-School, until he was fitted for the University, and at the University in part also; so long as she lived.

With those in general, among whom he lived, and that knew him but at a distance, he left behind him the estimation of one very *studious, humble, plain, honest, loving, free, liberal, charitable and compassionate*. Very *studious* they deemed him, because they seldom saw him walking abroad without a Book in his hand; and reading usually, if alone, in it, as he walked, though he walked commonly somewhat fast, being therein farthered through the quickness of his eye, and the steadiness of his hand. And for his *humility*, it so readily offered itself to the eye in his whole deportment, that they could not but take notice of it, reading it as written in text Letters, therein, that saw ought at all in him.

A *plain* man he was, as *Jacob*, without Welt or Gard; and a *plain-dealing* Man, as *Nathaniel*, without craft or guile; free from all Courtship, either for counterfeit, or complement. Among the meaner sort he was the more beloved, because, though his means were but mean and scant, yet they perceived him to be of a *free and liberal* disposition; and were willing therefore to work with him ordinarily before any other, because he used to give them somewhat above their hire or agreement, which few others did. His *charitable mind* and *tender-heartedness* many waies manifested itself. It hath been known, that he hath borrowed money, when he had none about him, or by him, to relieve some that have been in want; and to have been as carefull to repay it, as forward to part with it. His Charity.

While he was at *Chatham*, some gallies that had sometime been built for service, and lay along time after there idle, being found usefull for our Seas; yet being than on foot, and some put into them; he walked down one day with some company to see the manner of them: which when he had viewed, it seemed to him so dismal a sight, to see men, Christian-men, put to such kind of servitude, that he could not endure to behold it without tears, and having given them a little money, so left them, returning back in a very sad and pensive moode. Yea, he was one of those, whom *Solomon* speaks of, whose *commiseration* reacheth even to the bruit beasts, which he could not endure to see unmercifully used: and would oft say he was perswaded that men took too much liberty to themselves in killing and misusing some, even contemptible creatures, without cause. Riding homeward sometime with his Son behind him, whom he had taken out with him, the waies being bad and deep, and the beast that bare them travelling heavily and wearisomely, he took occasion thereby to enter into a discourse to the lad behind him, what hardship the poor unreasonable creature was put to, to be serviceable to us; what misery such sustained for mans sin; and so affectionately he spake of it, that to his Son, whom he spake to, he seemed to weep with it.

He may be thought to have had some presage of his end approaching, before his Last Access to the City. For it is reported by his Son now in the Ministry, and treading in his Fathers steps, that being very earnest in soliciting of him, that he might then go up to *London* with him, which since he sucked, it seems he had never seen, he willed him, *not to be so desirous*

## The Life and Death of Master William Bradshaw.

sirous to see London; for whensoever he saw London, he should see it to his cost. And to his great grief indeed he did, coming up with his Mother, a heavy Widow, not long after his Fathers departure hence, and funerall rites here performed.

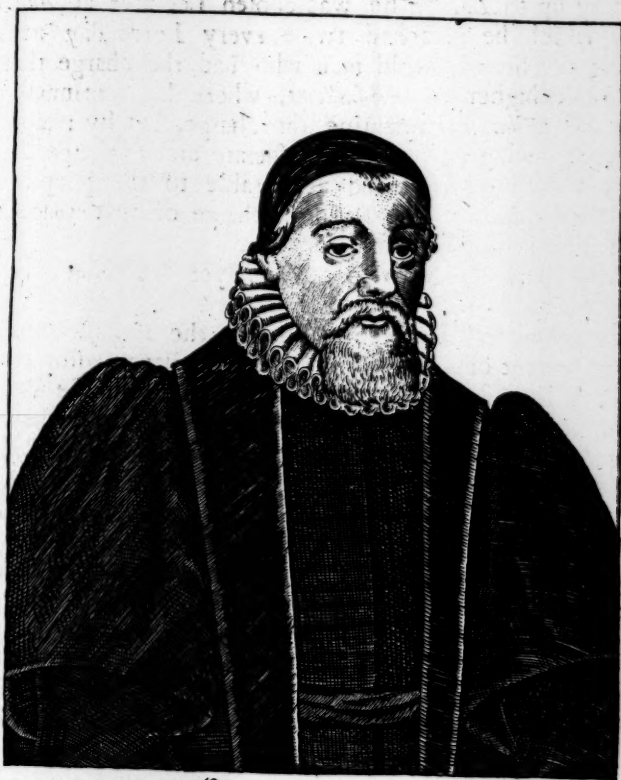
Doctor  
Halls chara-  
cter of him.

We shall close all, with that free and ingenious Character, which that illustrious late Bishop of Norwich, his old, true and loving Friend (he is pleased to stile himself in some Letters to him) truly giveth of himself: He was saith he, of a strong brain, and a free spirit; not suffering himself for small differences of judgement to be alienated from his Friends; to whom notwithstanding his seeming austerity, he was very pleasing in his conversation, being full of Witty and harmlesse Urbanity: he was very strong and Eager in arguing, hearty in his friendship, regardlesse of the World, a despiser of Complement, a Lover of Reality, full of digested Learning, and Excellent Notions; a painfull Labourer in Gods Work, and now, no doubt, gloriously rewarded.

This Life was drawn up by my Reverend, Learned, and worthy Friend Mr. Thomas Gataker of Redersb.

THE





M<sup>r</sup>. STOCK

*The Life of Master Richard Stock, who dyed  
Anno Christi 1626.*



*Richard Stock* was born at *York*, and after he was throughly furnished with Countrey Learning, he went to *Cambridge* at the age of Eighteen or Nineteen years, as most in those Northern parts in those times used to do; where he was admitted into *St. Johns Colledge*, and after a while was chosen Scholar of the House. At this time Doctor *Whitaker* was Master of Saint *Johns* (under whom his younger Brother had a Sifers place)

His Birth  
and Breed-  
ing.

who favoured Master *Stock* very much for his ingenuity, industry and proficiency in his Studies.

There he remained till he had taken his degree of Master of Arts, at which time he had had a fellowship, but that his Countrey was full; whereupon he left the Colledge, and lived some space of time with Sir *Edward* or *Edward Cope*, at *Cannons Ashby* in *Northamptonshire*; from whence he afterwards removed to the *Lady Lane* at *Burton* on the water in *Gloucestershire*, to be her Chaplain.

His remove  
from *Cam-*  
*bridge*.

Before he left the University he was designed to a Fellowship in *Sidney Colledge*, then intended and beginning to be built; but having long discontinued before the building was accomplished, he had then no mind to return to the University again.

But

His coming  
to London.

But coming up to London he was chosen Lecturer at *Auslins* in *Watling-street*, after which he preached twice every Lords day at *Mildreds Bred-street*, during the life of an old man who had the charge there: Whence he removed a little higher to *All-hallows*, where he continued preaching constantly, one Mr. *Edmunds* retaining the charge, but by reason of age and infirmities accompanying it, unable to Officiate and discharge the place himself. His Ministry was so gratefull and acceptable to the people, that after the death of Master *Edmunds*, the Pastorall charge of that place was conferred upon him, which he held to his dying day.

His marriage.

Being settled there he Married a Wife yet surviving, by whom he had three Daughters.

His character by Mr Gataker.

He was a grave and Reverend Father in the *English Church*, a faithful Minister and servant of Jesus Christ, and a vigilant Pastor over his Congregation. His Life and courses and constant Labour in the Work of the Lord were well known through the whole City of *London*; wherein he constantly continued the Work of his Ministry by the space of about thirty two years.

His study of Humanity.

During his abode in *St. Johns Colledge* in *Cambridge*, even from his first beginnings, he was of eminent Note for his unwearied Industry, and singular Proficiency in those Studies of Humanity, that are as Hand-Maids to Divinity, and help to lay a good ground for any future Profession. So that his Care was to intertwine Piety and Humanity the one with the other, that as Web and Woof they ran on even along together, through the whole course of his Studies. Nor was he only careful of this Practice himselfe, but (according to that of the Apostle, *Observe one another to what on to Godliness and well doing*;) he was no less forward to incite others to the like Practice: Yea, not only to incite them thereunto, but to assist them therein, and to afford what helps he could (which well also he could do) unto any that were desirous, yea or but willing to embrace them, so that many of his Friends had Cause to bless God that ever they come acquainted with him. In a word, whilst he stayed in the Colledge, he gave before hand e're he came to it, evident signes of one likely to prove a skilful Master-Builder in Gods Work, and a winner of many Souls unto God.

Heb. 10. 24.  
"Eis to na-  
gozouev."

Nor was he one of those rath-ripe Wits, that promise fair in the Blossome, but fail in the Fruit; that like Comets, blaze brighter than the fixed Stars for a time, but after a while vanish and come to naught, the matter of them being either wholly spent or dispersed. But his proceedings in publick were correspondent to his beginnings in private. When it pleased God to call him out, and to set him apart to that imployment that he had ordained him to before, he proved a painful and faithful Minister of *Jesus Christ*; a skilful and powerful dispenser of Gods Word. And if any proof hereof be desired, Not to insist upon his constant and incessant imployments with generall approbation and applause of those that were Religious and judicious, continued for so many years (as aforesaid) together; not a *Sabbath* intermitted wherein (if health served) he preached not twice, either in his own charge (where he was most frequent) or elsewhere abroad, besides his Catechizing of the younger sort in the week dayes at certain times, and other such Offices as to the Pastorall Function are necessarily annexed, and are privately to be performed; wherein also he was no lesse diligent than in the execution of his publick Ministry. Not to insist (I say) upon this (which yet were sufficient proof of it) as the Apostle saith of the *Corinthians*, *You are the seal of my Apostleship, and my Letters Testimonial*. So may it well be said of this reverend man of God, Many Christian souls having professed themselves to have had their first effectual Calling and Conversion from him; the like whereunto few others could say at that time; Besides the multitudes of those which have acknowledged themselves to have been edified,

His painfulness.

1 Cor. 9. 2.  
The effectualness of his Ministry.



built up, and bettered by him, are the seal of his Calling, and of *Christ* speaking in and by him, and not verball or vocall, but reall Letters testimoniall of the efficacy of his Ministry, through Gods blessing upon the same.

One saith that the Apostles were like Fishermen, the succeeding Ministers like Huntsmen. The Apostles like Fishermen that caught many at one draught: The succeeding Ministers like Huntsmen, that with much toil and clamour running up and down all day, scarce take one Deer or Hare e're night. And such is the hard condition of many of Gods Servants, that notwithstanding the faithfull and painfull discharge of their duty, yet are refused to complain with the Prophet, *Who hath believed our report?* and, *I have laboured in vain.* Scarce able to produce, or instance in any one, of whom they can with some good ground of assurance presume that they have gained, at least him unto God. But well might this worthy Servant of *Christ*, through Gods blessing upon his labours, stand out and say, not of one or two, but of troops, in the words of the same Prophet, *Behold I, and the children that God hath given me.* And with the Apostle, *These have I begotten unto God by the Gospel of Jesus Christ.*

Isa. 53. 1.  
and 49. 4.

Isa. 8. 18,  
1 Cor. 4. 15.

Yea more then that, many famous lights in Gods Church, and faithfull Ministers of his Word do professe to have lighted their candles at his Lamp; yea some of them to have received their first beginnings, not of Light only, but of spiritual Life and Grace (without which all Light, be it never so great, is no Light, but meer Darknes) from his Ministry. It's no small honour for a man to win, if it were but any one Soul (*He hath saved a Soul*, saith Saint *James*, as a matter worthy the glorying in.) For to win a Soules, is to win more than the whole World besides is worth. But what an honour then is it to be, not a winner of a Soul, but a winner of such as prove winners of Soules; and so by winning of some one immediately, to be a mediate winner of many others by him? *They shall shine* (saith he) *as the Heavens, that instruct; and they that Convert others, as the Starres.* And how gloriously then (suppose we) doth this blessed Man of God shine now in the Kingdom of God, that was an instructor of those that are instructors of others, that was a Converter of those that are Converters of others themselves!

Jam. 5. 20.

Dan. 12. 3.

Many then did this worthy Man (as the holy Ghost saith of *John the Baptist*) win unto God. Many he won, though all he could not, that was more than the Apostle *Paul* was able to do. The *Jews* opposed themselves against his Ministry, and Blasphemed, *Act. 18. 6.* and *2 Thes. 3. 2.* *All men* (saith he) *have not Faith;* But yet many he won, and his desire and endeavour (with the same Apostle) was to win all, his own Flock especially, of whom he used to protest, That is was more comfort to him to win one of them than twenty others. But some refractory Spirits (as what Minister doth not?) He met withal, that would not be reclaimed; that by their crosse-grain carriage and behaviour, were as Thorns in his Eyes, and as Goats in his Sides, and proved a vexation of Heart to this faithful Servant of *Christ*. But against such Persons, not only the dust of the Ministers feet, but the sweat of his Brows, and Tears of his Eyes, and his strength wasted amongst them, and his Spirits spent upon them, shall one day rise up in judgement against them, to make their Doom the heavier, if it be not prevented by speedy and unfeigned Repentance.

Luk. 1. 16.

Rom. 10. 1.

The danger  
of unprofitable  
hearers.

But because a man may win others, and yet lose himself, he may save others, and yet not save himself; They may beget life in others that have none themselves. The Word may work by a man, and yet not work in him. He may be like a stone-gutter (saith *St. Austin*) or a leaden pipe, that conveyeth water into a Garden, yet receives no benefit thereby himself. Or like the hand on the high-way that pointeth others the way, that never walks therein it self. Or like an Harp (saith the *Heathen*) that maketh others melody, or a Trumpet that sounds loud, but heareth nothing

I Cor. 9.  
27.

Mat. 23. 3.  
His exemplary Life.

What  
makes a  
compleat-  
man.

What  
makes a  
compleat  
Minister.

His manner  
of preaching

nothing it self. Or like to the water in Baptism (saith *Gregory*) that helps men to Heaven-ward, but afterwards is poured down the sink it self. He may preach to others, and not preach to himself. He may convert others, and yet himself prove acast-away. Though yet indeed it's seldom seen, that much good is done where a due consent is wanting between tongue and hand, between lip and life. It was far otherwise with this reverend man of God; he was none of those that say and do not; but as he taught so he wrought his Doctrine and practice concurred, and went hand in hand together. His actions were, though silent, yet reall and affectual Sermons of that which he Preached in the Pulpit. The course of his life was uniform with the tenour of his teaching; and both joyning and concentrating in one, were means to draw on many; who by the one alone probably had not been so easily won to *Christ*.

In a word, for his teaching, many that were his constant Hearers have given him a large testimony; and they that knew his conversation have done the like for his life. He was not a flash, one of those which shew all in a Sermon, or that spend all upon one curious good work that they mind to make their *Master-Piece*. But both in his life and teaching he held on such a constant tenour, that the most men, especially such as were wise and judicious, were acquainted with either, the more they revered and esteemed him for both.

There are two things (saith one) that make a compleat man, Integrity and judgment; the one whereof is but lame and maimed without the other, and yet in few they use to meet together; yet there was an happy conjunction of them both in this worthy man. One sign whereof will appear by the frequent practice of many, who made use of him for to be an overseer of their last wills, and craved his assistance by way of direction for the disposall of their outward estates (and all know how cautious men use to be in that kind.) Another testimony of it was by those Reverend Brethren of the Ministry, as well as others, who either by Letters or otherwise, out of all parts of this Realm, did usually seek to him, as to one more than ordinarily able to give them satisfaction for the resolution of their doubts.

These two then made him a compleat man; but there is something more required to make a compleat Minister, *viz.* That he be able to speak his mind fitly (for what use can there be of a mute Messenger) and that he dare do it freely (for of whom is courage and freedom of speech more required than of Gods Messengers?) Nor was Mr. *Stock* defective in either.

For as for the former, how well able he was, not to expresse only, but to urge and presse too; not to confirm alone, but to commend also that that he delivered with clear method, sound proof, choice words, fit phrases, pregnant similitudes, plentifull illustrations, pithy perswasions, sweet insinuations, powerfull enforcements, allegations of antiquity, and variety of good literature; that both the learnedest might receive satisfaction from him, and the very meanest and dullest might also reap benefit by him, and so as might well leave a deep impression in the hearts and minds of the Hearers, they cannot be ignorant, that for any space of time heard him. In a word, in this kind he was such an one as many strove to imitate, but few attained to equalize him.

Again, Because it is in vain to be able to speak to good purpose, if a man dare not use his tongue: if (as one said of the *Eretrians*) he be like the sword-fish that hath a sword in his head, but no heart in his body: or like a cowardly companion, that carries a weapon to ruffle with, but dares not draw or make use of it, though just occasion be offered. For



his freedom of speech therefore in reproving of sin, and that even to the faces of the greatest, whether in publick or private, when occasion required; many even now living are able to testifie, and some accidents made it more Publickly known, then his desire was that it should have been.

He was very zealous and earnest for the reformation of some prophana-tions of the *Sabbath*. Wherein he prevailed also for the alteration of something offensive in that kind; as well with the main body of the City, as with some particular Societies; as for their meetings upon *St. Thomas* day. He perswaded also some of the companies to put off their solemn Feasts from Mundaies to Tuesdaies, that so the *Lords day* might not be profaned by their preparations for those Feasts.

His zeal  
for the *Sab-  
bath*.

His prudence also appeared in his order of Catechizing the young persons of his Parish; by examining them apart, the youths on one day, and the maids on another. The riper and forwarder first in the presence of the ruder and rawer, and the ruder and rawer apart by themselves, when the former were departed, that so they might reap what fruit they could by hearing the others, and yet might receive no discouragement by being heard of them.

His pru-  
dence.

Neither was his pious diligence and care lesse seen in the Religious in-struction and education of those that were under his private charge, as Chil-dren and Servants, for whom his care was greater to provide for their souls than their bodies, for their spiritual than for their temporal estate (yet not neglecting that neither) by bringing them up in the nature and fear of the Lord. In a word, time and speech would sooner fail then matter, If I should proceed to write of all the gifts, graces and praise-worthy qualities of this eminent servant of *Christ*,

His care  
of his Fa-  
mily.

In his publick Ministry his usuall manner was upon occasion to quote the sayings of many of the Fathers, which some taking exceptions at, he thus Apologized for himself, *If any (saith he) take exceptions at my al- ledging of Fathers (as some have taken offence at my using of Reasons to con- firm the Doctrine, but with very little Reason as I suppose) I must pray them, to give me leave to use them, till I can see that unlawfulness which they affirm to be in the practice, and to censure me in charity for the use of them, as I do them for not not using them. I will look as well to my heart in the use of them, as God shall enable me; and when I shall see the hurt of them, I will endeavour as much to avoid them. In the mean time I will make as much use as I can of them, to Edifie the Church of God.*

His Apolo-  
gy for quo-  
ting the Fa-  
thers.

In his younger dayes being called to Preach at *Pauls Crosse*, he dealt somewhat plainly and freely in taxing some abuses in the City in unequall Ratings, whereby the meaner sort were over-burthened, whilst the rich and great ones escaped with more ease. This was ill taken by many of them, who checked him as over-rash for dealing in such matters, calling him a green-head: but in his latter daies being called to preach at the Lord Maiors Election, he fell again upon the same subject, and told them a gay-head spake now what a green-head had done formerly.

His faith-  
fulness in  
reproving  
sin.

But to draw to an end together with his end; The end of his labours, but the beginning of his rest; The end of his work, but receipt of his re-ward. In the aforementioned and such like employments, publick and pri-vate, he spent his time: He spent his strength like a Torch or Taper, wasting and consuming himself for the profit and benefit of others, having his work with God then, and his Reward for it from God afterwards. And for these employments sake was it principally, that he desired recovery of Health and Strength: Unto the performance whereof also (though therein injurious to himself, and contrary to his own desires) he oft strained him-self, and that in the midst of his infirmity and weakness, not to uncertain

His last  
sickness.

His Death.

1 Tim. 4. 12.

hazard only, but to evident impeaching and impairing of either, *What is the sign* (saith *Hezekias*, when he was promised recovery) *that I shall go up to the House of the Lord?* As desiring continuance of Life, and recovery of Health for no one end more than that. And therefore also was it that this worthy man was desirous of Recovery, that he might repair to Gods House again, and that he might return to Gods Work again. To which purpose the very last Lords Day before his disease, having after many relapses recovered a little Strength, he made shift to get out to a Neighbour Congregation, there to joyn with Gods People in publick performance of such solemn Service of God, as that day is usually spent and employed in. And having held out with them to the end in both parts of the Day, he rejoiced much therein that he was able so to do, the rather because he thereby conceived some good hope, that he should be strong enough ere long to return to his wonted Work and Employment again. But the Lord saw it better (for his will appears by his work) to put an end to his incessant Labours here, and to translate him to the Place of his endless Rest elsewhere, and that upon the twentieth day of *April*, Anno Christi 1626. having been Preacher at *All-Hallows Breadstreet* during the space of thirty two years, where he was an example to his People *in Word, in conversation, in Charity, in Spirit, in Faith, in Purity*. But as one saith, An exact Face is seldom drawn but with much disadvantage; so neither is his Character; so that we may well say as one doth of *Basil*, *There wanted but his own Tongue to commend him with.*

THE



The Life of Master Richard Rothwel, who dyed  
Anno Christi, 1627.



Richard Rothwel was born in Lancashire, at, or near Bolton in the Moors, about the year of our Lord, 1563. After he took the Ministry upon him, and God gave him another heart, he disposed his temporal estate amongst his friends, and ἐκ τῆς Ἐυαγγελίᾳ ζῆν, I Cor. 9. 11, 14. He lived of the Gospel. His Birth, and Education.

His education was in the Schools, and afterward in Cambridge; in the one he attained to an exact knowledge of the Tongues, (especially Greek and Hebrew, wherein he was a Critick) and in the other of the Arts, so that he became a skilful-Linguist, subtil Disputant, Copious Orator, and of a deep insight into any kind of knowledge, Humane or Divine.

In this first course of his studies appeared presently to his observers, the buds and blossomes of that fame which after he attained unto; for he had a prompt wit, a quick apprehension, a clear understanding, a sound judgement, a ready speech, and a strong memory. All these seldome meet in one man, but did in him very eminently, and were improved by diligent study, which (out of a desire of Learning and knowledge) he continued to his last without wearineffe. His natural, and acquired parts.

His Constitution of body, and morall endowments of mind, were great props and supporters to his intellectual habits, *Gratior est virtus veniens è corpore pulchro*. This is not the Ordinary Lot of Scholars; He was tall, well set, of great strength of body and activity, of a stern countenance, of invincible courage, of approved valour, and of a very goodly and majestick presence: Grief, nor any misery could ever break him, but joy would presently melt him into tears.

He was of a generous spirit and deportment, yet withall very humble and Courteous; His Language was sententious and proverbial. I have heard many others say, what I must needs my self, *Nunquam illi accedo quin doctior evadam*, I never came to him, but I went the Learner from him. He had a great Dexterity in Communicating his mind to another, and speaking to his understanding; God gave him a great in-let into the hearts of men.

After many years spent in the University, he betook himself to the Ministry, and was ordained *Presbyter* by Doctor Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, who forbade him meddling with interpretation of *Moses Types*, the Book of Canticles, Daniel, and the Revelation. Which then he thought himself, as the Bishop did, were not so usefull for him to study as some other Scriptures. His entering into the Ministry.

But alas! all these natural dispositions, intellectual habits, personal deportments were but as so many weapons in the hands of a mad man: Judge how able he was by these to resist the truth; For he remained some years without any change of heart, or sensible work of grace upon his soul, but preached learnedly as they called it, and lived vainly; abhorring debauchery, and debauched companions,

His course  
of Life be-  
fore his  
Conversion.

nions, through the height of his spirit, but gave himself to hunting, bowlling, shooting, more then became a Minister of the Gospel, and sometimes he would swear *Faith and Troth*, and in his passion greater blasphemies. I have heard him tell that there were two Knights in *Lancashire* fallen out, and a great feud betwixt them; That the one had a very good Park with store of Deer; That the other had excellent good Fish-ponds, and store of Fish: He robbed the Park of the one, and presented what he got to the other; and the Fish-ponds of the other, and presented the Fish to his Adversary; thus he pleased himself in the daies of his vanity, with such kind of follies. In doing this one night, the Keeper met with him, his Dog having killed a Buck; at the fall of the Buck, the Keeper came in with his fauchion and staff, and met Master Rothwel who had a staff also; They fell from words to blows; He got the Keeper down, bound him by the thumbs, and drew him up to his full height, that he could but touch the ground with his toes, and so left him tied to a tree till next morning, where others found him and loosed him. At length God pleased, who separated him from his Mothers womb, as he did Paul, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son in him. Which because it was famous, and he himself afterwards proved the meanes of the Conversion of so many, I shall set it down, as I remember, I have heard him speak it.

The means,  
and manner  
of his Con-  
version.

He was playing at Bowles amongst some Papists and vain Gentlemen, upon a Saturday, somewhere about *Rachdale*, in *Lancashire*; there comes in to the green to him one Master Midgley, a grave and godly Minister of *Rachdale*, whose praise is great in the Gospel, though far interior to Master Rothwell in parts and learning; he took him aside and fell into a large commendation of him, at length told him what pitty it was, that such a man as he should be a companion for Papists, and that upon a Saturday, when he should be preparing for the Sabbath-day. Master Rothwel sleighted his words, and checked him for his meddling.

Power of  
Prayer.

The good old man left him, went home and prayed privately for him; Master Rothwel when he was retired from that company, could not rest, Master Midgleys words struck so deep in his thoughts; The next day he went to *Rachdale* Church to hear Master Midgley, where it pleased God to bless that Ordinance so, as Master Rothwel was by that Sermon brought home to Christ. He came after Sermon to Master Midgley, thanked him for his reproof, and besought his direction and prayers, for he was in a miserable condition of nature; and under the spirit of bondage he lay for a time, till afterwards, and by Master Midgleys hands also he received *The Spirit of Adoption*, wherewith he was so sealed, that he never lost his assurance to his dying. Though he was a man Subject to many Temptations, the Devil assaulting him very much, yet God was mightily with him, that out of his own experience he was able to comfort many. He esteemed and counted Master Midgley ever afterward for his Spiritual Father. This makes me think upon *Augustines* speech to God, when he came to hear *Ambrose* preach: *non ut ad Doctorem veni* (but upon another account) *ad eum; per te ducbar vel ciens, ut ad te per eum sciens ducerer*. So did the Lord by Master Midgleys plain kind of teaching, put forth the evidence of his Spirit upon this mighty and learned Rabbi.

His Faith,  
and Com-  
fort.

Confess. 1. 5.  
c. 13, 14.

His going  
into Ireland.

Whether it was before or after this his Conversion that he went a Soldier, and Chaplain to a Regiment under the Earl of *Essex* into *Ireland*, I know not; but there he was, and did very great things. And certainly wisdom and courage were so eminent in him, that there were few of his Calling his equals, I think none at all his Superiours.

He now becomes another man, forsakes all his wonted courses and companions, preacheth in another manner than formerly, opens the depths of Satan, and deceitfulness of the heart, so as he was called the *Rough Hewer*. He had the power of God that went with his Ministry, when he preached the Law



Law to make men tremble, yea sometimes to cry out in the Church: and when he preached the Gospel, he was another *Barnabas*, and had great skill in comforting afflicted consciences.

The efficacy of his Ministry.

He studied now the point of Non-conformity, which was as the joynts in *Abahs* armour, through which the Prelates hit, and deprived so many godly and able Ministers in those times. In these Controversies he was so well versed, that he satisfied many, and silenced any that disputed with him. He was so fixed in his judgement, that he would never either marry, (expecting daily persecution; and the word he used in all his Books, was *Persecutio pigra futura felicitatis*;) nor take any Benefice, (though divers great livings were proffered him) because he would still say, *My head is too big to get into a Church door*. But he betook himself first to a Chappel in *Lancashire* as a *Leitner*, and afterward (to decline the storm of the Prelates) to be a Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of *Devonshire*, and at that time I first knew him, and came (Iblessed God) acquainted with him.

The places of his first employment.

There now ran nothing more in his mind, but why the Bishop should forbid him preaching upon those Scriptures before mentioned; and he began to conceive that there was sure something there, could he find it, which would mightily batter down their *Hierarchy*; He prayed therefore much to God; (wherein he was mighty) and studied them, and God opened those mysterious passages of his Book to him more than to other men; that he seldom preached abroad out of any other Scriptures, and did write an exact Commentary upon *Moses Types*, which he unveiled with very much profit and delight to the Reader: But that Book is lost to the great losse of Gods Church thereby.

The study of the Prophecies.

Learned and godly Master *Cotton* enquired of me whether that or any thing else might not be found amongst his papers after his death: I told him there was little found, but what was in Characters. He prayed me to send him what I could gather, to *Boston*, where men were that were expert in Characters. I did so, but I believe they could make nothing of them. That and some other of his learned and judicious labours he hath lent out, I suppose, and I fear they will not be recovered. Learned men that have seen them, judge them a rare treasure. He had some contests with the Prelates, especially with Bishop *Neal* then of *Litchfield*, afterwards of *Durham*.

His contests with the Bishops.

At length he came to spend most part of his time in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, by means of an honourable and Elect Lady, the Lady *Bowes*, afterwards the Lady *Darcy* in the North. Of whom it was truly preached at her Funeral, (Alas, that it was at her Funeral) *Wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her*. She gave about one thousand pounds *per annum*, to maintain Preachers where there were none, nor any means for them, and all her Preachers were silenced, men by reason of Non-conformity: Such as Master *Baynes*, Master *Dike*, &c. She would lay out all her interest to get them their liberty, and than she would dispose of them, where there needed in the North, or in the Peak in *Darbyshire*, or other places, and allow them pensions; O! That God would raise out of the ashes of this *Phoenix* some more such Mothers in *Israel*. Sir *William Bowes* her husband dying, his Funerals were kept at *Bernards-Castle*, where he had some honour: Master *Dike* (Father of the Writers of that name) was then her household Chaplain, and went into the North to that Funeral; at his return he represented the state of the people destitute of a Minister to my Lady, who would have sent him thither; but he told her he durst not venture on so surly a People, but commended Master *Rothwel* to her. She sent to him, then at the Earl of *Devonshires* house, and proffered him this employment; His answer was, he would go thither, and if the people called him, he would then accept of her motion.

Mar. 26. 13.

The Lady Bowes, her great Charity.

At his first dayes labour, they all desired him; he returned to the Lady, and told her he would go; she replied, though for their sakes she was glad, yet she was afraid to send him; understanding that they were of a fierce disposition, and having never heard the Gospel, might deal unkindly with him; he answered, *Madam, If I thought I should never meet the devil there, I would never come there; he and I have been at odds in other places, and I hope we shall not agree there.*

He desired to have me with him, and with much ado prevailed; and so I (blessed God) he not only fitted me for the University, but was a means to bring me to the first saving knowledge of *Christ*; I remember, and shall do ever, the first Sermon and point which God blessed to my soul for that purpose. I was about eight years his bed-fellow and eye witness of the great success he had in his Ministry there, and over all the Countrey, where he was worthily called, *The Apostle of the North*. The Lady allowed him forty pounds *per annum*, and such as God wrought upon by his Ministry contributed to him, but he would not have a penny from any other.

His self-denial.

There was once in his absence collected 30. li. by Sir Talbot Bowes, that lived there, from the people; but when he returned and knew it, he came at to be restored to the Parties, that gave it, and told them, *He sought them, not theirs.*

His patience, and courage.

His carriage amongst his people.

At his first entrance he had great opposition, and sometimes was way-laid to take away his life; but he overcame all that with his patience and courage, and at length his greatest enemies were afraid of him; and few Sermons, but it was believed, he gained some souls.

His manner was to spend the forenoon at his Studies, and the afternoon in going through his Parish, and conferring with his people; in which, as he excelled, so he gained much upon them; and within four years had to many judicious and experimental Christians, that they came from *London, York, Richmond, New-Castle*, and many other places, to see the order of his Congregation: And many lewd Gentlemen came oft, ten or twelve Miles to hear him, to carp and get somewhat to accuse him: Many of which God took hold on, and they returned, some Convinced, and some Converted.

His last sickness.

Not long after, (saith mine Author) I went to the University, and after eight years continuance there, came over into *England* upon some opportunities, and stayed about halfe a year, ere I returned. When I came to *Mansfield* in *Nottingham-shire*, I found him there their Minister, and sick unto the Death; at my coming he revived, and in the strength of that joy so far recovered, that within a week he went about the Town with me to divers places; but relapsed, and engaged me to Preach for him once the next Sabbath following, and in the afternoon at *Mansfield Wood-house*, within half a mile of *Mansfield*. On Fryday we looked for no life from him, he was almost past his understanding; There came a Vicar of *Mansfield*, one Master Brittain to see him, and desired him now, that he was not like to live, to tell him what he thought of the Ceremonies; he knew he was learned, and therefore would be glad, to be informed by him. Master Rothwel either understood not, or minded not what he said, but answered sometimes *Yes*, sometimes *No*, as he apprehended. Master Brittain went away telling him he was satisfied, and reported that Master Rothwel recanted his judgement of Non-conformity.

He foretells his Death.

The next day [Saturday] he had some lightning, and sat up in his chair, and discoursed freely, cheerfully and heavenly all that and the next day; some sent to enquire on the Sabbath how he did, he answered, *I am well, and shall be well shortly*; and whispering with me, said, *Do you know my meaning? I shall be with Christ ere long; but do not tell them so.* He caused me to repeat my Sermon preached in the forenoon for him, after which



which, with tears in his eyes he laid his hands on my head, and lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and with a short Prayer blessed me: Then he bad me go to preach at *Mansfield Wood-house*, and tarry there all night, (for he had promised it to one Master *Dand* there,) but to be sure to come when I sent for me. This he did next morning about six a clock, when I came found him in pangs of death, he had not known nor spoken to any in an hour before: The chamber was full, and one was praying for him; after Prayer, I spake to him, he turned about his head, took me by the hand, and bade me pray, pray; I desired a Reverend Minister to go to prayer again; Master *Rothwel* said, *Pray you, pray you*; I did so: after that he smiled, *Now* (saies he) *I am well: Happy is he that hath not bowed a knee to Baal*; He bad me sing *Psal.* 120. he sung a while, but in the singing of the Psalm he His Death.

Anno Domini 1627. and in the year of his age 64.  
Thus have I given you as true an account as I could of this famous Champion of Christ, who notwithstanding his Non-conformity, may be called with *Austin*, *Hereticorum Malleus*, *The Hammer of Hereticks*, and with *Ambrose*, *Orbis terrarum* (*Anglicarum*) *oculus*. The eye as bright as any other in the *English Orbe*.

Two things (amongst many others) I think worthy the inserting into his life, which have been omitted in the fore-going story.

The one is a strange sicknesse and recovery he had once at *Bernards Castle*. His sicknesse was a *Vertigo capitis*, he would have fourty fits at least in an hour, and every one of them accompanied with mischievous temptations, which when the fit was over, he dictated, and I writ down; His strange sicknesse, and recovery.

These held him about three weeks, in which time he had the advice of learned Physicians from *London*, *York*, *New-Castle*, *Durham*, and other places, they all jumped in their judgments, imputing it to much study, fasting, and inward trouble of spirit; their Prescriptions wrought kindly, but removed not his disease; He desired divers Christians to pray for him on a day prefixed, and promised to joyn with them as well as he could, with some others that should be with him, assuring them, *That he was confident that disease would not be removed but by Prayer and Fasting*. The morning of that day he had a fit continued four hours together upon him, and the devil set upon him all that while, with most dreadfull temptations, telling him he would make him the scorn of Religion, and every man should reproach it for his sake, that had before by his means looked towards it: That he should never preach more, but should Blaspheme the name of God he had preached, with many like suggestions: God gave him courage, comfort and Victory over them all. The devil told him if he did fast and pray that day, he would torment and hinder him, &c. We met at the time appointed, and Master *Rothwel* would needs have me to perform the duty, which through Gods goodnesse I did, and the devil was not permitted to hinder or interrupt him or us, and God heard our prayers, so that he had never a fit after that; and the *Sabbath*-sevensnight following he preached, but after many wrestlings with Satan, who told him he would make him mad, and before all the people in the pulpit make him a scorn if he did adventure to preach; Nevertheless his Faith in Christ overcame his fear of Satan, and he preached with great assistance and comfort upon that text, *Psal.* 116. 9. *I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living*, Nevertheless that sicknesse did so weaken his brain that ever after he was enclining to some infirmities, Which love must cover.

The other is a relation which I had from himself, and from divers others to whom the story was known, that are yet alive. As well as I can recollect it, it is thus; There was one *John Fox* living about *Nottingham*, who had no more learning then enabled him to write and read: This man was possessed with a devil, who would violently throw him down, and take

Satans Malice.

The power of prayer.

His disposition of the devil.

His disposition of the devil.

take away the use of every member of his body, which was turned as black as pitch in those fits, and then spake with an audible voice in him, which seemed sometimes to be heard out of his belly, sometimes out of his throat, and sometimes out of his mouth, his lips not moving. He lay thus (if I mistake not) some years: many prayers were put up to God for him, and great resort, especially of godly Ministers to him: among the rest Master Bernard of Batcomb, then of Worktop; and Master Langley of Truswel, betwixt whom and John Fox, I have seen divers passages in writing, he relating by pen his temptations, and they giving answers where he was stricken dumb.

As Master Rothwel was riding to see him, the Devil told all that went in the House, *Yonder comes Rothwel: but I will make a fool of him before he goes.* The people looked forth, and saw him coming about a quarter of a mile from the house. As soon as he entered the Room, the Devil said, *Now Rothwel is come: and as some say spake thus. Rothwel: Thou sayest there is no possession, what thinkest thou now? Here is a man opens not his lips, and yet he speaketh.* And after a while he further said:

Devil: *Say nothing to me of this man, for I tell thee he is damned; and he added thereto many fearfull Blasphemies.*

Rothwel: Thou art a lyer, and the father of lies; nor art thou so well acquainted with the mind of God concerning this man, which makes thee thus to torment him; therefore I believe thee not, I believe he shall be saved by Jesus Christ.

Devil: *He is a murtherer, and thou knowest no murtherer must come into Heaven.*

Rothwel: Thou liest again, for David murdered, and is in Heaven; and the Jews with wicked hands crucified the Lord of Glory, yet both Christ prayed for them, and Peter exhorts them to repentance, that their sins may be blotted out.

Devil: *But this man hath not, cannot, shall not repent.*

Rothwel: If he had not, thou wouldst not have told him so; but if he have not, I believe God will give him repentance, and thou shalt not be able to hinder it.

Devil: *Thou art a murtherer thy self, and yet talkest thou thus?*

Rothwel: Thou liest again, I have fought the Lords Battels against his known enemies, the idolatrous and bloody Papiests in Ireland, Rebels to the Queen my Sovereign, by whose authority I bore armes against them; otherwise I have killed no man.

Devil: *(Swore and blasphemed) Thou didst murther one this day, as thou camest hither, and there is one behind thee will justifie it.*

Rothwel looked over his shoulder, and with that the devil set up a hideous laughter, that nothing could be heard for a great while, and then said:

Devil: *Look you now, did not I tell you I would make Rothwell a Fool, and yet it is true, thou didst Murther one this day; for as thou camest over the Bridge (which he named) there I would have killed thee, and there thy Horse trod upon a Flie and killed it.*

Master Rothwels Horse you must know stumbled there, it seems the Devil had Power to cause it, but without hurt either to Master Rothwell or his Horse.

Rothwel: Thou hast oft beguiled me, I hope God will in time give me Wisdome to discern, and Power to withstand all thy Delusions; and he it is that hath delivered me out of thy Hands, and will I doubt not also deliver this poor man.

The Devil Blasphemed fearfully, quoted many Scriptures out of the old and



and New Testament, both in Hebrew and in Greek, cavilled and played the Critick, and backed his Allegations with Sayings out of the Fathers and Poets in their own Language, which he readily Quoted, so that the Company Trembled to hear such things from one that understood no Learning, and that moved neither Tongue nor Lip.

Master Rothwel was mightily enabled by God to detect the Devils Sophistry.

Devil: *What stand I talking with thee? All men know thou art BOLD ROTHWEL, and fearest no body, nor carest for words, therefore I will talk to thee no more,* (that name he carried to his grave; They would say, That is he the Devil called BOLD ROTHWEL.)

Rothwel (turning to the People) said, Good People, you see the goodness of our God, and his great Power, though the Devil made a Fool of me now, through my weaknesse, God hath made the Devil dumb now; do you see how he lyeth? Therefore let us go to Prayer; That God who hath made him dumb, will (I doubt not) drive him out of this poor Man.

Devil Raged, Blasphemed, and said, *And wilt thou go to Prayer? If thou do, I will make such a Noise, that thy Prayer shall be distracted, and thou knowest God will not hear a distracted Prayer: But thou hast got a device, because thou wilt not be distracted with thy Eyes in Prayer, thou winkest* (so he always did,) *but if thou Pray, I will pull out thy Eyes.*

Rothwel: I look to find thee as great an Enemy in this Duty now, as I have done heretofore, but I fear not thy Threat, I know thou art limited; God heareth the Prayers of the upright, hath promised to give his Spirit to supply infirmities, therefore in confidence of his Promise, and powerful assistance of his Spirit, and in the Name and Intercession of his Son Jesus Christ we will go to Prayer.

They did so, Mr. Rothwel kneeled by the Bed on which the poor man lay; The Devil for a quarter of an hour together, or more, made a horrid Noise, nevertheless Master Rothwels Voice was louder than the Devils. After a while the Devil Roared at Master Rothwels Face (this was the first motion of any part of the mans Body) Master Rothwel opened his Eyes, mer, and brought down the Hand, which he held with great ease, two men being scarce able to hold the other hand: Prayer was still continued; at length the Devil lay silent in the man, and after that departed from him. The man fetcht divers deep sighs, inso much as they thought he had been expiring, but his Colour returned to him, and the use of all his Members, Senses, and Understanding; and at the next Petition, he said (to the Glory of God, and amazement, but comfort of all the company,) AMEN: and so continued to repeat his Amen to every Petition: Prayer was now turned into Thanksgiving, and so concluded. After Prayer, John Fox said, Good Master Rothwel, leave me not, I shall not live long; for the Devil tells me he will Choke me with the first bit of Meat that I eat. Master Rothwel answered, *Wilt thou believe the Devil that seeks thy Destruction, before thou wilt trust in God through Jesus Christ, that seeks thy Salvation? Hath not God by his Almighty Power dispossessed him? Had he had his will, thou hadst been in Hell before now; but he is a Liar, and as he is not able to hinder thy Souls Life, so neither shall he be able to destroy the Life of thy Body. Wherefore get me something ready* (saith he) *for him, and I will see him eat before I go, and will crave a Blessing upon it.*

When it was brought, eat saith Master Rothwel, and fear not the Devil, shewing him that he might do it in faith of that Ordinance by which God appoints meat for means to preserve Life, and urged that place of Jarius Daughter restored to Life: He Commanded to give her Meat, Luk. 8. 55. With much ado, and in great trembling at last, he took, and eat it. Look, (saies Master Rothwel) you all see the Devil is a Liar, the first bit hath not

*Chocked him, nor shall the rest.* Master Rothwel left him, after which he was stricken Dumb for three years together. I had a Book written with his own hand, of the Temptations the Devil haunted him with afterwards, and the Answers divers godly and Reverend Ministers gave to those Temptations: But the Cavaliers got them, and all my Books and Writings.

Thus the poor man remained Tempted, but no longer possessed; At length by Prayer also (which was instantly put up to God for him, every Sabbath and Lecture Day, in many places,) the Lord opened his Mouth, and restored his Speech to him: one using this Petition, *Lord open thou his Mouth that his Lips may shew forth thy Praise.* He answered in the Congregation, *Amen:* and so continued to speak, and spake graciously to his dying Day.

*This Life was drawn up by my reverend Friend Master Stanly Gower of Dorchester.*

THE



D.<sup>r</sup> PRESTON .

*The Life of Doctor Preston, who dyed  
Anno Christi 1628.*



*John Preston, the Son of Thomas and Alice Preston, was born at Heyford in Northamptonshire, a town divided by a little River into the upper and lower Heyfords, and is in Maps oft written in the plural number; It is a Rectory, and hath a fair Church in the lower Heyfords, but yet stands in divers Parishes. That Farme wherein Master Thomas Preston lived, is in Bugbrook Parish, where they buried and Baptized, where we find that John the Son of Thomas Preston was baptized, Octob. 27. 1587. but was descended from that Family of the*

His Birth.

*Prestons that lived at Preston in Lancashire, from whence his great Grandfather removed upon occasion of a fatall quarrel with one Mr. Bradshaw, a neighbour Gentleman, whom in his own defence he slew, and satisfied the Law, and was acquitted for it; but not the Kindred, who waited an opportunity to be revenged, as the manner in those Northern Countries then was.*

*It fell out not long after, that Master Bradshaws next Brother meets Master Preston near to the place where he had slain his Brother, & told him he should do as much for him, or he would revenge his Brothers blood. Mr. Preston told him he had slain his Brother against his will, and in his own defence: that he*

bare no evil will unto them; desired him he would forbear, but when nothing would prevail, they fought, and *Bradshaw* fell again.

But Master *Preston*, was troubled and grieved at it, for he saw a fire was kindled that would not easily be quenched, and therefore resolved that he would leave that fatal and unlucky Countrey, though he was a Gentleman of a very fair estate; and walking one day penfive in *Westminster-Hall*, one Master *Morgan* of *Heyford*, with whom he was acquainted, came unto him, and asked why he was so sad? To whom for answer, he relates the former story. Master *Morgan* knowing him to be a gallant man, was very sensible of his estate, and told him if he would go with him to *Heyford*, he should have a good Farm to live in for the present, and what accommodation he could afford him. Master *Preston* thanked him, and after some consideration of the matter, resolved to take his offer, and so Master *Preston* of *Preston* in *Lancashire*, became a kind of Farmer in *Northamptonshire*, where he afterwards lived and died, and his Son succeeded him, and so it came to *Thomas Preston*, as we have said.

His Education.

His going to Cambridge

His remove to Queens Colledge.

His Mothers name before she married, was *Marsh*, but she had an Uncle by the Mothers side, whose name was *Craswel*, a man of means and good esteem in *Northampton* where he lived, and where he had been several times Mayor. This Uncle being rich, and having no Child, was very carefull of her, and took this Son, whilst he was young unto himself, and sent him to the Free-School in *Northampton*, where he was a Scholar under the Government of Master *Sanderson*, then Master of the School, and after under Master *Wastel*, who succeeded him; and when he had been there some time, his Uncle was perswaded to remove him into *Bedfordshire*, unto one Master *Guest*, who had sometime taught a private School in *Northampton*, and was accounted a better teacher of the *Greek* tongue, from whence after he had perfected his Studies in the *Greek*, he was sent to *Cambridge*, and admitted of *Kings Colledge*, under the tuition of Master *Busse*, one of the Fellows, *Anno Dom* 1684. where he did, as young Scholars use to do, that is, applied himself to that which was the genius of the Colledge, and that was musick; and finding that the *Theory* was short and soon attained, he made account the practice would also be so; and accordingly adventured on the Noblest but hardest Instrument, the Lute, but here he found that Art was long, and was not willing to attend it; he used to say within himself, while he was fingering of his Instrument, *quantum hoc tempore legi potuit*: and whilst his fingers were thus distempered and foundred upon the Lute, it fell out that his Tutor, Master *Busse*, was chosen Master of the School at *Eaton*, and so removed from the Colledge about two years after he was admitted. Coming not from *Eaton* School, but from another, he could not be of the foundation, and was therefore incapable of those preferments in the Colledge that were of most worth, and the sooner perswaded also for to remove, which he did unto *Queens Colledge*, where he was received and admitted under the tuition of Master *Oliver Bowles*, one of the Fellows of that House, a very godly learned man, and a noted and carefull Tutor, under whose Government he setled to his Book and left his Musick, and by whose conduct and directions he grew in knowledge, and was improved unto very thriving and undertakings in his Studies.

It is not nothing to be well descended, *fortes creantur fortibus & bonis*, Sheep and Neat bred in *Lancashire*, or on the Peak-hills, and after driven into *Northamptonshire*, and planted there, produce a very gallant race. These *Prestons* though removed from their native soil, and much impaired in their Revenue, retained yet the garb and metal of their Ancestors, they carried themselves and were accounted Gentleman; something there was in this young *Prestons* spirit that was not vulgar; I have seen in a Book of his, under his own hand, when he was young, such sparklings of aspiring ingenuity, as argued in him something that was not common.



He was as yet but *Junior Sophister*, but looked high, and grew acquainted with those that were Gentle, and fancied state affairs and Courtship, that had desires or dispositions to be Secretaries or Agents in princes Courts; thought it below him to be a Minister, and the study of Divinity a kind of honest silliness, and accordingly got in with a Merchant, by whose means he did procure that he should live in *Paris*, and learn the language and garb of *France*; and another Gentleman in recompence, should be received and entertained in *London*, to learn our garb and language. Master *Creswel* of *Northampton* was by this time dead, and had bequeathed certain Lands in that Town to him after his Wives decease; These Lands he sels to put himself into a posture fit for that design; but here he now began to find that he had reckoned without his Host, and that he should have said, *If the Lord will I shall live and do this or that, Jam. 4. 15.* for the Merchant dies before the exchange could be accomplished, and so these blooming hopes, that had thus long held up his imagination, died with the Merchant.

He was of an able, firm, well-tempered constitution, brown, comely His Character, vigorous and vivide eye, but somewhat inclining to that kind of melancholly that ariseth from addust and parched choler, which now began a little to be discovered in him. For being mated in his first design, he grew discouraged, went not so much abroad among the Gallants, but struck fail to fortune and retired; yet his appetite was rather dammed than dried up; for after a very little pause and boyling over of his sullenness, he begins to steer again the same course, although by more certain and domestic *mediums*, and if he must be shut up and confined to the *Muses*, resolves to be no ordinary Servant to them; His *genius* led him unto natural *Philosophy*, which by that time was become his proper task; which he undertakes, not as boyes use to do, to serve their present use, but with devotion, resolves to leave no secret unattempted; adareth *Aristotle* as his Tutor-Saint, and had a happiness to enter often where others stuck, and what broke others teeth, was nuts to him, no dark untrodden path in all his *Physicks* or *Metaphysicks*, but he was perfect in it; and so drowned and devoted was he, that he seldom or never could be seen abroad, to the wonder and amazement of his former brave companions, so that no time passed, *for linea*; not that between the ringing and toling of the Bell to meals; His study, and for his sleep he made it short; and whereas notwithstanding all endeavours, there was one in the Colledge that would alwaies be up before him, he would let the bed-cloths hang down, so that in the night they might fall off, and so the cold awaken him; insomuch that his Tutor was constrained to read unto him moderation, and to tell him, as their might be intemperance in meats and drinks, so also there might be in studies; but the evil of it as yet he felt not, the sweet and good he did, came off with honour and applause in all his acts, and was admired in the *Regent* House when he sate for his degree, both by the *Posers* and all the Masters that examined him, and from that time much observed throughout the University.

About this time his Tutor [Master *Bowles*,] was called to the Rectory of *Sutton* in *Bedfordshire*, and so left the Colledge, and another of the Fellows, then Master, (afterward) Doctor *Porter* became his Tutor, a very learned man and great *Philosopher*, who never went about for to dissuade him from his studies, but gave him all assistance and encouragement. The year following it came unto his Tutor to be Head Lecturer in the Colledge, and Sir *Preston* being to probleme in the Chappel, made such an accurate and strong position, and answered so understandingly, that his Tutor borrowed his position of him, when he had done, to look on and peruse; and finding it elaborate, resolved to make more use of it, than ever his pupil did intend.

The

He is chosen Fellow.

The Master of the Colledge at that time was Doctor Tyndal, who was also Dean of Ely and resided for the most part there; Thither his Tutor goes, and carries his position with him, which he shewed to the Master, and acquainted him with what he had observed, that he was a youth of parts and worth, and deserved some incouragement; The Master was an honest gallant man, and loved a Scholar, and was glad of any opportunity to shew it, and so bids his Tutor send Sir Preston over unto Ely to him, where he assured him, he should not want what was in him to do him good; and bad him hold on, and he would take care for him: and there being an Election in the Colledge, soon after he was chosen Fellow by the unanimous consent of Master and Fellows, and his Tutor, Master Porter, brought him word of it, as he was at study, not thinking any thing, and told him that he must come down into the Chappel presently to be admitted, and accordingly was admitted Fellow of Queens Colledge in Cambridge Anno Dom. 1609. That is, five years after his first admission into the Univerfity: He was not so much moved at it, as young Students use to be, because he looked still at higher things, and had not quit in his retired thoughts his first design of being some body at Court, to which he thought this honour might be a bar: This courtesie was not *comper* to him, yet it was not manners to be discontented, but attend what should en-  
sue.

He studies Physick.

He was by this time grown a Master in Philosophy, had waded far in Aristotle, and had met with few that were able to encounter him, and therefore now resolves to go another while to School to Hippocrates and Galen, and verifie what is so often said, *ubi desinit Philosophus, incipit medicus*; He had a very penetrating wit, and exact and solid judgment, to conjecture at effects in causes, and prognosticate events; and being skilfull in Philosophy before, soon made the Theory his own, but because *Perfectio scientiarum est in summate*, the life and vigour of a science is in the practice, he resolves to make enquiry after that. Books make not men Practitioners in any Art, *Nemo ex libris evasit artifex*, he retires unto a friend of his in Kent, who was very famous for his practice, where he earnestly attended and waited on the trade and way of knowing Simples, and compounding Medicines, wherein he attained to that sufficiency, that had Divinity failed, he might have been another Butler; yet what he had was not in vain; for when any of his Pupils were amisse, though he sent them alwaies unto Physicians, yet himself perused, and many times corrected their Prescriptions.

He study of Astrology.

It was not easie to allay his eager, and unsatisfied appetite and apprehension with any one art, Eccl. 5. 10. He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver. *Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia Crescit*. The more you put into the soul, the wider presently it reacheth. He thought he could not be a good Physician, that could not read the powers of the Herbs and Plants in Stars and Planets, and therefore acquaints himself with Ptolomy, and other Authors in Astrology, and other curious Arts and Calculations, as they are called, Act. 19. 19. that he might be able to study, not only Books, but Men, and to read mens fortunes in the heavenly bodies; but he could not, nor did not read his own.

There was a Soothsayer that told Agathocles he should be slain the next Moneth: Who asked, How long he thought he should live after him? He Answered, Many Years. He told him he would prove one of the two false, and leave the other to the Issue, and so commanded for to hang him presently. Master Preston was very busie among the Houses of the Planets, but saw not there his own Domestick Doom, nor what his Maker had determined concerning him; For as he was in these coelestial Contemplations, it fell out, that Master Cotton, then Fellow of Emanuel Colledge, Preached in Saint

Marins



*Maries*, where Master *Preston* hearing him, was set about an other exercise, His Conver-  
 constrained from his Contemplations in *Astrology*, to look into himself, and sion.  
 consider what might possibly befall him. It was his manner, as it is of other  
 Students, when they come home from Saint *Maries* Sermons, to run unto their  
 Studies presently, or what is worse; but this young Student was forced to re-  
 tire and ruminate: This Sermon had bereaved him of two beloved Noti-  
 ons, one was his low Opinion of the Ministry and Preaching; For he saw  
 an over-ruling gravity and Majesty in that Sermon, that he thought had been  
 impossible to Pulpits. I have heard it often in the Colledge, that he took away  
 sixteen Answers in a Probleme in the Chappel; but here was one he knew  
 how to take away: *Sed haret lateri leibalis arundo*, no cunning in *Philo-*  
*sophy*, or skil in *Physick* would suffice to heal this Wound. Another was his  
 Opinion of, and Ambition after State-employments; For these were  
 higher things that now were offered to him, concernments of eternal influ-  
 ence, which nothing could divert that he had studied hitherto; There have  
 been divers eminent and great *Physitians* that began in meddling with their  
 own Infirmities. Self-love rides alwaies on the fore-horse. His own Ac-  
 counts and Aking Conscience, set *Luther* first upon the study of Divi-  
 nity.

Master *Preston* after this Affront and baffle in the Pulpit, wanted ease, and  
 when he could not find it in his other Books and Studies, begins a little to  
 look into the Bible, and to consider of the study of Divinity. In the pro-  
 secution of his study in *Phylosophy*, he found many of the Schoolmen quo-  
 ted, and so was willing for to look a little into them, and finding those he  
 light on, pithy and sententious, went on: It gave him ease, that he was  
 now a student in Divinity, and had left *Albunazar* and *Guido*, and such  
 high-flown speculations; yet it pleased him for to see and find his Master  
*Aristotle*, so often quoted, and in such request among them, and thought  
 if that were to be a Preacher, he might adventure well enough upon it, and  
 so was drawn on very far in the study of the School-Divines. I have  
 heard him say, There was nothing that ever *Scotus* or *Occham* wrote, but  
 he had weighed and examined; He delighted much to read them in the first  
 and oldest Editions that could be got. I have still a *Scotus* in a very old  
 Print, and a paper not inferiour to Parchment, that hath his hand, and  
 Notes upon it throughout; yet he continued longer in *Aquinas*, whose Sums  
 he would sometimes read as the Barbar cut his Hair, and when it fell upon  
 the place he read, he would not lay down his Book but blow it off; and  
 in this Tune he continued, until a Rumour came into the University that  
 the King would shortly come to visit them. King *James* was happier in  
 his Education, than his Mother would have had him. It pleased God to  
 breed a *Buchanan* on purpose; for to guide his younger years, and by  
 that time he was Ripe, *Scotland* was grown acquainted with *Geneva*, and  
 the King no stranger unto *Calvins* way. The News awakned all the Uni-  
 versity, and there were few but promised to themselves some good from this  
 fair gale, that seeing *Promotion* came neither from the East, nor from the  
 West, nor from the South, *Psal.* 75. 6. it must and would come from the  
 North; and the Proverb be inverted, and be, *Omne bonum ab Aqui-*  
*lone*.

Doctor *Harsnet*, Master of *Pembroke-Hall* was then Vice-Chancellor,  
 a prudent well-adviced Governour, who knowing well the critical and able  
 apprehension of the King, was very careful and sollicitous to pitch upon the  
 ablest in every faculty, for Actors in that solemn entertainment, and himself  
 made choice of Master *Preston* to answer the *Phylosophy* Act, and sent unto  
 him to provide himself. He was ambitious enough by Nature, and had this  
 News come a little sooner, nothing had been more suitable to his design  
 and inclination. But now the Gentleman was Planet-struck, grown  
 dull

dull and Phlegmatick; Master *Cottons* Sermon had so invaded him, that Kings and Courts were no such great things with him, especially when he understood that another was resolved on for Answerer.

He is chosen to oppose before the King.

Doctor *Wren* was then a very pregnant Scholar in *Pembroke-Hall*, and also Chaplain unto Bishop *Andrews*, and thought fit to be employed in this Commencement service, but was not willing to have any other place but Answerer: The Vice-Chancellor urged his Promise and engagement unto Master *Preston*, and his Opinion of his great Ability, but nothing would serve. The Vice-Chancellors Colledge, and the Bishops Chaplain would have Precedency, which he most seriously excused to Master *Preston*, and endeavoured to reconcile him to the first opponents place, which he declined, as being too obnoxious unto the Answerer, who is indeed the Lord and Ruler of the Act; but there was no removing now, and so he goes about it with much unwillingness, being rather driven than drawn unto it.

His great and first Care was to bring his Argument unto a head, without Affronts or Interruptions from the Answerer, and so made all his Major Propositions plausible and firm, that his Adversary might neither be willing nor able to enter there, and the *Minor* still was backed by other *Syllogismes*, and so the Argument went on unto the Issue: Which fell out well for Master *Preston*; for in Disputations of Consequence, the Answerers are many times so fearful of the event, that they slur and trouble the opponents all they can, and deny things evident, which had been the case in all the former Acts; there was such wrangling about their *Syllogismes*, that sullied and clouded the Debates extremely, and put the Kings *acumen* into straits; but when Master *Preston* still cleared his way, and nothing was denied, but what was ready to be proved, the King was greatly satisfied, and gave good heed, which he might well do, because the question was tempered and fitted unto his content; namely, *Whether Dogs could make Syllogismes*.

The opponent urged that they could; An *Enthimeme* (said he) is a lawful and real *Syllogisme*, but Dogs can make them; He instanced in an Hound who had the major Proposition in his mind, namely, *The Hare is gon either this or that way*; smels out the *minor* with his Nose; namely, *She is not gon that way*, and follows the Conclusion, *Ergo this way with open mouth*. The instance suited with the Auditory, and was applauded, and put the Answerer to his distinctions, that Dogs might have *sagacity*, but not *sapience*, in things especially of Prey, and that did concern their Belly, might be *useful*, but not *logici*; had much in their Mouthes, little in their Minds, unless it had relation to their Mouths; That their lips were larger than their Understandings: Which the opponent, still endeavouring to wipe off with another *Syllogisme*, and put the Dogs upon a fresh scent, the Moderator [Dr. *Reade*] began to be afraid, and to think how troublesome a pack of Hounds, well followed and Applauded, at last might prove, and so came in into the Answerers aid, and told the Opponent that his Dogs, he did believe, were very weary, and desired him to take them off, and start some other Argument; and when the opponent would not yield, but hallooed still and put them on, he interposed his Authority and silenced him. The King in his conceit was all the while upon *New-Market Heath*, and liked the Sport, and therefore stands up, and tells the Moderator plainly he was not satisfied in all that had been answered, but did believe an Hound had more in him than was imagined. I had my self (said he) a Dog, that stragling far from all his fellows, had light upon a very fresh scent, but considering he was all alone, and had none to second and assist him in it, observes the place and goes away unto his fellows, and by such yelling Arguments as they best understand, prevailed with a party of them to go along with him, and bringing them



them unto the place, pursued it unto an open view. Now the King desired for to know how this could be contrived and carried on without the use and exercise of understanding, or what the Moderator could have done in that case better, and desired him that either he would think better of his Dogs, or not so highly of himself.

The Opponent also desired leave to pursue the Kings Game, which he had started, unto an Issue, but the Answerer protested that his Majesties Dogs were always to be excepted, who hunted not by common Law, but by Prerogative. And the Moderator fearing the King might let loose another of his Hounds, and make more work, applies himself with all submissive Devotion to the King, acknowledged his Dogs were able to out-do him, besought his Majesty for to believe they had the better; That he would consider how his illustrious influence had already ripened and concocted, all their Arguments and Understandings; that whereas in the morning the Reverend and Grave Divines could not make *Syllogismes*, the Lawyers could not, nor the Physicians; now every Dog could, especially his Majesties.

All men acknowledged that it was a good bit to close with. It was grown late, and so the Congregation was removed unto the *Regent-house*, and the King went off well pleased with the businesse. The other Acts were easily forgotten, but the discourse and *Logick* of the Dogs was fresh in mouth and memory, and the *Philosophy*-act applauded universally. The King commended all the Actors, but above all, the Opponent. It was easie to discern that the Kings Hound had opened a way for Master Preston at the Court, if he were willing; yea many of the great ones put him in mind, and promised all assistance and encouragement. Sir Fulk Grevill, afterward Lord *Brook*, was taken greatly with him, and after many demonstrations of his real love, settled at last a stipend on him of fifty pounds *per annum*, and was his friend unto his last hour; But his ambition after Courtship was well allayed, so as he did not ravenously pursue it. But being now resolved to be a Minister, fell to the study of modern Writers, especially Master *Calvin*, whose very stile and language much affected him. The Courtiers wondered that he did not bite, *Prov. 19. 15. In the light of the Kings countenance is life, and his favour like a cloud of the latter rain.* That a young man should not be ambitious, that a good eye should not see; they began to be a little jealous of him.

He was reserved naturally, and could keep counsell; few knew how Master Cottons Sermon had affected and wrought upon him. But this not failing when the wind blew, begat suspition. Some judged he was modest, and wanted opportunity to bring him on; some that he was melancholy, and so neglected what was proper for him to intend; some busie and intent upon his Pupils, who now began to come from all parts. But the Politicians assured, it was some inclination unto *Puritanisme*, a name now odious at Court; For it could not be, (said they) that he should let so fair an opportunity miscarry, if he had not something else in view. Kings think themselves extreemly undervalued, if a word be not enough; Cardinal Poole being chosen Pope at midnight by the *Conclave*, and sent unto, to come and be admitted, desired it might be let alone untill the morning, because it was not a work of darknesse. An honest Argument, but not *Italian* enough; *Quis nisi mentis inops?* And so they went back and chose another. When Balak came not at the first call, see how Balak reasons, *Numb. 22. 37. Am I not able to promote thee?* But Master Preston had indeed another King in his thoughts, when he had found treasure in the field, he parts with all for that, *Mat. 13. 44.* A purchase is not worth the having, that hath not either some convenience annexed, or may not some way be improved. God was a greater good than man, Heaven than earth, a Crown of Glory than a

His many  
Pupils.

His Zeal.

His dili-  
gence.

Crown of Gold. But this neglect and self-denial, was well interpreted by good men, and that opinion of affecting *Puritanes*, which blasted him at Court, began to blazon him at home, and work a reputation, that to him was more acceptable. Men thought him meet for to be trusted with the care of youth; and many had their eyes upon him, for their Sons or Friends. Master *Morgan* of *Heyfords*, had been some-time dead, and had left his Son and heir an Orphan, in trust with some that were his Kinsmen, and like to manage his estate to most advantage. This Master *Morgan's* Son, under whose shadow these *Prestons* had for some time lived, was by his *Guardians* now commended to his care; not only for that relation he had to *Heyfords*, his native Town, and to the Family, but also that by that means the young Gentle-man might be preserved from the influence of his other Friends, who were many of them *Popish*. King *JAMES* had been so well pleased at the Commencement held before him lately, that he resolves upon another visit. The Heads agree to entertain him with a Comedy. There was one *Baggles* of *Clare-hall*, that had made a jeering Comedy against the Lawyers called *Ignoramus*. This was resolved on for to be acted before the King, and great care was taken for to furnish and accommodate all parts, with Actors answerable. Master *Morgan* was a comely modest Gentleman, and it was believed would well become a womans dresse, and accordingly his Tutor [Master *Preston* sent to,] that he would give way and all encouragement unto the service. He liked not the motion, could not believe that his Friends intended he should be a Player, and so desired to be excused. But the *Guardians* were not so exact and scrupulous, but thought if he played this Game well, he might win more than could be hoped for elsewhere; and so Master *Morgan* was allowed by his *Guardians* to play his part, and afterward removed unto *Oxford*, and suffered to play what part he would, and so relapsed unto *Popery*, which hath proved fatal and infortunate to him and his.

But here was matter for Master *Preston's* back Friends, to argue he was not a Courtier, that would envy so small a courtesie to those, that had so freely offered greater unto him; and it was resented with a kind of angry indignation, that their offers had so little influence upon him; and there were some that watched opportunities to make him sensible of this neglect. There is no such *Solacisme* at Court as Independency. *Si non vis ut per illos tibi beneficiat, efficient ut sit male*. But Master *Preston* by this time had cast up all accounts, and resolved to stand unto his bargain whatsoever it cost him. Only he thought if he must be a *Puritan*, and bid farewell to all his Carnal and Court-designes, He would not be one of the Lower rank, but would get places if he could. *Mediocribus esse Poetis, non dii, non homines, non concessere columna*. That counsell of the Wise man, *Eccl. 9. 10. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might*, he alwaies practised. And what is commonly said, was true in him. *In magnis ingeniis nihil mediocre*. This faithfulness to Master *Morgan*, attended with so great a shadow upon himself, increased his Reputation in the Countrey, so that now he was accounted the only Tutor; and being carefull to read unto them, and direct their studies, he found himself abridged of his own time, and was constrained to take up time, that should have been bestowed on his body. He also grew acquainted now with many eminent and godly Ministers, as Master *Dod*, and Master *Hilderham*, who would come often to his Chamber, and he was so hardened in his way, that he would get them many times to go to Prayer with his Pupils, a boldnesse not adventured on by any other: But by these labours his able body was debilitated. It was a great Orator that said, *Primo desii velle causas agere, deinde desii posse*. At first, said he, I would not plead, at last I could not. Master *Preston* in his youth would not sleep, but let the bed clothes hang down, and awaken him: Now he could not, but about midnight still awakened, and slept no more; whereby in time his body languished, and could not answer as in former times.



Master Butler of *Clare-hall*, was then the Oracle in *Physick*, to him he goes, and opens his condition to him; who after some few questions bids him take Tobacco, and so leaves him. He knew that Butler was odd and humorous, and thought he might give this advice to try him, and therefore resolves to wait a while before he medled with so odde a Medicine, which *Hippocrates* and *Galen* had never ordained to any of their Patients, and was at that time not so common, and of no good report; but his want of rest continuing, and his apperite unto his Book encreasing, he goes again to Master Butler, as a stranger, and propounds the case again. Master Butler gives the same advice, and being satisfied that he was serious now, falls to taking of it, and found that this hot copious fume ascending, did draw those crudities from the stomacks mouth, that hindred Concoction of his meat, and vapours from it that occasion sleep, and so restored his rest, and that in time his strength, and so he went on in his work, untill Doctor Tyndal [Master of the Colledge] died. He was an old man, and that preferment of the Mastership of *Queens*, was more accounted of than now it is. There were very many that had their eyes upon it, but Doctor Mountain in a special manner; who was often heard for to professe, he would rather be Master of that Colledge than Dean of *Westminster*. But Master Preston had another in his eye; Doctor Davenant, was a Gentleman descended, and was a Fellow-Commoner, when under Graduate, but very painfull, and of great capacity, and grew accordingly in learning and in reputation, and for his worth and parts was already chosen Margaret Professour, and read in the Schools with much applause those excellent Lectures upon the *Colossians* which now are printed; Him Master Preston pitched upon, but knew it must be carried very privately; for the mountain was already grown into some bignesse, was one of parts, and first observed in acting *Miles gloriosus* in the Colledge, and had been Chaplain unto the Earl of *Essex*, but like the *Heliotrope* or flower of the Sun, did now adore Sir Robert Carr, already Viscount Rochester, the only Favourite.

When it was agreed among the *Persians*, that he should reign, whose horse first saw the rising Sun, and neighed at it, one turned his horse head towards the mountains, believing that the Sun would first arise there; but it fell not out so here. Master Preston having laid his plot before-hand, and seen what mountain was in his way, had taken care that word should be daily brought him how the old Doctor did, and when he found him irrecoverable, laid horses and all things ready; and upon notice of his being dead, goes presently and was at London, and in *White-Hall* before any light appeared on the mountain top; the Court was quiet, and he had some Friends there. His businesse only was to get a free Election, which he made means for to procure: But knowing also with whom he had to do, makes some addresses unto Viscount Rochester, in the behalf of Doctor Davenant; who being unacquainted with his Chaplains apperite to that particular, was faine and willing to befriend a learned enterprise. So Master Preston returns unto the Colledge before the Masters death was much took notice of; and assembling Doctor Davenants Friends, acquaints them with what had past at Court, and so they went immediately to Election, and it was easily and fairly carried for Doctor Davenant, who being called, was admitted presently. But when Doctor Mountain understood that Doctor Tyndal was departed, he sends and goes to Court and Colledge for to make friends: But alas the Game was played, and he was shut out. Never did *Aetna* or *Vesuvius* more fume, but there was no cure; only he threatens and takes on against the Actors, but they were innocent and not obnoxious. This Doctor had made great promises, gave a very goodly piece of Plate unto the Colledge with this Inscription, *Sic incipio*, but now he vowed it should be *Sic desino*. However the Colledge for the present was well paid, and grew in

reputation very much; and because they wanted room to entertain the numbers that flocked to them, built that goodly Fabrick that contains many fair Lodgings both for Schollars and Fellows, towards Kings Colledge.

It was not long before it came to Master *Prestons* course for to be Dean and Catechist, which he resolved to improve by going through a Body of Divinity, that might be a guide unto the Schollars in their Studies in Divinity: For it was not his opinion that others should do as he had done, that is, peruse the Schoolmen first, and then come to the modern Writers; but first, read *Summes* and *Systemes* in Divinity, and settle their opinions and judgements, and then read Fathers, Schoolmen, or what they had a mind to. This being known, and some honest Townsmen hearing him at first by chance, there came the next day, very many for to hear him, and the next day more, both Townsmen and Schollars from other Colledges, so that the outward Chappel would be often full before the Fellows came. Master *Preston* was of a very meek and quiet spirit, never resented injuries, nor provoked any unto avernesse, yet had some enemies: *Si injuria multos tibi fecit inimicos, faciet invidia multos.* What had *Paul* done, *Act. 23. 45.* for to deserve to sharp an opposition, but envy moved them? There had been other Deans and Catechists before this Gentleman, yet no such crowding. Complaint was made to the Vice Chancellour of this unusual kind of Catechizing, it was assured, not only that Townsmen and Scholars mingled, but other Colledges intruded also, that the Fellows for the crowd and multitude could not get through, and come to Chappel to their places; that it was not safe for any man to be thus adored, and doted on, unlesse they had a mind to cry up *Puritanisme*, which would in short time pull them down; that the *Crozier* staff would not support them long, if such Assemblies were encouraged: *Obstata principiis, sero medicina paratur, &c.*

Well, upon the whole an Order was agreed on in the Consistory, and sent unto the Colledge, that the Scholars and Townsmen should be confined to their proper preachers, that no stranger, neither Townsman nor Scholar, should presume on any pretence whatsoever, to come unto those Lectures, that were proper only to the Members of the Colledge. The Edict was observed punctually, and the Auditory by it much impaired. Had strangers still been suffered to attend, those Sermons had been printed as well as others: for there were divers that exactly noted, and wrote out all fair, unto the time of this restraint, but no one after that could go on with it, and so it rests. But he went on, and was assiduous to the years end, and waded through it, which was a very great help unto many of his Pupils, who made the greater benefit of those things because they were not common and in print.

About that time the Lecture at *Trinity-Church*, and the Sermons at *Saint Andrews* were prohibited, and the Scholars all confined to *Saint Maries*, which did occasion Master *Preston* to read Divinity unto his pupils on the *Lords days*, at three of the clock in the afternoon, which he also often did upon the week days; But the Townsmen and the Scholars of other Colledges, that had tasted of his spirit in the Chappel, endeavoured that he would do it where they might hear. *Buttolphs* belongs unto *Queen* Colledge, and is usually supplied by one of that House; there he is willing to make a tryal, how it would take, and resolves the next *Lords day* to preach at three of the clock after *Saint Maries* Sermons should be ended, which though but very little known, occasioned such a throng and crowd, as was incredible. Men were not cloyed with preaching then, nor waxed wanton.

There dwelt then in the Parish one Doctor *Newcombe*, a Civilian, and Commissary to the Chancellour of *Ely*, who being in the Church, and seeing



ing the crowd, commanded that evening Prayer only should be read, but no Sermon; The Minister intreated that for that time Master *Preston* might be allowed to preach, so did the Earl of *Lincolne* and others in the Church; but he was resolute, and because he would not be further importuned, went home with all his Family, and left them to determine at their perill what they would do; so upon advice it was concluded that the Sermon should go on, and Master *Preston* preached a very savoury and holy Sermon, upon 2 *Pet.* 3. 17, 18. There was so much time spent in debates about it, and messages before the Commissary left the Congregation, that it was too late to do both, and therefore they adventured for that time to forbear Common-prayer, that so the Scholars might depart, and be at Colledge-Prayers. But this instructed Doctor *Newcomb* in his complaint. The Court was then near hand, that is, at *Mew-market*; Thither the Commissary goes the next day, and having the Bishop of *Ely* there, and many other Clergy men, assures them that Master *Preston* was in heart, and would quickly be in practice a Non-conformist, and was so followed and adored in the University, that unless some speedy course were taken with him, they might cast their caps at all Conformity, and see their power troden underfoot, and told them, gentleness was not the way, for he was cunning, and would recover all if he were not seriously and thoroughly dealt with.

There was no Advocate for Master *Preston*, but the Doctor being first in his own cause, seemed just, *Prov.* 18. 17. *And spake to those that were willing to believe.* The Puritans began to be considerable, and they doubted he might come in time to head them. It's a great security to a man to be despised: *Contempto nullus diligenter nocet.* A Fellow that hath nothing in him, nor is not owned, may he exorbitant, as he of one in his time: *Contemptus jam liber erat.* But *David* that hath a Party following him, must have an Army to attend him. And therefore he did wisely to Profess himself to be a dead dog or a flea, 1 *Sam.* 24. 14. The King was made acquainted with this complaint, and assured that Master *Preston* had as strong an influence into the Puritans as the Principal of the *Jesuits*, which was *Aqua Viva*, had upon them, and therefore it behoved him to consider what to do. A word was enough to a wise and jealous King, who did not love to play an after Game, and therefore hears himself the Doctors information; enquires whether the Bishops and Chancellors Jurisdiction extended unto Members of a Colledge, and finally concludes to Proceed against him by the power of the University.

A Letter is framed unto Doctor *Scot*, Master of *Clare-hall*, Vice-Chancellor at that time, and to the Heads, to call before them Master *Preston*, to give a strict account of that notorious disobedience unto the Commissary; He answers mildly, that he was not guilty; refers himself unto the Auditory, that evening prayer was omitted, because the Scholars might depart in due time, seeing the time allotted for it, was spent in treating with the Commissary, not out of any disrespect unto the service, which he himself did usually attend at other times. When the Wolf complained that the Lamb had fouled the water, that he was to drink; The Lamb answered that if he had defiled it, yet that could not prejudice the Wolf who was above, and the mud would certainly be carried downward; but this answer did not fill the hungry belly of the Wolf. Master *Prestons* innocency did aggravate his crime, which was his popularity, and therefore they told him they were engaged to support by all just means the Bishops Jurisdiction: That the King had honoured him, in leaving that affront to be examined by his proper Judges, and that except he could take off the Court, they must and would proceed to a very round and serious censure.

*Musa*

*Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso  
Quidve dolens regina deum, tot volvere casus,  
Insignem Pietate virum, tot adire labores  
Impulerit? Tantane animis caelestibus irae?*

That a Fellow of a Colledge for Preaching of an innocent and honest Sermon, in a Church belonging to the Colledge, by the consent and in the hearing of the Incumbent, should be thus vigorously undertaken.

Among many other Gentlemen of quality, that were pupils unto Master Preston at this time, there was one Sir Capel Bedels, an Orphan, of a very fair estate in Huntingtongshire, a Daughters Sonne of old Sir Arthur Capel, who being Guardian to his Grand-child, had recommended him as he had done many of his own Sons unto his Government. It was a great trust, and Master Prestons care was answerable. And because *plus vident oculi*, he had his spies, that gave him notice of all their carriages and correspondencies; by one of these he was informed that Sir Capel haunted Doctor Newcombs house, and was familiar with his Daughter [Mistress Jane Newcomb,] a very Proper well-bred Gentlewoman; His Tutor asked if they were contracted, he answered, no, but would be very shortly, as he was told, for he was resolved to have her. Master Preston charged him to keep all secret, that Sir Capel might not think he was acquainted with it, and immediately appoints a journey unto Saffron-walden, to take the aire, and see that stately pyle at Audley-end, and takes divers of his Fellow-Commoners along, as he used to do at other times; and among others, this Sir Capel Bedels: When they had dined and viewed the house, it was propounded by one of them, that they might go that night to Haddam, and visit old Sir Arthur Capel, seeing they were thus far on their way, and it was late. Master Preston seemed to be indifferent, and so the Proposition took, and with none more then with Sir Capel, who knew his Grand-father would fill his pockets, and that would sweeten his Newcomb Mistress next embraces, and make him welcome to her. The old Knight was glad to entertain such welcome guests, and that night there was no discourse, but of the stately Rooms, and goodly Gallery at Audley-end, and so the young men went to bed pleased, that the Colledge-bell next morning would not awaken them; but Master Preston slept not in *utramque aurem*, but awakened betimes, and acquaints Sir Arthur with all the businesse, adviseth him, by no means to permit the Gentlemans return unto the Colledge; for though the wound might seem quite cured, and he never so much engage forbearance, yet frequent apparitions would redintegrate: *Et nihil facilius quam amor recrudescit*. Sir Arthur was a very wise man, and had experience of the world, thanks Master Preston for his faithfulness, pretends Sir Capel wanted something, and desires his Tutor to give him leave to stay a little while untill he could be furnished, and then he should be sent, to which the Tutor easily consented, and so the rest went home; and after a while the old man tells Sir Capel he grew in bignesse, and it would be fit for him to travell before he settled, and he prevails with him to be content.

But what saies Mistresse Newcomb, who is robb'd by this means of her vowed and resolved servant, and her crafty Father that beholds so good a morsell snatched from between his teeth; do ye think he had forgotten this when Master Preston came to preach within his Jurisdiction? *Pulvere qui ledunt, sed laesi marmore scribunt*; other injuries perhaps may be forgotten, but losse of mony is not; *ploratur lachrymis amissa pecunia vi-*



Master *Preston* was not altogether a stranger at the Court, however now there was no remedy; when he came to *New-market*, he found that Bishop *Andrews*, then Bishop of *Ely*, was chief, and that his Jurisdiction in the Commissary, was it that was pretended to be affronted, and therefore applied himself to him, and told him that he did not purpose to offend, but being engaged for to preach at that time, could not with honour disappoint the Auditory; if he suspected him for any thing, desired he would examine him, and satisfy himself. The Bishop told him the King was told he was an enemy to *Formes of Prayer*, and held no Prayer lawful but conceived; and therefore being popular, his judgement and opinion might do hurt. Master *Preston* answered that it was a slander, for he thought *Set Formes* lawfull, and refused not on all occasions to be present at the College Prayers, and when it was his turn, to read them. The Bishop answered, that he was glad, and would inform the King, and do him all the good he could, and bad him wait a while and then repair again to him for satisfaction in it, and so time passed on, and there was nothing done. There were some at Court that wished well to Master *Preston*, *Sed lapsuro assistere formidant*, were loth to undertake a drooping cause; only there was one Doctor *Young*, an honest Scotchman, that was Dean of *Winchester*, and he told Master *Preston* plainly, that Bishop *Andrews* was his greatest adversary, and though he gave him good words, yet assured the King, that if Master *Preston* were not for this expelled the University, Lord Bishops would not long continue; But because Master *Preston* was accounted, and not without cause, a learned man, he was not willing to appear against him; but desired the punishment might be inflicted, where the fact was done, and that was in the University.

Master *Preston* saw now that the Bishop was a Courtier, and could give words, where deeds were not intended, and therefore goes again unto the Bishop, and tells him plainly that he or none must put a period to his attendance, and that either he would speak unto the King in his behalf, or tell him plainly that he would not, that he might know whence all this trouble flowed. The Bishop paused a while on this bold carriage, and at the last bad him come to him such a time again, and he would deal with the King in his behalf.

His courage.

So he goes unto the King, and tells him that however Master *Preston* was very dangerous, and it would be a very great security if he were handsomely expelled, yet he doubted it would not hear well, if it should be done for this offence; for he would be absolved in the opinions and minds of men, and be owned and applauded as their Martyr, and might perhaps recover, and live to be revenged; and therefore thought it would be better, for to enjoyn him to declare his judgement about *Formes of Prayer*; for that would be accounted a recantation, and however would weaken his reputation with the *Puritans*, which would be enough: for if they could divide him from his Party, they should not fear him; For he said, his carriage argued confidence in some assistance, which when they had removed, they should be strong enough at single hand. All that the Bishop spake, was as if expressed; an order presently was drawn, and sent to the Vice-Chancellor, that Master *Preston* should in *Buttolphs Church* declare his judgement, concerning *Formes of Prayer*, on such a Sunday, or else they should immediately proceed against him, according to their first instructions.

Master *Preston* was glad there was a way out, but sensible of the hard hand, that had been carried towards him; but now there was no remedy, and it was vain to strive against the stream; But before he could come home, the news was all about the Town, that Master *Preston* was to preach a Recantation Sermon at *Buttolphs Church* on such a day. This was good sport to the brave

His prudence.

brave blades, who now came crowding as fast as any, for to hear, and it was no sin now for any body to be from Prayers; and indeed there was a very great Assembly, though he did all he could to have concealed it. So he went on upon his former text, and preached a very profitable Sermon, concerning growing in grace, and directed Prayer, as a special meanes to make men grow in grace. Now that (he said) was of two sorts, either that which was iudain, extemporary, and conceived; or set, enjoined, and prescribed before, not only for the sense and scope, but also words and phrases. And whereas some thought this was to stint the spirit, he said, there was a liberty to use conceived Prayer at other times, wherein the spirit might expatiate, and enlarge it self; and also the intention of the mind, though not in extension and variety of language. The Blades that came to laugh, had no great cause to do it, for this passage was at the very close; and the Sermon all along before, was sharp and searching; both sides were silent and went home, not without some prints of good upon their spirits: *Optimus Orator contendit, non qui meruit auditorum iudicium, sed qui abstulit.* He makes the best speech that binds his Hearers, rather to think what was said, then who said it. The goodfellows were nothing so merry at the end, as at beginning of the Sermon. Indifferent Hearers praised all, and were confirmed in a good opinion of the Preacher. Good men were glad he came so well off, and was at liberty to preach again, where they might hear him: himself was troubled, lest any thing he said, should be mistaken or mis-interpreted, as he was apt to be.

But there were many eyes upon this action, and all men waited to see the issue. The Courtiers did not like it, that after all these tossings to and fro, he should thus light upon his feet, yet would not meddle for the present, but wait occasions. Those that were well-affected, were glad he was engaged against the Court and Bishops, and did presage he might be instrumental to their downfall, and every body laboured to ingage him more and more against them. The *Spanish* match was then the common talk, and great unwillingness appeared in the people generally; and Doctor *Willet* had presumed to offer Arguments unto the King against matching with Idolaters. The King was greatly vext at this adventure, and took great paines to perswade the Doctor, that a *Papist* was not an Idolater: *Sed non persuadebat nisi persuaserat.* The people were unsatisfied, and there being then a Parliament, a very Honourable and able Member of the House of Lords prevailed with Master *Preston* to write some Arguments against it. And though there were severe Edicts and Proclamations against scandalous Papers, and intermeddling with Mysteries of State, yet he promised, it should be scattered and divulged unto fit persons, and none should know from whence, or from whom it came; accordingly when it was finished and written fair, one gave it to a Porter, whom he met in *Holborne*, and bad him leave it, according to the direction. The next day a great Lord comes unto him that had periwaded Master *Preston* unto the service, and tells him, that he had met with such a piece against the *Spanish* match, as he never saw, and protested he was convinced, that he must speak against it in the House, what ever came of it. The other asked him who made it, and where he had it: He assured him, he knew not, but it was left at his lodging, by he knew not whom. The Lord desired he might see it, and it was copied out, and spread among those of the Parliament they thought fit, but the Authour of it never known.

King *James* had something allways in his Writings and Speeches against the *Puritans*, which was ill taken, for that it was apparent, those meant thereby, were godly, conscientious persons. The House of Commons was the only mote in King *James* his Eye, the *Remora*, (as he conceived) unto his absolute Dominion, for he knew not how for to engage them, as he did the

Law.



Lawyers and Divines; but if he stopped one mouth with preferment this Parliament, there would be others open the next against him. There were some now that adventured to apologize for *Puritans*, and to say in Parliament, that honest men were wounded under that name; and to purpose, that godly Ministers might not be silenced, and thrown out of their free holds for trifles and Ceremonies. But King *JAMES* would none of that stuff, breaks up the Parliament, and sets out Proclamations: *Sed quid prodest totius regionis silentium, si affectus fremant.* People love not to be enforced unto Duty: *Homines duci volunt non cogi.*

The Chaplains that attended monethly at the Court, were not ambitious of Preaching over-often, and so a Combination was agreed on for Preachers before the King, when ever he should lie vvithin twelve miles of *Cambridge*: The King did not despaire of making Schollars his, and therefore used all endeavours to oblige them, especially *Cambridge* men, where a seed of *Puritans* had been a long time, and though the Plains about *Royston* and *New-Market* afforded better Winter-Game than elsewhere; yet Schollars he conceived might be catcht sometimes, as vvell as Hares, and so was willing they should Preach before him. Young men he knew vvould Preach themselves: *omnis oratio docet, aut rem, aut animum dicentis.* He should learn either things, or persons.

By this means it came to Master *Prestons* turn to Preach before the King at *Royston*; He vväs so muffled at Court in Doctor *Newcombs* business that he knew not vvhat to do, could not decline it altogether, for that vvould have exposed him unto too much observation; and yet he greatly feared vvhat might befall him in the doing of it: Therefore he changed his course vvith one that vväs to Preach a little after, and did it very privately, that if his Enemies should have designs, they might be disappointed, and so it vväs not much known.

When he vväs to Preach, it fell out that his course came upon a Tuesday, vvhen the King did lie at *Finching-Brook*; The Court vväs very thin, and the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham* were both abroad, and the King himself was for an hunting match that day, and gave order that the Sermon should begin at eight of the clock. Master *Preston* had some at the Court that were solicitous as well as he, and they told him it would give very great content, if he would take some occasion in the Sermon, to shew his judgment, as he had done before about Set-Formes. Doctor *Young* Deane of *Winchester*, (of whom we spake before) did then attend, and when the King came in, and sat down in the chair, he told him who it was that Preached, and said, he hoped he would give content; I pray God he do, said the King. The Sermon is in print, upon *John* 1. 16. which he so clearly opened and applied, that the King sate all the while as quiet as could be, and never stirred nor spake to any body, but by his looks discovered he was pleased; when all was done, he came unto him as the manner was to kisse his hand; and the King asked him of what *Preston* he was descended, he answered of that in *Lancashire*: Then said the King, you have many of your name and kindred very eminent; and *Preston* the Priest, although a *Papist*, is a very learned man.

Master *Preston* preacheth before the King.

Great haste was made to bring in dinner, and the King was very pleasant all the time, had his eye continually upon Master *Preston*, and spake of divers passages in the Sermon with much content, especially that of the *Arminians* putting God into the same extreamity, that *Darius* was put in, *Dan.* 6. when he would have saved *Daniel*, but could not: But as soon as ever he was retired, the Marquesse *Hamilton* kneeled down, and besought him, that he might commend the Preacher to him for his Chaplain, protested he did not so much as know him; but that he was moved by the weight and strength

of that he had delivered; told him, he spoke no pen and ink-horn language, but as one that comprehended, what he said, and that he could not but have substance and matter in him. The King acknowledged all; but said it was too early, remembered *New-market* business, and was reserved.

Sir *Ralph Freeman*, one of the Masters of Requests, had married a Kinswoman of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and was a Kinsman unto Master *Preston*; he makes Relation of the business unto the Duke, and told him, if now he would appear in favour of his Cousin *Preston*, he might oblige the *Puritans*, and lay a ground-work for his own security, if tempests should arise; assured him that Master *Preston* was ingenuous, and might be made, that the King and all the Court were taken with the Sermon, and did approve it. The Duke of *Buckingham* was a wise man, and apprehensive of what Sir *Ralph* suggested seasonably, saw those they called *Puritans* were growing, and in the Parliament were thought considerable, knew that the Kings affections might cool, and he might need friends, and took Sir *Ralphs* discourse into his most serious thoughts. An honest man, one Master *Packer*, was then his Secretary, and he set on what Sir *Ralph Freeman* had suggested, and so it came unto a resolution, that Master *Preston* should be owned; and the Duke commanded Sir *Ralph Freeman*, to go to Master *Preston* from him, and acquaint him with his good opinion of him, and desire to see him; and indeed there was such a Concurrence, and Concentring of opinions and desires among the Courtiers, that it was assured Master *Preston*, he might be Chaplain unto whom he would, and that was now the deliberation, which of these offers he should accept, and whom he would acknowledge his Patron and Protector for the time to come.

There was not so few Clergy men at Court at any time, and so no kind of opposition; yet the King himself hung back, and would do nothing hastily; he was not reconcileable unto the *Puritans*, and so desired not in that respect for to ingage him; but he desired to deprive them of Master *Preston*, and to divide him from them, and would do any thing that might drive that on; and considering how many he had won, that Master *Preston* was a young man and might be drawn on, he would not hinder nor oppose; so it was the joynt opinion of all his friends, that the best preferment was to be the Princes Chaplain, who then was grown and had an household. This therefore was represented unto Sir *Ralph Freeman*, and his opinion required, who quickly yielded and proposed it unto the Duke: both Prince and Duke had been abroad, and neither of them heard the Sermon; when therefore Master *Preston* was brought unto the Duke, he very seriously received him; and told him it was the Prince his unhappinesse and his, to be absent when he did preach, and therefore desired him that he would vouchsafe a Copy of his Sermon to him, and believe that he would be ready, to the best and utmost of his power to serve him.

There were many other Courtiers that desired Copies of the Sermon, and the Court not staying there, Master *Preston* came home to furnish Copies. He never penned Sermon word for word but wrote what came into his mind, and as it came, and that in no good hand; and so it was a businessse to provide these Copies, which yet he seriously attended till they were written fair, and then to Court he goes, where the Duke presents him to the Prince, and so he was made and admitted Chaplain to the Prince in Ordinary; for as then the Prince had not compleated the number he intended, which was six, who were accordingly to wait two moneths by the year, and preach unto the household upon the *Lords daies*, and perform such duties as were required of them.

But God was making other work for Master *Preston*; For Doctor *Tolson*, Bishop of *Salisbury* dies, and leaves a Wife and many Children unprovided for; for he had been Bishop but a little while. This Wife of his was Doctor



Doctor *Davenant* Sister; in pity therefore and commiseration of her case, it was proposed to the King by those that were his Friends, that Doctor *Davenant*, a single man, and well-deserving, might succeed his Brother in the Bishoprick, and so make some provision for his Children. The King thought very well of Doctor *Davenant*, not only for his singular abilities and labours in the University, but for his pains also, and service in the Synod of Dort against *Arminius*; and it was looked on as a deed of charity, and so believed he would carry it, and be the man.

But this Created Master *Prestons* cares, Doctor *Davenant* had been his constant and faithful Friend, and given countenance upon all occasions to him and all his Pupils. But now who should succeed? and where should Master *Preston* find another shelter? The Fellows for the most part were not his Friends, envied his numbers, and great relations, and there was no man like so to befriend him. Besides, the *Margaret*-Professors place would be void also by this remove, and many able stirring Bachelors in Divinity, proposed unto him that place, and assured him the Election would be easily carried for him.

The truth is, he had no great hope to do any great good in the Election of the Master of the Colledge, and one Doctor *Mansel* being named, a very moderate good natured man, he let that care fall, and was more anxious about the Professors place; for though sound doctrine in the University was of much use, yet *English* preaching was like to work more, and win more souls to God.

He always highly valued, and frequently consulted with Master *Dod*; and he perswaded *English* preaching, as that wherein God was more immediately served, and said, there were others that might supply the University in the Professors place, that either could not, or would not labour mens Conversion. And indeed the Master of *Sidney*-Colledge Doctor *Ward*, a vast Scholar, was then in view and Nomination for the Professors place; yet Mr. *Preston* was so solicited by honest men, that he knew not what to do: Two things he thought he wanted to enable him. The one was a Latine tongue, the other a Latine style; in both which, by reason of desuetude, he was unready. For his stile therefore, he resolves upon an exact and Logical *Analysis* of all the Epistles, which would Actuate and exercise his stile, and acquaint him with the Scripture-phrase and language; and if he were called to be Professor, might serve for Lectures in the Schooles; which work he immediately applied himself unto, and very happily compleated; a work of great pains unto him, and in it self of great worth; but being *Latine*, and written only with his own ill hand, was not thought popular enough to come abroad, but lieth in the dark.

For the exercising of his *Latine* tongue, he resolves a journey into the *Netherlands*, where he should have much occasion of speaking *Latine*, and see those Colledges and Universities; but there was no travelling beyond Sea, without a License under the hands of Privy-Counsellors; this he procures among his Friends with all the secrecy that could be, and a great while before he meant to use it, that he might conceale it from the Colledge and University; but this his secrecy begat suspicion that there was some plot. *Velputant quodcumque potest*: It is not safe for men to have abilities. It was resented so much the more, because no Clergy man was made acquainted with it, and the opinion was, that something was brewing against *Episcopacy*. This they were sure of, that *Amsterdam* was in the *Netherlands*, and ever had been fatal to the *Hierarchy*. The Lord Keeper then was Bishop *Williams*, he sees this plague afar off, *Prov.* 22. 3. and provides a Messenger to go along unknown to Master *Preston*, that should observe and give intelligence weekly of all that passed: *Integer vita scelerisque purus, non eget Faculis nec arcu*. A breast-plate of righteousness is a better guard than a shirt or coat of

His travel in  
the Low-  
Countries.

of male. It was *David's* uprightnesse that did preserve him, *Psal.* 25. 21. so was it Master *Prestons*; for he knew nothing of this attendance, till after his return, but gave out in the Colledge, and among his Pupils, that he would go the next Vacation into *Kent*, to visit Sir *Richard Sande*, and drink if he saw cause, the *Tinbridge* waters, concludes to take one of his Pupils with him, a *Yorkshire* Gentleman, Sir *Henry Slingsbys* Sonne and Heir; and did accordingly acquaint his Father and make Provision for it long before.

The time came, and he goes into *Kent*, and is received in the passage boat for *Rotterdam*, in the garb and notion of a Gentleman, with his skarlet cloak and gold hatband, and all things answerable; and so goes over all the Provinces, both *Protestant* and *Popish*, where there was any thing observable, and encounters frequently with divers *Priests* and *Jesuites*, professing himself a *Protestant* Gentleman, that was willing to find out the Truth, and try all Tenents, and accordingly was courted by them very much, and solicited to be a *Papist*; and they gave him very many *popish* Books, and so he came back into *Kent*, and to the Colledge at the time appointed, unknown to any in the Colledge, but only one of his Pupils, from whom he seldom concealed any thing. He was no sooner settled in the Colledge, but a rumour flies abroad, that Master *Preston* had been beyond the Seas; He shewed them that it was incredible, and wonders at their sillinesse, that they would beleieve so unlikely a relation; The matter was not great, now all was past, and so it rested doubtfull and undetermined.

He is cho-  
sen to *Lin-*  
*coln-Inns*.

He had a long time been successfull in the way of Pupils, but Doctor *Davenants* leaving of the Colledge troubled him. A great Tutor, hath much occasion to use the Masters influence, for accommodation and advancement of his Pupils, which now he saw he could not promise unto himself; and it fell out much about this time, that Doctor *Dunn*, Preacher at *Lincolns-Inne* died, and some in that society proposed that Master *Preston* might be tried whether he were willing to accept that place for Tearm time: He was himself, neither carelesse, nor cracking of his good name: *Fama nec incuriosus, nec venditor*. But it was much grown by reason of his successe in the conflicts and encounters he had at Court. It was some refreshing unto honest men, that Master *Preston*, so resolute, and constant in the waies of God, was yet the Prince his Chaplain, and helped forward the desire of these men; It suted with him, to have an opportunity to exercise his Ministry in a considerable and intelligent Congregation, where he was assured, many Parliament men, and others of his best acquaintance would be his hearers; and where in Tearm time, he should be well accommodated, so he consented and undertook the Place; The Chappel then was very little, and at the first, the numbers that attended on his Ministry, besides their own society, were few, but when the Chappel was newbuilt, as now it is, the numbers were exceeding great, that were his constant hearers, and foundations laid, that will not easily be ruined.

This was some ease unto his grieved mind, for Doctor *Davenants* leaving of the Colledge and University; but filled not his great capacity and large desire of doing good; The Colledge he gave over in his thoughts, but not the University, where his Preaching was much resented, and made great impressions; and though at *Lincolns-Inne* he had Gown-men to be his Hearers, yet they were not like to propagate and spread it. A preacher in the University, doth generate patres, beget begetters, and transmit unto posterity, what God is pleased to reveal to him; In a word, doth what the Apostle doth enjoyn, *2 Tim.* 2. 2. and he of all men, thirsted after opportunities of doing service, and might well say with the Spouse, that he was sick of love, *Cant.* 2. 5.

Some of the Fellows of *Emanuel* Colledge were very eminent for parts and learning, yet clouded and obscured, (as they thought) by an opinion that



that lay upon the Colledge, that they were *Puritans*, that is, not only Godly and Religious, (for so they were, and were content to be esteemed) but non-conformists, and averse to Government; for which cause there had been lately some alteration made, both in their Chappel, and manner of their diet; they thought therefore, if they could prevail with Doctor *Chaderton* their present Master, to resign, who was established in it by the Founder, and named in the Statute, but was grown very old, and had outlived many of those great relations, which he had before, they might perhaps procure that Master *Preston* might succeed him, and bring the Colledge into reputation, being a good man, and yet a Courtier, the Prince his Chaplain, and very gracious with the Duke of *Buckingham*. But this was sooner said than done, the old Doctor was exceeding wary and jealous not only of his own disparagement, but especially of the good and welfare of that brave foundation that had grown and flourished under his Government so long; for if it were but known that he were out, there were divers lay in wait to get a Mandate, and come in against their minds; a fresh example whereof they had lately seen in their next neighbours, *Christ's Colledge*, where after Master *Pemberton* was chosen, Doctor *Carew* Dean of *Exeter*, was forced on them, and did all he could to mould a new, and alter the constitution and *genius* of the Colledge. But the Fellows answered, that this might be better hindered and prevented whilst he was alive, then at his death; for his resignation might be carried privately, but his death could not, and if all the Fellows were content, the Election might be past before the resignation were discovered; and so they promised to sound and try the judgment of the other Fellows, and then repair again unto him.

There were two things in the Colledge that (in their Opinions) greatly pinched them. The one was the Statute for attendance and continuance whilst they were Fellows, so that they had not opportunity to live in Noble mens Houses, or take Lectures to exercise their Ministry, and make themselves known unto such as had it in their power to prefer them. Another was the Statute of departing at such a standing, whether they were provided or not provided; and there was then a fresh example in Doctor *Traverse* a man of great worth, yet forced to sojourn as a Fellow-Commoner in *Christ's Colledge* untill he could be better accommodated; The Fellows therefore were easily induced to affect this change; for they thought Master *Preston* might be an instrument, by reason of his great acquaintance, either to get some mitigation of the Statute, or procure more livings to be annexed to the Colledge for their preferment.

So they returned to the old man, and told him that the Fellows were all agreed, and ready to do what he should prescribe, and it rested now in him to prevent the danger that did threaten, not only them in their particular concernments, but the growing good and welfare also of the Colledge. The poor man wist not what to do; to out-live the Mastership he thought was to out-live himself, and to go into his grave alive; yet he honoured and loved Master *Preston* very much, and could not answer that dilemma of the Colledge-safety; therefore he told them he would not be wanting to the Colledge-good, but it concerned them as well as himself, to provide they were not cheated, and another forced on them, whether they would or not; and therefore desired that Master *Preston* might be requested to deal with his Friends at Court, and procure some promise that there should be no Mandate granted, in case his resignation should be known; He told them likewise how unprovided he was for maintenance, when that was gone, and how unseemly it would be for him now in his old age for to want, and therefore desired he might be taken in this particular into consideration. But Master *Preston* quickly eased the old man of all these fears, by procuring a Letter from the Duke of *Buckingham* in these words. Sir

The Duke  
of Bucking-  
hams Letter.

Sir,  
I Have moved his Majesty, concerning Master Preston's succeeding of you, in the Mastership of Emanuel Colledge, who is not not only willing, but is also graciously pleased to recommend him to the place in especial manner before any other; so that in making this way for him, you shall do a very acceptable thing to his Majesty, as also to the Prince his Master, of which I am likewise to give you notice, and to put you out of all doubt, that another may be thrust upon you; you shall not need to fear any thing, in regard that from his Majesty there will be no hinderance to his succession; and for that point of supply of Maintenance, I shall (as I promised) take care for to procure it, when fit occasion shall be offered; so taking kindly what you have done, I rest

Theobalds Sept. 20.  
1622.

Your very loving Friend,  
G. Buckingham.

He is cho-  
sen Master  
of Emanuel.

When the Doctor had received and read this Letter, he was in all things satisfied, as to the Court, but they all knew that Doctor Travers lay in wait for this Preferment; for being outed by the Statute at Emanuel Colledge, he sojourned at Christs Colledge as Fellow-Commoner, and presumed either by his Friends at Court, to get a Mandate, or be chosen in the Colledge by a Party of the Fellows, whom he thought his own; therefore great care was taken to keep all secret, and though the Statute do ordain a vacancy of seven days, and notice by a Schedule passed upon the Chappel-Door, yet such was the concurrent uniform agreement of all the Fellows, that it was not discovered to any of the Schollars untill the day of Election; and because there is a Sacrament to be immediately before it, they were constrained to lock up all the Gates that none might come in or goe out till it was past; and then two of the Fellows were dispatcht to Queens Colledge, to acquaint Master Preston with what they had done, and to desire that at two of the Clock he would repair unto the Colledge to be admitted, and undertake the charge.

It was strange news at Queens, and all the Colledge were much affected with it, wondering extreemly that such a great transaction should be carried with so much secrecy, and that amongst Master Prestons twelve Disciples (as they called them) there should be never a Judas but all concentre in it; but there was order given presently, that all the Schollars should be ready against two of the Clock that day, to attend Master Preston and the Fellows to Emanuel Colledge, in Habits suitable unto their several qualities, which was done accordingly; and a very goodly Company attended him from Queens unto Emanuel, where they were cheerfully received and entertained according to the Custome, with a generous and costly Banquet, and then returned unto Queens again; but left Master Preston, the prop and glory of it, at Emanuel.

In the Plantation of Emanuel Colledge at the first, the godly Founder, took great care to store his Colledge with godly and able Fellows from all the other Colledges, and some were after added that were eminent; but now a Master is bestowed, God in mercy hath enabled that good society to pay their Debts, by sending not only Members, but also Heads into very many of the other Colledges, so as they may now well say, *Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris.*

Sir Walter Mildmay their Noble and Religious Founder, was wont to say unto his Friends, that he had set an Acorn, that might perhaps in time become an Oak; blessed be God, our eyes have seen it, not only grown and flourishing, but fruitful, seasonable Showers, a great promotion unto a new Plantation, and earnest Prayers unto God, a special means to bring these down,



down, of which I think no Colledge ever had more, which in these last years have returned a glorious Harvest; to God be Praise.

This News ran swiftly all the Kingdom over, and was received as men were affected. Good men were glad that honest men were not abhorred, as they had been at the Court, and presaged much of that enlargment and deliverance, which we have lived to see; the Courtiers made full account that he was theirs, and would mount up from one step to another, until he were a Prelate; especially the Duke of *Buckingham*, who from this time seemed sincerely to affect him, *Multum fuit ad amorem, dedisse beneficium*, thought he had given earnest and could not be defrauded of the purchase. The Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Countesse of *Bedford* had a great interest in him, and he in them; and all men looked on him as upon a rising man, and respected him accordingly. As for *Lincolns-Inne*, they made account they had a special influence into this honour, as having first expressed their good Opinion of him; and there was an honest godly old man, one of the Benchers, Master *Ayres*, that upon hearing of the News, would needs be young again, and make an *Anagram* upon his Name, though he was uncertain how he wrote it in Latine, for he had seen it written divers wayes. Being therefore resolute, and loath to miss it, he resolves to write it both ways, as he that used to say his Prayers in Latine and English, that both might not fail, and so first he wrote it, *Johannes Prestonius* with this *Anagram*, *En stas pius in honore*: And this Distitch:

*Doctrina, ingenium, virtus tua, premia poscunt;  
En dedit Emanuel, stas in honore pius.*

But lest this should be mistaken, he writes it *Johannes Prestonus*: with this *Anagram*, *Se nosse, non turpia*: And this Distitch:

*Turpia non novisse, bonum; se nosse, beatum:  
Ista doces alios, sed prius ipsa facis.*

The rest of that Society rejoyced, that their Lecturer was Master of *Emanuel*, and took occasion to express it according to their several dispositions and relations, when he came to them in the Term, which shortly followed. There was one thing in the Colledge-Statutes that greatly troubled him; and that was that the Masters absence from the Colledge was confined to a moneth in every quarter, and he saw not how he could attend at Court, and Preach at *Lincolns-Inne* in Term time, but he should transgresse; but the Fellows soon consented to an interpretation, that absolved him from the rigid sense, there being in the Statute a double liberty; first that in case of violent detention it should not hold; they resolved that not only a natural, but also a moral violence was to be understood. The other was, that in case of Colledge-Business he should not be esteemed absent. Now the Colledge was at that time in suit for a Living in the West, of good value, with one Master *Ewins*, a Gentleman in the Parish, who had bred up a younger Son to be a Schollar, in relation to that Living; and therefore contended for it, as it had been his own Inheritance; and when he was worsted at Common-Law, prefers a Bill in Chancery, and thought by Money to carry it against the Colledge-Right. Bishop *Williams* the Lord-keeper then, was his great Friend, and when after many delayes it came at last to hearing, would not allow the Counsel for the the Colledge to speak; Master *Preston* being present, craved leave to speak in the cause himself, but was not only silenced, but severely reprehended for it; It was *Trinity*-Term, and the Plague was very hot in *London*, so that *Michaelmas* Term was wholly adjourned, and the next Term was proclaimed at *Redding*, and the Records removed thither; but before that, the Lord-Keeper was removed from his Throne, and Sir *Thomas Coventry*, one of the Colledge-Council that were not permitted before to speak, succeeded him; by whose integrity and justice, the Colledge was restored to their right, which